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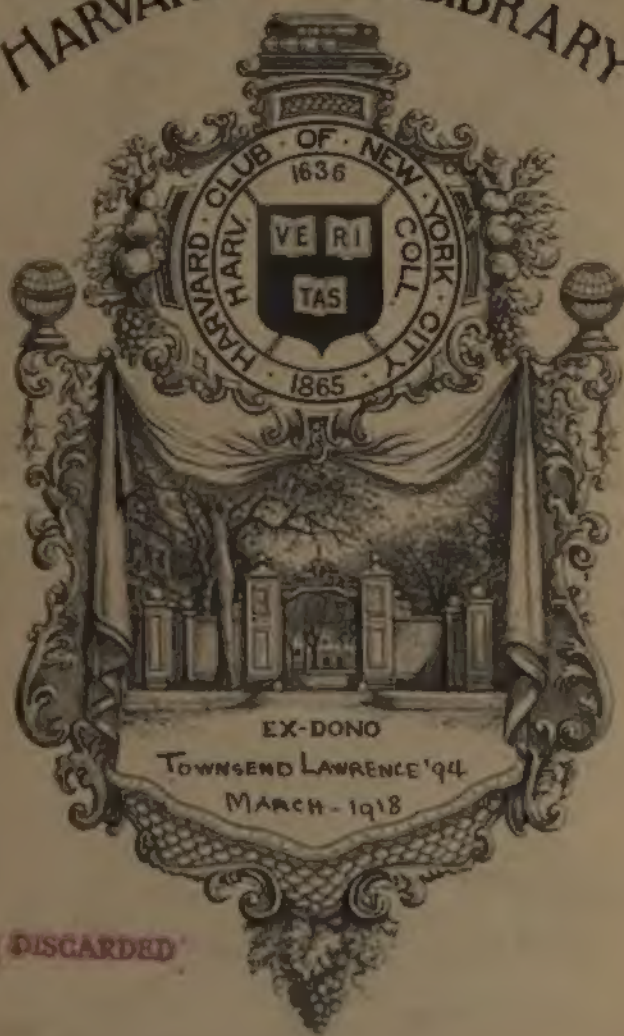
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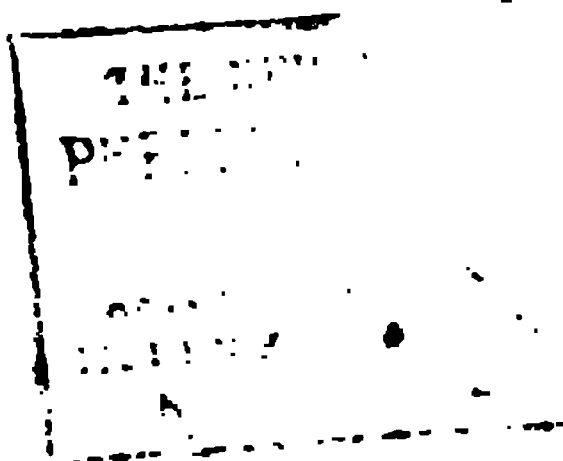


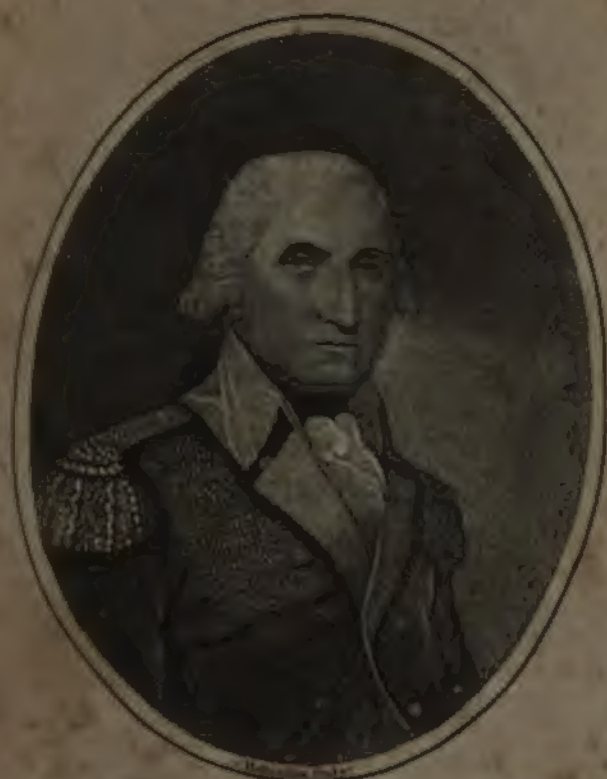
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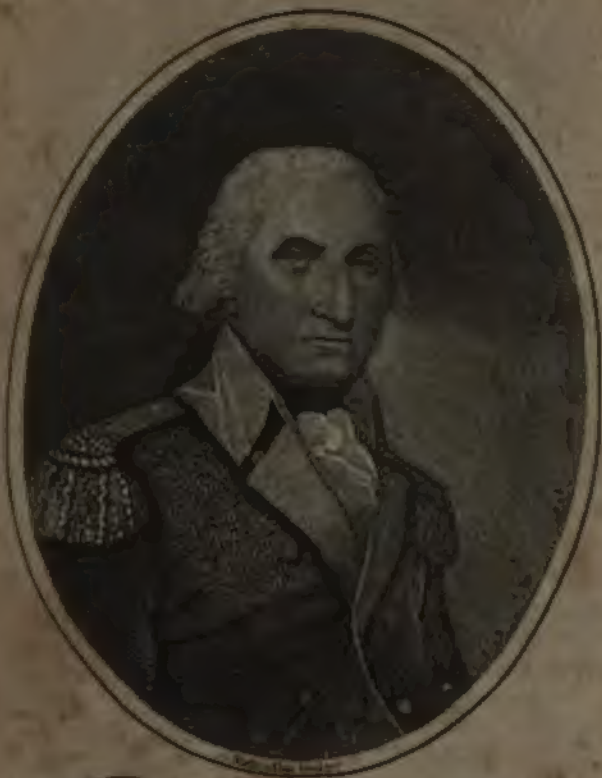




GEORGE WASHINGTON

President of the United States

Published by T. Reid New York 1796.



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HISTORICAL,
GEOGRAPHICAL, COMMERCIAL,
AND
PHILOSOPHICAL
V I E W
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
AND OF THE
EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS
IN
AMERICA AND THE WEST-INDIES.

BY
W. WINTERBOTHAM.

**THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS AND
CORRECTIONS.**

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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P R E F A C E.



No event ever proved so interesting, to mankind in general and to the inhabitants of Europe in particular, as the discovery of the new world, and the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope : it at once gave rise to a revolution in the commerce and in the power of nations, as well as in the manners industry and government of almost the whole world. At this period new connections were formed by the inhabitants of the most distant regions, for the supply of wants they had never before experienced. The productions of climates situated under the equator were consumed in countries bordering on the pole ; the industry of the north was transplanted to the south ; and the inhabitants of the west were clothed with the manufactures of the east ; in short, a general intercourse of opinions, laws and customs, diseases and remedies, virtues and vices, were established amongst men.

In Europe, in particular, every thing has been changed in consequence of its commerce and connection with the American continent ; but the changes which took place prior to the late revolution, (which established the liberties of the United States, and transformed the dependent colonies of Britain into an independent commonwealth, or rather a society of common-

wealths) only served to increase the misery of mankind, as to the power of despotism, and rivetting faster the shackles of oppression ; the commerce of Spain, in particular, with the new world, has been supported by a system of rapine.

and oppression ; a system that has spread desolation not only in America, but in Europe and Africa. Spain, however, benefitted but little by it, for her strength, and industry, have evidently declined in proportion to the influx of the gold of the new continent.

tain, for a considerable period, things appeared somewhat different; till the epoch of the revolution her commerce with America increased her national strength, and added to her own industry and wealth, while it desolated and ravaged the coast of Africa.

From the period of the revolution, the influence of America on Europe has been of a different kind: the glorious struggle which the United States sustained, and the inquiries to which that eventful period gave rise, did much to raise mankind from that state of abject slavery and degradation, to which despotism, aided by superstition, had sunk them: from that period the rights of man began to be understood, and the principles of civil and religious liberty have been canvassed with a freedom before unknown, and their influence has extended itself from the palace to the cottage: in short, the revolution in the late British American colonies bids fair ultimately not only to occasion the emancipation of the other European colonies on that continent, but to accomplish a complete revolution in all the old governments of Europe.

We have already seen a patriot king, aided by a hero who fought for the cause of freedom under Washington, struggling to render his people free and happy; and we have witnessed a perjured despot expiating his crimes on the scaffold, at the command of a people roused to a sense of their injuries and rights, by men who had assisted in establishing the liberties of America.—In reflecting on those scenes as individuals, we can only lament the want of success which has attended the former, and regret the crimes of ambitious and unprincipled individuals, which have certainly tarnished, but not destroyed, the glory of the revolution, which has attended the latter. The storm will, however, ere long pass away, and returning peace will leave the other nations of Europe at liberty to contemplate without prejudice, not only their own situation, but the resources of France drawn forth into action under the influence of an energetic government, founded on the will of the people, and administered at an expense far less than what the pensioned minions of its former corrupt court alone devoured. Whenever that period arrives, and arrive it will, it needs not a spirit of inspiration to that the other nations of Europe must submit to a transformation, or be content to behold their commerce, agriculture, and population decline.

In the mean time the United States are profiting by the convulsed situation of Europe, and increasing, in a degree hitherto unparalleled in the history of nations, in population and opulence. Their power, commerce and agriculture, are rapidly on the increase, and the wisdom of the federal government has hitherto been such as to render the prospect of a settlement under its fostering influence truly inviting to the merchant, the manufacturer, the mechanic, and the industrious labourer: nor have these alone found the United States advantageous; the persecuted in France or England have there found an asylum, where their lives, property and liberty are secure; where they may almost say, the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. Nor can any doubt be entertained, but in a short period the man of science, as well as the contemplative and experimental philosopher, will find the shores of Columbia equally propitious to their wishes. Education is sending forth its illuminating rays, and its influence on the rising generation will aid the Americans in all their other pursuits.

The inhabitants of Europe are not insensible of these favourable circumstances. The charms of civil and religious liberty, the advantages of an extensive and fertile, but uncultivated country, of an increasing commerce, unshackled and unencumbered by heavy and impolitic duties and imposts, have already invited numbers to leave its bosom---numbers, which the iron hand of persecution and the awful prospects of intestine division or abject slavery, will continue to increase.

The attention of Europe in general, and of Great-Britain in particular, being thus drawn to the new world, the Editor, at the request of some particular friends, undertook the task, which he hopes he has in some degree accomplished in the following volumes, of affording his countrymen an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with its settlement by Europeans---the events that led to the establishment and independence of the United States---the nature of their government---their present situation and advantages, together with their future prospects in commerce, manufactures and agriculture. This formed the principal design of the work; but he farther wished with this to connect a general view of the situation of the remaining European possessions in America and the West-India islands; this has been therefore attempted, and nearly a volume is dedicated alone to this subject.

Connected with the above, one object has been constantly kept in view, namely, to afford the emigrator to America a summary of general information, that may in some measure serve as a directory to him in the choice of a residence, as well as in his after pursuits. This will be a sufficient excuse for the miscellaneous matter introduced in the third volume, at the close of the history of the States.

W. W.

C O N T E N T S.



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DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

IT is believed by many, that the ancients had some imperfect notion of a new world; and several ancient authors are quoted in confirmation of this opinion. In a book ascribed to the philosopher Aristotle, we are told that the Carthaginians discovered an island far beyond the pillars of Hercules, large, fertile, and finely watered with navigable rivers, but uninhabited. This island was distant a few days sailing from the continent; its beauty induced the discoverers to settle there; but the policy of Carthage dislodged the colony, and laid a strict prohibition on all the subjects of the state not to attempt any future establishment. This account is also confirmed by an historian of no mean credit, who relates, that the Tyrians would have settled a colony on the new-discovered island, but were opposed by the Carthaginians for state reasons. Seneca, and other authors are also quoted in support of this belief. But however this may be, nobody ever believed the existence of this continent so firmly as to go in quest of it; at least there are no accounts well supported that America received any part of its first inhabitants from Europe prior to the 15th century. The Welsh fondly imagine, that their country contributed, in 1170, to people the New World, by the adventure of Madoc, son of Owen Gwynedd, who, on the death of his father, sailed there, and colonized part of the country. All that is advanced in proof is, a quotation from one of the British Poets, which proves no more than that he had distinguished himself by sea and land. It is pretended that he made two voyages; that sailing West, he left Ireland so far to the North, that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things; that he returned home, and, making a report of the fruitfulness of the new-discovered country, prevailed on numbers of the Welsh of each sex to accompany him on a second voyage, from which he never returned. The favourers of this opinion assert, that several Welsh words, such as *garando*, "to hearken or listen;" the title of *Creafu*, or "welcome;" Cape Breton, from the name of Britain; *gayandwr*, or, "the white water;" and *gysgwr*, or "the bird with a white head;" are to be found in the American

language. But likeness of sound in a few words will not be deemed sufficient to establish the fact; especially if the meaning has been evidently perverted: for example, the whole penguin tribe have unfortunately not only black heads, but are not inhabitants of the Northern hemisphere; the name was also bestowed on them by the Dutch, a *pinguedine*, from their excessive fatness: but the inventor of this, thinking to do honour to his country, inconsiderately caught at a word of European origin, and unheard of in the New World. It may be added, that the Welsh were never a naval people; that the age in which Madoc lived was peculiarly ignorant in navigation; and the most which they could have attempted must have been a mere coasting voyage.*

The Norwegians put in for a share of the glory, on grounds rather better than the Welsh. By their settlements in Iceland and in Greenland, they had arrived within so small a distance of the New World, that there is at least a possibility of its having been touched at by a people so versed in maritime affairs, and so adventurous, as the ancient Normans were. The proofs are much more numerous than those produced by the British Historians; for the discovery is mentioned in several of the Islandic manuscripts. The period was about the year 1002, when it was visited by one Biorn; and the discovery pursued to greater effect by Leif, the son of Eric, the discoverer of Greenland. It does not appear that they reached farther than Labrador: on which coast they met with the Esquimaux, on whom they bestowed the name of *Skrælingues*, or dwarfish people, from their small stature. They were armed with bows and arrows, and had leathern canoes, such as they have at present. All this is probable; nor should the tale of the German, called *Tuckil*, one of the crew, invalidate the account. He was one day missing; but soon returned, leaping and singing with all the extravagant marks of joy a *bon vivant* could show, on discovering the inebriating fruit of his country, the grape: Torfæus even says, that he returned in a state of intoxication. To convince his commander, he brought several bunches, who from that circumstance named that country *Vinland*. It is not to be denied, that North America produces the true vine: but it is found in far lower latitudes than our adventures could reach in the time employed in their voyages, which was comprehended in a very small space. There appears no reason

* If the reader, however, wishes to examine this curious question still farther, he will meet with all that can be said upon the subject, in WILLIAMS's *Enquiry into the truth of the tradition, concerning the Discovery of America by Prince Madoc*. 8vo. — See also IMRAY's *Account of Kentucky*, page 377, 2d Edit.

no doubt of the discovery; but as the land was never colonized nor any advantages made of it, it may fairly be conjectured, that they reached no farther than the barren country of Labrador. In short, it is from a much later period that we must date the real discovery of America*.

Towards the close of the 14th century, the navigation of Europe was scarcely extended beyond the limits of the Mediterranean. The mariner's compass had been invented and in common use for more than a century; yet with the help of this sure guide, prompted by the most ardent spirit of discovery, and encouraged by the patronage of princes, the mariners of those days rarely ventured from the sight of land. They acquired great applause by sailing along the coast of Africa and discovering some of the neighbouring islands; and after pushing their researches with the greatest industry and perseverance for more than half a century, the Portuguese, who were the most fortunate and enterprising, extended their discoveries Southward no farther than the equator.

The rich commodities of the East, had for several ages been brought into Europe by the way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; and it had now become the object of the Portuguese to find a passage to India, by sailing round the Southern extremity of Africa and then taking an Eastern course. This great object engaged the general attention of mankind, and drew into the Portuguese service adventurers from every maritime nation in Europe. Every year added to their experience in navigation, and seemed to promise a reward to their industry. The prospect, however, of arriving at the Indies was extremely distant; fifty years perseverance in the same track, had brought them only to the equator, and it was probable that as many more would elapse before they could accomplish their purpose, had not COLUMBUS, by an uncommon exertion of genius, formed a design no less astonishing to the age in which he lived, than beneficial to posterity.

Among the foreigners whom the fame of the discoveries made by the Portuguese had allured into their service, was Christopher Colon or Columbus, a subject of the republic of Genoa. Neither the time nor place of his birth are known with certainty; but he was descended of an

* In the 2d Vol. of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, Mr OTTO, in a *Memoir on the Discovery of America*, strenuously contends, that one BENZ, a German, discovered the American Continent prior to its being discovered by COLUMBUS. For the ingenious arguments in support of this opinion, the reader is referred to the *Memoir*.

honourable family, though reduced to indigence by various misfortunes. His ancestors having betaken themselves for subsistence to a sea-faring life, Columbus discovered, in his early youth, the peculiar character and talents which mark out a man for that profession. His parents, instead of thwarting this original propensity of his mind, seem to have encouraged and confirmed it, by the education which they gave him. After acquiring some knowledge of the Latin tongue, the only language in which science was taught at that time, he was instructed in geometry, cosmography, astronomy, and the art of drawing. To these he applied with such ardour and predilection, on account of their connection with navigation, his favourite object, that he advanced with rapid proficiency in the study of them. Thus qualified, in the year 1461, he went to sea at the age of fourteen, and began his career on that element which conducted him to so much glory. His early voyages were to those ports in the Mediterranean which his countrymen the Genoese frequented. This being a sphere too narrow for his active mind, he made an excursion to the northern seas, in 1467, and visited the coasts of Iceland, to which the English and other nations had begun to resort on account of its fishery. As navigation, in every direction, was now become enterprising, he proceeded beyond that island, the Thule of the ancients, and advanced several degrees within the polar circle. Having satisfied his curiosity by a voyage which tended more to enlarge his knowledge of naval affairs, than to improve his fortune, he entered into the service of a famous sea-captain, of his own name and family. This man commanded a small squadron, fitted out at his own expence, and by cruising sometimes against the Mahometans, sometimes against the Venetians, the rivals of his country in trade, had acquired both wealth and reputation. With him Columbus continued for several years, no less distinguished for his courage, than for his experience as a sailor. At length, in an obstinate engagement, off the coast of Portugal, with some Venetian Caravels, returning richly laden from the Low Countries, the vessel on board which he served took fire, together with one of the enemy's ships, to which it was fast grappled. In this dreadful extremity his intrepidity and presence of mind did not forsake him. He threw himself into the sea, laid hold of a floating oar, and by the support of it, and his dexterity in swimming, he reached the shore, though above two leagues distant, and saved a life reserved for great undertakings.

As soon as he recovered strength for the journey, he repaired to Lisbon, where many of his countrymen were settled. They soon conceived such a favourable opinion of his merit, as well as talents, that they warmly solicited him to remain in that kingdom, where his naval skill and experience could not fail of rendering him conspicuous. To every adventurer, animated either with curiosity to visit new countries, or with ambition to distinguish himself, the Portuguese service was at that time extremely inviting. Columbus listened with a favorable ear to the advice of his friends, and having gained the esteem of a Portuguese lady, whom he married, fixed his residence in Lisbon. This alliance, instead of detaching him from a seafaring life, contributed to enlarge the sphere of his naval knowledge, and to excite a desire of extending it still farther. His wife was a daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello, one of the captains employed by Prince Henry in his early navigations, and who, under his protection, had discovered and planted the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira. Columbus got possession of the journals and charts of this experienced navigator, and from them he learned the course which the Portuguese had held in making their discoveries, as well as the various circumstances which guided or encouraged them in their attempts. The study of these soothed and inflamed his favourite passion; and while he contemplated the maps, and read the descriptions of the new countries which Perestrello had seen, his impatience to visit them became irresistible. In order to indulge it, he made a voyage to Madeira, and continued during several years to trade with that island, with the Canaries, the Azores, the settlements in Guinea, and all the other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa.

By the experience which Columbus acquired, during such a variety of voyages, to almost every part of the globe with which, at that time, any intercourse was carried on by sea, he was now become one of the most skilful navigators in Europe. But, not satisfied with that praise, his ambition, aimed at something more. The successful progress of the Portuguese navigators had awakened a spirit of curiosity and emulation, which set every man of science upon examining all the circumstances that led to the discoveries which they had made, or that afforded a prospect of succeeding in any new and bolder undertaking. The mind of Columbus, naturally inquisitive, capable of deep reflection, and turned to speculations of this kind, so often employed in revolving the principles upon which the Portuguese had founded their schemes of discovery,

mode in which they had carried them on, that he gradually began to form an idea of improving upon their plan, and of accomplishing discoveries which hitherto they had attempted in vain.

To find out a passage by sea to the East Indies, was the great object in view at that period. From the time that the Portuguese doubled Cape de Verd, this was the point at which they aimed in all their navigations, and in comparison with it, all their discoveries in Africa appeared inconsiderable. The fertility and riches of India had been known for many ages; its spices and other valuable commodities were in high request throughout Europe, and the vast wealth of the Venetians arising from their having engrossed this trade, had raised the envy of all nations. But how intent soever the Portuguese were upon discovering a new route to those desirable regions, they searched for it only by steering towards the south, in hopes of arriving at India, by turning to the east, after they had sailed round the farther extremity of Africa. This course was still unknown, and, even if discovered, was of such immense length, that a voyage from Europe to India must have appeared, at that period, an undertaking extremely arduous, and of very uncertain issue. More than half a century had been employed in advancing from Cape Non to the equator; a much longer space of time might elapse before the more extensive navigation from that to India could be accomplished. These reflections upon the uncertainty, the danger and tediousness of the course which the Portuguese were pursuing, naturally led Columbus to consider whether a shorter and more direct passage to the East Indies might not be found out. After revolving long and seriously every circumstance suggested by his superior knowledge in the theory as well as practice of navigation, after comparing attentively the observations of modern pilots with the hints and conjectures of ancient authors, he at last concluded, that by sailing directly towards the west, across the Atlantic ocean, new countries, which probably formed a part of the great continent of India, must infallibly be discovered.

Principles and arguments of various kinds, and derived from different sources, induced him to adopt this opinion, seemingly as chimerical as it was new and extraordinary. The spherical figure of the earth was known, and its magnitude ascertained with some degree of accuracy. From this it was evident, that the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, as far as they were known at that time, formed but a small portion of the terraqueous globe. It was a suitable idea concerning the wisdom and beneficence of the Author of Nature, to believe that the vast space, still unexplored, was not covered entirely by waste.

unprofitable ocean, but occupied by countries fit for the habitation of man. It appeared likewise extremely probable, that the continent; on this side of the globe, was balanced by a proportional quantity of land in the other hemisphere. These conclusions concerning the existence of another continent, drawn from the figure and structure of the globe, were confirmed by the observations and conjectures of modern navigators. A Portuguese pilot, having stretched farther to the west than was usual at that time, took up a piece of timber artificially carved, floating upon the sea; and as it was driven towards him by a westerly wind, he concluded that it came from some unknown land, situated in that quarter. Columbus's brother-in-law had found to the west of the Madeira isles, a piece of timber fashioned in the same manner, and brought by the same wind; and had seen likewise canes of an enormous size floating upon the waves, which resembled those described by Ptolemy, as productions peculiar to the East Indies. After a course of westerly winds, trees, torn up by the roots, were often driven upon the coasts of the Azores, and at one time the dead bodies of two men, with singular features, resembling neither the inhabitants of Europe nor of Africa, were cast ashore there.

As the force of this united evidence, arising from theoretical principles and practical observations, led Columbus to expect the discovery of new countries in the Western Ocean, other reasons induced him to believe that these must be connected with the continent of India. Though the ancients had hardly ever penetrated into India farther than the banks of the Ganges, yet some Greek authors had ventured to describe the provinces beyond that river. As men are prone, and at liberty, to magnify what is remote or unknown, they represented them as regions of an immense extent. Ctesias affirmed that India was as large as all the rest of Asia. Onesicritus, whom Pliny the naturalist follows, contended that it was equal to a third part of the inhabitable earth. Nearchus asserted, that it would take four months to march in a straight line from one extremity of India to the other. The journal of Marco Polo, who had proceeded towards the East far beyond the limits to which any European had ever advanced, seemed to confirm these exaggerated accounts of the ancients. By his magnificent description of the kingdoms of *Cathay* and *Cipango*, and of many other countries the names of which were unknown in Europe, India appeared to be a region of vast extent. From these accounts, which, however defective, were the most accurate that the people of Europe had received at that period, with respect to the remote part of the East, Columbus drew a just conclusion. He contem

that, in proportion as the continent of India stretched out towards the East, it must in consequence of the spherical figure of the earth approach nearer to the islands which had lately been discovered to the west of Africa ; that the distance from the one to the other was probably not very considerable ; and that the most direct, as well as shortest course, to the remote regions of the East, was to be found by sailing due west. This notion concerning the vicinity of India to the western parts of our continent, was countenanced by some eminent writers among the ancients, the sanction of whose authority was necessary, in that age, to procure a favourable reception to any tenet. Aristotle thought it probable that the Columns of Hercules, or Straits of Gibraltar, were not far removed from the East Indies, and that there might be a communication by sea between them. Seneca, in terms still more explicit, affirms, that, with a fair wind, one might sail from Spain to India in a few days. The famous Atlantic island described by Plato, and supposed by many to be a real country, beyond which an unknown continent was situated, is represented by him as lying at no great distance from Spain. After weighing all these particulars, Columbus, in whose character the modesty and diffidence of true genius was united with the ardent enthusiasm of a projector, did not rest with such absolute assurance either upon his own arguments, or upon the authority of the ancients, as not to consult such of his contemporaries as were capable of comprehending the nature of the evidence which he produced in support of his opinion. As early as the year one thousand four hundred and seventy-four, he communicated his ideas concerning the probability of discovering new countries, by sailing westwards, to Paul, a physician of Florence, eminent for his knowledge of cosmography, and who, from the learning as well as candour which he discovers in his reply, appears to have been well intitled to the confidence which Columbus placed in him. He warmly approved of the plan, suggested several facts in confirmation of it, and encouraged Columbus to persevere in an undertaking so laudable, and which must redound so much to the honour of his country, and the benefit of Europe.

To a mind less capable of forming and of executing great designs than that of Columbus, all those reasonings, and observations, and authorities, would have served only as the foundation of some plausible and fruitless theory, which might have furnished matter for ingenious discourse, or fanciful con-

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

But with his sanguine and enterprising temper speculation led directly to action. Fully satisfied himself with respect to the truth of his system, he was impatient to bring it to the test of experiment, and to set out upon a voyage of discovery. The first step towards this was to secure the patronage of some of the considerable powers in Europe, capable of undertaking such an enterprise. As long absence had not extinguished the affection which he bore to his native country, he wished that it should reap the fruits of his labours and invention. With this view, he laid his scheme before the senate of Genoa, and making his country the first tender of his service offered to sail under the banners of the republic; in quest of the new regions which he expected to discover. But Columbus had resided for so many years in foreign parts, that his countrymen were unacquainted with his abilities and character; and, though a mercantile people, were so little accustomed to distant voyages, that they could form no just idea of the principles on which he founded his hopes of success. They inconsiderately rejected his proposal, as the dream of a chimerical projector, and lost for ever the opportunity of restoring their commonwealth to its ancient splendour.

Having performed what was due to his country, Columbus was so little discouraged by the repulse which he had received, that, instead of relinquishing his undertaking, he pursued it with fresh vigour. He made his next overture to John II. king of Portugal, in whose dominions he had been long established, and whom he considered, on that account, as having the second claim to his service. Here every circumstance seemed to promise him a more favourable reception. He applied to a monarch of an enterprising genius, no incompetent judge in naval affairs, and proud of patronising every attempt to discover new countries. His subjects were the most experienced navigators in Europe, and the least apt to be intimidated either by the novelty or boldness of any maritime expedition. In Portugal, the professional skill of Columbus, as well as his personal good qualities, were thoroughly known; and as the former rendered it probable that his scheme was not altogether visionary, the latter exempted him from the suspicion of any sinister intention in proposing it. Accordingly, the king listened to him in the most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to Diego Ortiz, bishop of Ceuta, and two Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. As in Genoa, ignorance had opposed and rebuffed Columbus; in Lisbon, he had to combat with pre-judice an enemy no less formidable. The persons, according to whom his scheme was to be adopted or rejected, had been the favourites of the Portuguese navigations, and had advised to

search for a passage to India, by steering a course directly opposite to that which Columbus recommended as shorter and more certain. They could not, therefore, approve of his proposal, without submitting to the double mortification, of condemning their own theory, and of acknowledging his superior sagacity. After teasing him with captious questions, and starting innumerable objections, with a view of betraying him into such a particular explanation of his system, as might draw from him a full discovery of its nature, they deferred passing a final judgment with respect to it. In the mean time, they conspired to rob him of the honour and advantages which he expected from the success of his scheme, advising the king to dispatch a vessel, secretly, in order to attempt the proposed discovery, by following exactly the course which Columbus seemed to point out. John, forgetting on this occasion the sentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted this perfidious counsel. But the pilot, chosen to execute Columbus's plan, had neither the genius, nor the fortitude of its author. Contrary winds arose, no sight of approaching land appeared, his courage failed, and he returned to Lisbon, execrating the project as equally extravagant and dangerous.

Upon discovering this dishonourable transaction, Columbus felt the indignation natural to an ingenuous mind, and in the warmth of his resentment determined to break off all intercourse with a nation capable of such flagrant treachery. He instantly quitted the kingdom, and landed in Spain towards the close of the year one thousand four hundred and eighty-four. As he was now at liberty to court the protection of any patron, whom he could engage to approve of his plan, and to carry it into execution, he resolved to propose it in person to Ferdinand and Isabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. But as he had already experienced the uncertain issue of applications to kings and ministers, he took the precaution of sending into England his brother Bartholomew, to whom he had fully communicated his ideas, in order that he might negotiate, at the same time, with Henry VII. who was reputed one of the most sagacious as well as opulent princes in Europe.

It was not without reason that Columbus entertained doubts and fears with respect to the reception of his proposals in the Spanish court. Spain was, at that juncture, engaged in a dangerous war with Granada, the last of the Moorish kingdoms in that country. The wary and suspicious temper of Ferdinand was not formed to relish bold or uncommon designs. Isabella, though more generous and enterprising, was under the influence of her husband in all her actions. The Spaniards had hitherto made no efforts to extend navigation beyond its ancient limits. and had beheld the amazing

progress of discovery among their neighbours the Portuguese, without one attempt to imitate or to rival them. The war with the Infidels afforded an ample field to the national activity and love of glory. Under circumstances so unfavourable, it was impossible for Columbus to make rapid progress with a nation, naturally slow and dilatory in forming all its resolutions. His character, however, was admirably adapted to that of the people, whose confidence and protection he solicited. He was grave, though courteous in his deportment: circumspect in his words and actions; irreproachable in his morals; and exemplary in his attention to all the duties and functions of religion. By qualities so respectable, he not only gained many private friends, but acquired such general esteem, that, notwithstanding the plainness of his appearance, suitable to the mediocrity of his fortune, he was not considered as a mere adventurer, to whom indigence had suggested a visionary project, but was received as a person to whose propositions serious attention was due.

Ferdinand and Isabella, though fully occupied by their operations against the Moors, paid so much regard to Columbus, as to remit the consideration of his plan to the queen's confessor, Ferdinand de Talavera. He consulted such of his countrymen as were supposed best qualified to decide with respect to a subject of this kind. But true science had, hitherto, made so little progress in Spain, that the pretended philosophers, selected to judge in a matter of such moment, did not comprehend the first principles upon which Columbus founded his conjectures and hopes. Some of them, from mistaken notions concerning the dimensions of the globe, contended that a voyage to those remote parts of the east, which Columbus expected to discover, could not be performed in less than three years. Others concluded, that either he would find the ocean to be of infinite extent, according to the opinion of some ancient philosophers; or, if he should persist in steering towards the west beyond a certain point, that the convex figure of the globe would prevent his return, and that he must inevitably perish, in the vain attempt to open a communication between the two opposite hemispheres, which nature had for ever disjoined. Even without deigning to enter into any particular discussion, many rejected the scheme in general, upon the credit of a maxim, under which the ignorant and unenterprising shelter themselves in every age, "That it is presumptuous in any person, to suppose that he alone possesses knowledge superior to all the rest of mankind united." They maintained, that if there were really any such countries as Columbus pretended, they could not have remained so long concealed, nor would the wisdom and sagacity of former ages have left the glory of this invention to an obscure Genoese pilot.

It required all Columbus's patience and address to negotiate with men capable of advancing such strange propositions. He had to contend not only with the obstinacy of ignorance, but with what is still more intractable, the pride of false knowledge. After innumerable conferences, and wasting five years in fruitless endeavours to inform and to satisfy judges so little capable of deciding with propriety, Talavera, at last, made such an unfavourable report to Ferdinand and Isabella, as induced them to acquaint Columbus, that until the war with the Moors should be brought to a period, it would be imprudent to engage in any new and expensive enterprise.

Whatever care was taken to soften the harshness of this declaration, Columbus considered it as a final rejection of his proposals. But happily for mankind, the superiority of genius, which is capable of forming great and uncommon designs, is usually accompanied with an ardent enthusiasm, which can neither be cooled by delays, nor damped by disappointment. Columbus was of this sanguine temper. Though he felt deeply the cruel blow given to his hopes, and retired immediately from a court, where he had been amused so long with vain expectations, his confidence in the justness of his own system did not diminish, and his impatience to demonstrate the truth of it by an actual experiment became greater than ever. Having courted the protection of sovereign states without success, he applied, next, to persons of inferior rank, and addressed successively the dukes of Medina Sidonia, and Medina Celi, who, though subjects, were possessed of power and opulence more than equal to the enterprise which he projected. His negotiations with them proved as fruitless, as those in which he had been hitherto engaged; for these noblemen were either as little convinced by Columbus's arguments as their superiors, or they were afraid of alarming the jealousy, and offending the pride of Ferdinand, by countenancing a scheme which he had rejected.

Amid the painful sensations occasioned by such a succession of disappointments, Columbus had to sustain the additional distress, of having received no accounts from his brother, whom he had sent to the court of England. In his voyage to that country, Bartholomew had been so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of pirates, who having stripped him of every thing, detained him a prisoner for several years. At length, he made his escape, and arrived in London, but in such extreme indigence, that he was obliged to employ himself, during a considerable time, in drawing and selling maps, in order to pick up as much money as would purchase a decent dress, in which he might venture to appear at court. He then laid before the king the proposals, with which he had been entrusted by his brother, and notwithstanding Henry's excessive cru-

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tion and parsimony, which rendered him averse to new or expensive undertakings, he received Columbus's overtures, with more attention, than any monarch to whom they had hitherto been presented.

Meanwhile, Columbus being unacquainted with his brother's fate, and having now no prospect of encouragement in Spain, resolved to visit the court of England in person, in hopes of meeting with a more favourable reception there. He had already made preparations for this purpose, and taken measures for the disposal of his children during his absence, when Juan Perez, the guardian of the monastery of Rabida, near Palos, in which they had been educated, earnestly solicited him to defer his journey for a short time. Perez was a man of considerable learning, and of some credit with Queen Isabella, to whom he was known personally. He was warmly attached to Columbus, with whose abilities as well as integrity he had many opportunities of being acquainted. Prompted by curiosity or by friendship, he entered upon an accurate examination of his system, in conjunction with a physician settled in the neighbourhood, who was a considerable proficient in mathematical knowledge. This investigation satisfied them so thoroughly, with respect to the solidity of the principles on which Columbus founded his opinion, and the probability of success in executing the plan which he proposed, that Perez, in order to prevent his country from being deprived of the glory and benefit, which must accrue to the patrons of such a grand enterprise, ventured to write to Isabella, conjuring her to consider the matter anew, with the attention which it merited.

Moved by the representations of a person whom she respected, Isabella desired Perez to repair immediately to the village of Santa Fé, in which, on account of the siege of Granada, the court resided at that time, that she might confer with him upon this important subject. The first effect of their interview was a gracious invitation of Columbus back to court, accompanied with the present of a small sum to equip him for the journey. As there was now a certain prospect, that the war with the Moors would speedily be brought to an happy issue by the reduction of Granada, which would leave the nation at liberty to engage in new undertakings; this, as well as the mark of royal favour, with which Columbus had been lately honoured, encouraged his friends to appear with greater confidence than formerly in support of his scheme. The chief of these, Alonso de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances in Castile, and Luis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Arragon, whose meritorious zeal in promoting his design entitles their names to an honourable place in history, introduced Columbus to many persons of high rank, and did them warmly in his behalf.

But it was not an easy matter to inspire Ferdinand with favourable sentiments. He still regarded Columbus's project as extravagant and chimerical ; and in order to render the efforts of his partisans ineffectual, he had the address to employ in this new negotiation with him, some of the persons who had formerly pronounced his scheme to be impracticable. To their astonishment, Columbus appeared before them with the same confident hopes of success as formerly, and insisted upon the same high recompence. He proposed that a small fleet should be fitted out, under his command, to attempt the discovery, and demanded to be appointed hereditary admiral and viceroy of all the seas and lands which he should discover, and to have the tenth of the profits arising from them, settled irrevocably upon himself and his descendants. At the same time, he offered to advance the eighth part of the sum necessary for accomplishing his design, on condition that he should be entitled to a proportional share of benefit from the adventure. If the enterprise should totally miscarry, he made no stipulation for any reward or emolument whatever. Instead of viewing this conduct as the clearest evidence of his full persuasion with respect to the truth of his own system, or being struck with that magnanimity which, after so many delays and repulses, would stoop to nothing inferior to its original claims, the persons with whom Columbus treated, began meanly to calculate the expence of the expedition, and the value of the reward which he demanded. The expence, moderate as it was, they represented to be too great for Spain, in the present exhausted state of its finances. They contended, that the honours and emoluments claimed by Columbus, were exorbitant, even if he should perform the utmost of what he had promised ; and if all his sanguine hopes should prove illusive, such vast concessions to an adventurer would be deemed not only inconsiderate, but ridiculous. In this imposing garb of caution and prudence, their opinion appeared so plausible, and was so warmly supported by Ferdinand, that Isabella declined giving any countenance to Columbus, and abruptly broke off the negotiation with him which she had begun.

This was more mortifying to Columbus than all the disappointments which he had hitherto met with. The invitation to court from Isabella, like an unexpected ray of light had opened such prospects of success, as encouraged him to hope that his labours were at an end ; but now darkness and uncertainty returned, and his mind, firm as it was, could hardly support the shock of such an unforeseen reverse. He withdrew in deep anguish from court, with an intention of prosecuting his voyage to England, as his last resource.

About that time Granada surrendered, and Ferdinand and Isabella, in triumphal pomp, took possession of a city, the reduction of which extirpated a foreign power from the heart of their dominions, and rendered them masters of all the provinces, extending from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal. As the flow of spirits which accompanies success elevates the mind, and renders it enterprising, Quintanilla and Santangel, the vigilant and discerning patrons of Columbus, took advantage of this favourable situation, in order to make one effort more in behalf of their friend. They addressed themselves to Isabella, and, after expressing some surprise, that she who had always been the munificent patroness of generous undertakings, should hesitate so long to countenance the most splendid scheme that had ever been proposed to any monarch; they represented to her, that Columbus was a man of a sound understanding and virtuous character, well qualified, by his experience in navigation, as well as his knowledge of geometry, to form just ideas with respect to the structure of the globe and the situation of its various regions; that, by offering to risk his own life and fortune in the execution of his scheme, he gave the most satisfying evidence both of his integrity and hope of success; that the sum requisite for equipping such an armament as he demanded was inconsiderable, and the advantages which might accrue from his undertaking were immense; that he demanded no recompence for his invention and labour, but what was to arise from the countries which he should discover; that, as it was worthy of her magnanimity to make this noble attempt to extend the sphere of human knowledge, and to open an intercourse with regions hitherto unknown, so it would afford the highest satisfaction to her piety and zeal, after re-establishing the Christian faith in those provinces of Spain from which it had been long banished, to discover a new world, to which she might communicate the light and blessings of divine truth; that if now she did not decide instantly, the opportunity would be irretrievably lost: that Columbus was on his way to foreign countries, where some prince, more fortunate or adventurous, would close with his proposals, and Spain would for ever bewail the fatal timidity which had excluded her from the glory and advantages that she had once in her power to have enjoyed.

These forcible arguments, urged by persons of such authority, and at a juncture so well chosen, produced the desired effect. They dispelled all Isabella's doubts and fears; she ordered Columbus to be instantly recalled, declared her resolution of employing him on his own terms, and regretting the low state of her finances, generously offered to pledge her own jewels, in order to raise as much money as might be needed in making preparations for the

voyage. Santangel, in a transport of gratitude, kissed the Queen's hand, and in order to save her from having recourse to such a mortifying expedient for procuring money, engaged to advance immediately the sum that was requisite.

Columbus had proceeded some leagues on his journey, when the messenger from Isabella overtook him. Upon receiving an account of the unexpected revolution in his favour, he returned directly to Santo Fé, though some remainder of diffidence still mingled itself with his joy. But the cordial reception which he met with from Isabella, together with the near prospect of setting out upon that voyage which had so long been the object of his thoughts and wishes, soon effaced the remembrance of all that he had suffered in Spain, during eight tedious years of solicitation and suspense. The negotiation now went forward with facility and dispatch, and a treaty of capitulation with Columbus was signed on the seventeenth of April, one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. The chief articles of it were, 1. Ferdinand and Isabella, as sovereigns of the ocean, constituted Columbus their high admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents which should be discovered by his industry; and stipulated, that he and his heirs for ever should enjoy this office, with the same powers and prerogatives which belonged to the high admiral of Castile, within the limits of his jurisdiction. 2. They appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the islands and continents which he should discover; but if, for the better administration of affairs, it should hereafter be necessary to establish a separate governor in any of those countries, they authorised Columbus to name three persons, of whom they would chuse one for that office; and the dignity of viceroy, with all its immunities, was likewise to be hereditary in the family of Columbus. 3. They granted to Columbus and his heirs for ever the tenth of the free profits accruing from the productions and commerce of the countries which he shall discover. 4. They declared, that if any controversy or law-suit shall arise with respect to any mercantile transaction in the countries which should be discovered, it should be determined by the sole authority of Columbus, or of judges to be appointed by him. 5. They permitted Columbus to advance one-eighth part of what should be expended in preparing for the expedition, and in carrying on commerce with the countries which he should discover, and intitled him, in return, to an eighth part of the profit.

Though the name of Ferdinand appears conjoined with that of Isabella in this transaction, his distrust of Columbus was still so violent that he refused to take any part in the enterprise as King of Arragon. As the whole expence of the expedition was to be defrayed by the crown of Castile, Isabella reserved for her subject.

of that kingdom an exclusive right to all the benefits which might redound from its success.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Isabella, by her attention and activity in forwarding the preparations for the voyage, endeavoured to make some reparation to Columbus for the time which he had lost in fruitless solicitation. By the twelfth of May, all that depended upon her was adjusted; and Columbus waited on the king and queen, in order to receive their final instructions. Every thing respecting the destination and conduct of the voyage, they committed implicitly to the disposal of his prudence. But, that they might avoid giving any just cause of offence to the king of Portugal, they strictly enjoined him not to approach near to the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Guinea, or in any of the other countries to which the Portuguese claimed right as discoverers. Isabella had ordered the ships, of which Columbus was to take the command, to be fitted out in the Port of Palos, a small maritime town in the province of Andalusia. As the guardian Juan Perez, to whom Columbus had already been so much indebted, resided in the neighbourhood of this place, he, by the influence of that good ecclesiastic, as well as by his own connection with the inhabitants, not only raised among them what he wanted of the sum that he was bound by treaty to advance, but engaged several of them to accompany him in the voyage. The chief of these associates were three brothers of the name of Pinzon, of considerable wealth, and of great experience in naval affairs, who were willing to hazard their lives and fortunes in the expedition.

But, after all the efforts of Isabella and Columbus, the armament was not suitable, either to the dignity of the nation by which it was equiped, or to the importance of the service for which it was destined. It consisted of three vessels. The largest, a ship of no considerable burden, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral, who gave it the name of *Santa Maria*, out of respect for the Blessed Virgin, whom he honoured with singular devotion. Of the second, called the *Pinta*, Martin Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis pilot. The third, named the *Niña*, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon. These two were light vessels, hardly superior in burden or force to large boats. This squadron, if it merits that name, was victualled for twelve months, and had on board ninety men, mostly sailors, together with a few adventurers who followed the fortune of Columbus, and some gentlemen of Isabella's court, whom she appointed to accompany him. Though the expence of the undertaking was one of the circumstances which chiefly alarmed the court of Spain, and retarded so long the negotiation with Columbus, the sum employed in fitting out this squadron did not exceed four thousand pounds. C

As the art of ship-building in the fifteenth century was extremely rude, and the bulk of vessels was accommodated to the short and easy voyages along the coast which they were accustomed to perform, it is a proof of the courage as well as enterprising genius of Columbus, that he ventured, with a fleet so unfit for a distant navigation, to explore unknown seas, where he had no chart to guide him, no knowledge of the tides and currents, and no experience of the dangers to which he might be exposed. His eagerness to accomplish the great design which had so long engrossed his thoughts, made him overlook or disregard every circumstance that would have intimidated a mind less adventurous. He pushed forward the preparations with such ardour, and was seconded so effectually by the persons to whom Isabella committed the superintendence of this business, that every thing was soon in readiness for the voyage. But as Columbus was deeply impressed with sentiments of religion, he would not set out upon an expedition so arduous, and of which one great object was to extend the knowledge of the Christian faith, without imploring publicly the guidance and protection of Heaven. With this view, he, together with all the persons under his command, marched in solemn procession to the monastery of Rabida. After confessing their sins, and obtaining absolution, they received the holy sacrament from the hands of the guardian, who joined his prayers to theirs for the success of an enterprise which he had so zealously patronized.

Next morning, being Friday the third day of August, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, Columbus set sail, a little before sun-rise, in presence of a vast crowd of spectators, who sent up their supplications to Heaven for the prosperous issue of the voyage, which they wished, rather than expected. Columbus steered directly for the Canary Islands, and arrived there, August 13, 1492, without any occurrence that would have deserved notice on any other occasion. But, in a voyage of such expectation and importance, every circumstance was the object of attention. The rudder of the *Pinta* broke loose, the day after she left the harbour, and that accident alarmed the crew, no less superstitious than unskilful, as a certain omen of the unfortunate destiny of the expedition. Even in the short run to the Canaries, the ships were found to be so crazy and ill appointed, as to be very improper for a navigation which was expected to be both long and dangerous.

us refitted them, however, to the best of his power, and applied himself with fresh provisions he took his departure from there, one of the most westerly of the Canary Islands, on the day of September.

the voyage of discovery may properly be said to begin; for holding his course due west, left immediately the usual

track of navigation, and stretched into unfrequented and unknown seas. The first day, as it was very calm, he made but little way; but on the second, he lost sight of the Canaries; and many of the sailors, dejected already and dismayed, when they contemplated the boldness of the undertaking, began to beat their breasts, and to shed tears, as if they were never more to behold land. Columbus comforted them with assurances of success, and the prospect of vast wealth, in those opulent regions whither he was conducting them. This early discovery of the spirit of his followers taught Columbus, that he must prepare to struggle, not only with the unavoidable difficulties which might be expected from the nature of his undertaking, but with such as were likely to arise from the ignorance and timidity of the people under his command; and he perceived that the art of governing the minds of men would be no less requisite for accomplishing the discoveries which he had in view, than naval skill and undaunted courage. Happily for himself, and for the country by which he was employed, he joined to the ardent temper and inventive genius of a projector, virtues of another species, which are rarely united with them. He possessed a thorough knowledge of mankind, an insinuating address, a patient perseverance in executing any plan, the perfect government of his passions, and the talent of acquiring an ascendant over those of other men. All these qualities, which formed him for command, were accompanied with that superior knowledge of his profession, which begets confidence in times of difficulty and danger. To unskilful Spanish sailors, accustomed only to coasting voyages in the Mediterranean, the maritime science of Columbus, the fruit of thirty years experience, improved by an acquaintance with all the inventions of the Portuguese, appeared immense. As soon as they put to sea, he regulated every thing by his sole authority; he superintended the execution of every order; and allowing himself only a few hours for sleep, he was at all other times upon deck. As his course lay through seas which had not formerly been visited the sounding-line, or instruments for observation, were continually in his hands. After the example of the Portuguese discoverers, he attended to the motion of tides and currents, watched the flight of birds, the appearance of fishes, of sea-weeds and of every thing that floated on the waves, and entered every occurrence, with a minute exactness, in the journal which he kept. As the length of the voyage could not fail of alarming sailors habituated only to short excursions, Columbus endeavoured to conceal from them the real progress which they made. With this view, though they ran eighteen leagues on the second day after they left Gomera, he gave out that they had advanced only fifteen, and he uniformly employed the same artifice

of reckoning short during the whole voyage. By the fourteenth of September, the fleet was above two hundred leagues to the west of the Canary Isles, at a greater distance from land than any Spaniard had been before that time. There they were struck with an appearance no less astonishing than new. They observed that the magnetic needle, in their compasses did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied towards the west; and as they proceeded, this variation increased. This appearance, which is now familiar, though it still remains one of the mysteries of nature, into the cause of which the sagacity of man hath not been able to penetrate, filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now in a boundless unknown ocean, far from the usual course of navigation; nature itself seemed to be altered, and the only guide which they had left was about to fail them. Columbus, with no less quickness than ingenuity, invented a reason for this appearance, which, though it did not satisfy himself, seemed so plausible to them, that it dispelled their fears or silenced their murmurs.

He still continued to steer due west, nearly in the same latitude with the Canary Isles. In this course he came within the sphere of the trade wind, which blows invariably from east to west, between the tropics and a few degrees beyond them. He advanced before this steady gale with such uniform rapidity, that it was seldom necessary to shift a sail. When about four hundred leagues to the west of the Canaries, he found the sea so covered with weeds, that it resembled a meadow of vast extent; and in some places they were so thick, as to retard the motion of the vessels. This strange appearance occasioned new alarm and disquiet. The sailors imagined that they were now arrived at the utmost boundary of the navigable ocean; that these floating weeds would obstruct their farther progress, and concealed dangerous rocks, or some large tract of land, which had sunk, they knew not how, in that place. Columbus endeavoured to persuade them, that what had alarmed, ought rather to have encouraged them, and was to be considered as a sign of approaching land. At the same time a brisk gale arose, and carried them forward. Several birds were seen hovering about the ship*, and directed their flight towards the west. The desponding crew resumed some degree of spirit, and began to entertain fresh hopes.

* As the Portuguese, in making their discoveries, did not depart far from the coast of Africa, they concluded that birds, whose flight they observed with great attention, did not venture to any considerable distance from land. In the infancy of navigation, it was not known, that birds often stretch their flight to an immense distance from any shore. In sailing towards the West-Indian islands, birds are often seen at the distance of two hundred leagues from the nearest coast. Sloane's Nat. Hist. of Jamaica, vol. i. p. 37. Catesby saw an owl at sea, when the ship was six hundred leagues distant from land. Nat. Hist. of Carolina, p. 101.

Upon the first of October they were, according to the admiral's reckoning, seven hundred and seventy leagues to the west of the Canaries; but lest his men should be intimidated by the prodigious length of navigation, he gave out that they had proceeded only five hundred and eighty-four leagues; and, fortunately for Columbus, neither his own pilot, nor those of the other ships, had skill sufficient to correct this error, and discover the deceit. They had now been above three weeks at sea; they had proceeded far beyond what former navigators had attempted or deemed possible; all their prognostics of discovery, drawn from the flight of birds and other circumstances had proved fallacious; the appearances of land, with which their own credulity or the artifice of their commander had from time to time flattered and amused them, had been altogether illusive, and their prospect of success seemed now to be as distant as ever. Their reflections occurred often to men, who had no other object or occupation, than to reason and discourse concerning the intention and circumstances of their expedition. They made impression, at first, upon the ignorant and timid, and extending, by degrees, to such as were better informed or more resolute, the contagion spread at length from ship to ship. From secret whispers or murmurings, they proceeded to open cabals and public complaints. They taxed their sovereign with inconsiderate credulity, in paying such regard to the vain promises and rash conjectures of an indigent foreigner, as to hazard the lives of so many of her own subjects, in prosecuting a chimerical scheme. They affirmed that they had fully performed their duty, by venturing so far in an unknown and hopeless course, and could incur no blame, for refusing to follow, any longer, a desperate adventurer to certain destruction. They contended, that it was necessary to think of returning to Spain, while their crazy vessels were still in a condition to keep the sea, but expressed their fears that the attempt would prove vain, as the wind, which had hitherto been so favourable to their course, must render it impossible to sail in the opposite direction. All agreed that Columbus should be compelled by force to adopt a measure on which their common safety depended. Some of the more audacious proposed, as the most expeditious and certain method for getting rid at once of his remonstrances, to throw him into the sea, being persuaded that, upon their return

p. - Hist. Naturelle de M. Buffon, tom. xvi. p. 32. From which it appears, that this indication of land, on which Columbus seems to have relied with some confidence, was extremely uncertain. This observation is confirmed by Captain Cook, the most extensive and experienced navigator of any age or nation. "No one yet knows (says he) to what distance any of the oceanic birds go to sea; for my own part, I do not believe that there is one in the whole tribe that can be relied on in pointing out the vicinity of land." Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 275.

to Spain, the death of an unsuccessful projector would excite little concern, and be inquired into with no curiosity.

Columbus was fully sensible of his perilous situation. He had observed, with great anxiety, the fatal operation of ignorance, and of fear in producing disaffection among his crew, and saw that it was now ready to burst out into open mutiny. He retained, however, perfect presence of mind. He affected to seem ignorant of their machinations. Notwithstanding the agitation and solicitude of his own mind, he appeared with a cheerful countenance, like a man satisfied with the progress which he had made, and confident of success. Sometimes he employed all the arts of insinuation to soothe his men. Sometimes he endeavoured to work upon their ambition or avarice, by magnificent descriptions of the fame and wealth which they were about to acquire. On other occasions, he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened them with vengeance from their sovereign, if, by their cowardly behaviour, they should defeat this noble effort to promote the glory of God, and to exalt the Spanish name above that of every other nation. Even with seditious sailors, the words of a man whom they had been accustomed to reverence, were weighty and persuasive, and not only restrained them from those violent excesses, which they meditated, but prevailed with them to accompany their admiral for some time longer.

As they proceeded, the indications of approaching land seemed to be more certain, and excited hope in proportion. The birds began to appear in flocks, making towards the north-west. Columbus, in imitation of the Portuguese navigators, who had been guided, in several of their discoveries, by the motion of birds, altered his course from due west towards that quarter whither they pointed their flight. But, after holding on for several days in this new direction, without any better success than formerly, having seen no object, during thirty days, but the sea and the sky, the hopes of his companions subsided faster than they had risen; their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and despair, appeared in every countenance. All sense of subordination was lost; the officers, who had hitherto concurred with Columbus in opinion, and supported his authority, now took part with the private men; they assembled tumultuously on the deck, expostulated with their commander, mingled threats with their expostulations, and required him instantly to tack about and to return to Europe. Columbus perceived that it would be of no avail to have recourse to any of his former arts, which having been tried so often, had lost their effect; and that it was impossible to rekindle any zeal for the success of the expedition among men, in whose breasts fear had extinguished every generous sentiment. He saw that it was

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no less vain to think of employing either gentle or severe measures, to quell a mutiny so general and so violent. It was necessary, on all these accounts, to soothe passions which he could no longer command, and to give way to a torrent too impetuous to be checked. He promised solemnly to his men that he would comply with their request, provided they would accompany him, and obey his commands for three days longer, and if, during that time, land were not discovered, he would then abandon the enterprise, and direct his course towards Spain.

Fatigued as the sailors were, and impatient to turn their faces again towards their native country, this proposition did not appear to them unreasonable. Nor did Columbus hazard much in confining himself to a term so short. The prelages of discovering land were now so numerous and promising, that he deemed them infallible. For some days the sounding line reached the bottom, and the fish which it brought up indicated land to be at no great distance. The flocks of birds increased, and were composed not only of sea fowl, but of such land birds as could not be supposed to fly far from the shore. The crew of the Pinta observed a cane floating which seemed to have been newly cut, and likewise a piece of timber artificially carved. The sailors aboard the Nigna took up the branch of a tree with red berries, perfectly fresh. The clouds around the setting sun assumed a new appearance: the air was more mild and warm, and, during night, the wind became unequal and variable. From all these symptoms, Columbus was so confident of being near land, that on the evening of the eleventh of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered the sails to be furled, and the ships to lie to, keeping strict watch, lest they should be driven ashore in the night. During this interval of suspense and expectation, no man shut his eyes, all kept upon deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land, which had been so long the object of their wishes.

About two hours before midnight, Columbus standing on the main-castle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Gutierrez, a page of the Queen's wardrobe. Gutierrez perceived it, and calling to Salcedo, comptroller of the fleet, all three saw it in motion as if it were carried from place to place. A little after midnight, the joyful sound of *land, land*, was heard from the Pinta, which kept always ahead of the other ships. But, having been so often deceived by fallacious appearances, every man was become slow of belief, and waited, in all the anguish of uncertainty and impatience, for the return of day. As soon as morning came, Friday, October 12, all doubts and fears were dispelled. From every ship an island was seen about two leagues to the

north, whose flat and verdant fields, well stored with wood, and watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of a delightful country. The crew of the *Pinta* instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God, and were joined by those of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. This office of gratitude to Heaven was followed by an act of justice to their commander. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him so much unnecessary disquiet, and had so often obstructed the prosecution of his well-concerted plan: and passing, in the warmth of their admiration, from one extreme to another, they now pronounced the man, whom they had so lately reviled and threatened, to be a person inspired by Heaven with sagacity and fortitude more than human, in order to accomplish a design, so far beyond the ideas and conception of all former ages.

As soon as the sun arose, all their boats were manned and armed. They rowed towards the island with their colours displayed, with warlike music, and other martial pomp. As they approached the coast, they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn together, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the strange objects which presented themselves to their view. Columbus was the first European who set foot in the New World which he had discovered. He landed in a rich dress, and with a naked sword in his hand. His men followed and kneeling down, they all kissed the ground which they had so long desired to see. They next erected a crucifix, and prostrating themselves before it, returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to such an happy issue. They then took solemn possession of the country for the Crown of Castile and Leon, with all the formalities which the Portuguese were accustomed to observe in acts of this kind, in their new discoveries.

The Spaniards, while thus employed, were surrounded by many of the natives, who gazed, in silent admiration, upon actions which they could not comprehend, and of which they did not foresee the consequences. The dress of the Spaniards, the whiteness of their skins, their beards, their arms appeared strange and surprising. The vast machines in which they had traversed the ocean, that seemed to move upon the waters with wings, and uttered a dreadful sound resembling thunder, accompanied with lightning and smoke, struck them with such terror, that they began to respect their new guests as a superior order of beings, and concluded that they were children of the Sun, who had descended to visit the earth.

The Europeans were nearly less amazed at the scene now before them. Every herb, and shrub, and tree, was different from anything which had been seen in Europe. The soil seemed to be rich, but without marks of cultivation. The climate, even to Spaniards, was so thoroughly delightful. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. The black hair, long and uncared, floated upon their shoulders, or was drawn in tresses around their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their bodies was perfectly smooth. Their complexion was a dusky copper colour, their features angular, rather than regular but, their aspect gentle and mild. Though not tall, they were well shaped, and active. Their faces, and several parts of their body, were fantastically painted with glaring colours. They were shy at first through fear, but soon became familiar with the Spaniards, and with transports of joy received from them beads, bells, glass beads, or other trinkets, in return for which they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value that they could produce. Towards evening, Columbus returned to his ships, accompanied by many of the Indians in their boats, which they called *canoes*, and though formed out of the trunk of a single tree, they rowed them with surprising dexterity. Thus, in the first interview between the inhabitants of the old and new worlds, every thing was conducted amicably, and to their mutual satisfaction. The former, curious and ambitious, formed already vast ideas with respect to the advantages which they might derive from the regions that were now open to their view. The latter, simple and unassuming, had no foresight of the calamities and delusion which were approaching their country.

Columbus, who now assumed the title and authority of admiral and viceroy, called the island which he had discovered *San Salvador*. It is better known by the name of *Guanahani*, which the Indians gave to it, and is one of that large cluster of islands called the *Lucays* or *Bahama* isles. It is situated above three thousand miles to the west of Gomez, from which the fleet first took its departure, and only four leagues to the south. Columbus departed from the wretched country, and returned to Spain in the most proper manner.

Columbus employed the next day in exploring the coast of the island, and from the universal poverty of the natives he perceived that there was not the rich store of gold which he had been so conformably to his hopes expected to find. He was, however, so much enamoured of the island, which he named *San Salvador*, that he was one of the first to

ed as situated in the great ocean adjacent to India. Having observed that most of the people whom he had seen wore small plates of gold, by way of ornament, in their nostrils, he eagerly inquired where they got that precious metal. They pointed towards the south, and made him comprehend by signs, that gold abounded in countries situated in that quarter. Thither he immediately determined to direct his course, in full confidence of finding there those opulent regions which had been the object of his voyage, and would be a recompence for all his toils and dangers. He took along with him seven of the natives of San Salvador, that, by acquiring the Spanish language, they might serve as guides and interpreters; and those innocent people considered it as a mark of distinction when they were selected to accompany him.

He saw several islands, and touched at three of the largest, on which he bestowed the names of St. Mary of the Conception, Ferdinandina, and Isabella. But as their soil, productions, and inhabitants, nearly resembled those of San Salvador, he made no stay in any of them. He inquired every where for gold, and the signs that were uniformly made by way of answer, confirmed him in the opinion that it was brought from the south. He followed that course, and soon discovered a country which appeared very extensive, not perfectly level, like those which he had already visited, but so diversified with rising grounds, hills, rivers, woods and plains, that he was uncertain whether it might prove an island, or part of the continent. The natives of San Salvador, whom he had on board, called it *Cuba*; Columbus gave it the name of Juanna. He entered the mouth of a large river with his squadron, and all the inhabitants fled to the mountains as he approached the shore. But as he resolved to careen his ships in that place, he sent some Spaniards, together with one of the people of San Salvador, to view the interior parts of the country. They, having advanced above sixty miles from the shore, reported upon their return, that the soil was richer and more cultivated than any they had hitherto discovered; that, besides many scattered cottages, they had found one village, containing above a thousand inhabitants; that the people though naked, seemed to be more intelligent than those of San Salvador, but had treated them with the same respectful attention, kissing their feet, and honouring them as sacred beings allied to Heaven; that they had given them to eat a certain root, the taste of which resembled roasted chestnuts, and likewise a singular species of corn called *maize*, which, either when roasted whole or ground in meal, was abundantly palatable; that there seemed to be no four-footed animals in the country, but a species of dogs, which could not bark, and a creature resembling a rabbit, but of a much smaller size; that they had observed some ornaments of gold among the people, but of no great value.

The messengers had prevailed with some of the natives to accompany them, who informed Columbus, that the gold of which they made their ornaments was found in *Cokmacay*. By this name, they meant the middle or inland part of Cuba, but Columbus being ignorant of their language, as well as unaccustomed to their pronunciation, and his thoughts running continually upon his theory concerning the discovery of the East Indies, he was led, by the resemblance of sound, to suppose that they spoke of *Coetchim*, and imagined that the opulent kingdom of that country, described by Marco Polo, was not very remote. This induced him to employ some time in viewing the country. He sailed almost every harbour, from Porto del Principe, on the west coast of Cuba, to the eastern extremity of the island, but was struck with the beauty of the scenes, which every where presented themselves, and amazed at the luxuriant fertility of the soil, both which, from their novelty, made a more lively impression upon his imagination; he did not find gold in such quantities as was sufficient to satisfy either the avarice of his subjects, or the expectations of the court to which he was to return. The people of the country, as much astonished at his eagerness in gold, as the Europeans were at their ignorance and simplicity, pointed towards the east, where an island which they called *San Juan* was situated, in which that metal was more abundant than in any of them. Columbus ordered his squadron to bend its course thither, but Martin Alonso Pinzon, impatient to be the first who should take possession of the treasures which this country was supposed to contain, quitted his companions, regardless of the admiral's signals to slacken sail until they should come up with him.

Columbus, retarded by contrary winds, did not reach Mexico till the tenth of December. He called the port where he first landed *St. Nicholas*, and the island itself *Hispaniola*, in honour of

In a letter of the Admiral's to Ferdinand and Isabella, he describes one of the rivers of Cuba, with all the circumstances in it & discovers a great quantity of gold, which a galley might carry off in three or four days. He says that the river was five to eight fathoms deep. He also discovered a great quantity of pearls, every day found in the river. He says that the pearls were as big as the walrus's teeth.

the kingdom by which he was employed; and it is the only country, of these he had yet discovered, which has retained the name that he gave it. As he could neither meet with the *Pinta*, nor have any intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled in great consternation towards the woods, he soon quitted St. Nicholas, and sailing along the northern coast of the island, he entered another harbour, which he called the Conception. Here he was more fortunate; his people overtook a woman who was flying from them, and after treating her with great gentleness, dismissed her with a present of such toys as they knew were most valued in those regions. The description which she gave to her countrymen of the humanity and wonderful qualities of the strangers; their admiration of the trinkets, which she shewed with exultation; and their eagerness to participate of the same favours; removed all their fears, and induced many of them to repair to the harbour. The strange objects which they beheld, and the baubles which Columbus bestowed upon them, amply gratified their curiosity and their wishes. They nearly resembled the people of Guahani and Cuba. They were naked like them, ignorant, and simple; and seemed to be equally unacquainted with all the arts which appear most necessary in polished societies; but they were gentle, credulous and timid, to a degree which rendered it easy to acquire the ascendant over them, especially as their excessive admiration led them into the same error with the people of the other islands, in believing the Spaniards to be more than mortals, and descended immediately from Heaven. They possessed gold in greater abundance than their neighbours, which they readily exchanged for bells, beads, and pins; and in this unequal traffic both parties were highly pleased, each considering themselves as gainers by the transaction. Here Columbus was visited by a prince or *cacique* of the country. He appeared with all the pomp known among a simple people, being carried in a sort of palanquin upon the shoulders of four men, and attended by many of his subjects, who served him with great respect. His deportment was grave and stately, very reserved towards his own people, but with Columbus and the Spaniards extremely courteous. He gave the admiral some thin plates of gold, and a girdle of curious workmanship, receiving in return presents of small value, but highly acceptable to him.

Columbus, still intent on discovering the mines which yielded gold, continued to interrogate all the natives with whom he had any intercourse concerning their situation. They concurred in pointing out a mountainous country, which they called *Ciboa*, at some distance from the sea, and farther towards the east. Struck with this sound, which appeared to him the same

with *Cipango*, the name by which Marco Polo, and other travellers to the east, distinguished the islands of Japan, he no longer doubted with respect to the vicinity of the countries which he had discovered to the remote parts of Asia; and, in full expectation of reaching soon those regions which had been the object of his voyage, he directed his course towards the east. He put into a commodious harbour, which he called St. Thomas, and found that district to be under the government of a powerful cazique, named *Guacanahari*, who, as he afterwards learned, was one of the five sovereigns among whom the whole island was divided. He immediately sent messengers to Columbus, who, in his name, delivered to him the present of a mask, curiously fashioned, with the ears, nose, and mouth of beaten gold, and invited him to the place of his residence, near the harbour now called Cape Francois, some leagues towards the east. Columbus dispatched some of his officers to visit this prince, who, as he behaved himself with greater dignity, seemed to claim more attention. They returned, with such favourable accounts both of the country and of the people, as made Columbus impatient for that interview with *Guacanahari* to which he had been invited.

He sailed for this purpose from St. Thomas, on the twenty-fourth of December with a fair wind, and the sea perfectly calm; and as, amidst the multiplicity of his occupations, he had not shut his eyes for two days, he retired at midnight in order to take some repose, having committed the helm to the pilot, with strict injunctions not to quit it for a moment. The pilot, dreading no danger, carelessly left the helm to an unexperienced cabin boy, and the ship, carried away by a current, was dashed against a rock. The violence of the shock awakened Columbus. He ran up to the deck. There, all was confusion and despair. He alone retained presence of mind. He ordered some of the sailors to take a boat, and carry out an anchor astern; but, instead of obeying, they made off towards the *Nigua*, which was about half a league distant. He then commanded the masts to be cut down, in order to lighten the ship; but all his endeavours were too late; the vessel opened near the keel, and filled so fast with water that its loss was inevitable. The smoothness of the sea, and the timely assistance of boats from the *Nigua*, enabled the crew to save their lives. As soon as the islanders heard of this disaster, they crowded to the shore, with their prince *Guacanahari* at their head. Instead of taking advantage of the distress in which they beheld the Spaniards, to attempt any thing to their detriment, they lamented their misfortune with tears of sincere condolence. Not satisfied with this unfeigned expression of their sympath

they put to sea a number of canoes, and, under the direction of the Spaniards, assisted in saving whatever could be got out of the wreck; and by the united labour of so many hands, almost every thing of value was carried ashore. As fast as the goods were landed, Guacanahari in person took charge of them. By his orders they were all deposited in one place, and armed centinels were posted, who kept the multitude at a distance, in order to prevent them not only from embezzling, but from inspecting too curiously what belonged to their guests. Next morning this prince visited Columbus, who was now on board the *Nigna*, and endeavoured to console him for his loss, by offering all that he possessed to repair it*.

The condition of Columbus was such, that he stood in need of consolation. He had hitherto procured no intelligence of the *Pinta*, and no longer doubted but that his treacherous associate had set sail for Europe, in order to have the merit of carrying the first tidings of the extraordinary discoveries which had been made, and to pre-occupy so far the ear of their sovereign, as to rob him of the glory and reward to which he was justly entitled. There remained but one vessel, and that the smallest and most crazy of the squadron, to traverse such a vast ocean, and carry so many men back to Europe. Each of those circumstances was alarming, and filled the mind of Columbus with the utmost solicitude. The desire of overtaking Pinzon, and of effacing the unfavourable impressions which his misrepresentations might

* The account which Columbus gives of the humanity and orderly behaviour of the natives on this occasion is very striking. "The king says he, in a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, having been informed of our misfortune, expressed great grief for our loss, and immediately sent aboard all the people in the place in many large canoes; we soon unloaded the ship of every thing that was upon deck, as the king gave us great assistance: he himself, with his brothers and relations, took all possible care that every thing should be properly done both aboard and on shore. And, from time to time, he sent some of his relations weeping, to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all that he had. I can assure your highnesses, that so much care would not have been taken in securing our effects in any part of Spain, as all our property was put together in one place near his palace, until the houses which he wanted to prepare for the custody of it, were emptied. He immediately placed a guard of armed men, who watched during the whole night, and those on shore lamented as if they had been much interested in our loss. The people are so affectionate, so tractable, and so peaceable, that I swear to your highnesses, that there is not a better race of men, nor a better country in the world. They love their neighbour as themselves: their conversation is the sweetest and mildest in the world, cheerful, and always accompanied with a smile. And although it is true that they go naked, yet your highnesses may be assured that they have many very commendable customs: the king is served with great state, and his behaviour is so decent, that it is pleasant to see him, as it is likewise to observe the wonderful memory which these people have, and their desire of knowing every thing, which leads them to inquire into its causes and effects." *Life of Columbus*, c. 32. It is probable that the Spaniards were indebted for this officious attention, to the opinion which the Indians entertained of them as a superior order of beings.

make in Spain, made it necessary to return thither without delay. The difficulty of taking such a number of persons aboard the *Nigna*, confirmed him in an opinion, which the fertility of the country, and the gentle temper of the people, had already induced him to form. He resolved to leave a part of his crew in the island, that, by residing there, they might learn the language of the natives, study their disposition, examine the nature of the country, search for mines, prepare for the commodious settlement of the colony, with which he purposed to return, and thus secure and facilitate the acquisition of those advantages which he expected from his discoveries. When he mentioned this to his men, all approved of the design; and from impatience under the fatigue of a long voyage, from the levity natural to sailors, or from the hopes of amassing wealth in a country which afforded such promising specimens of its riches, many offered voluntarily to be among the number of those who should remain.

Nothing was now wanting towards the execution of this scheme, but to obtain the consent of Guacanahari; and his unsuspecting simplicity soon presented to the admiral a favourable opportunity of proposing it. Columbus having, in the best manner he could, by broken words and signs, expressed some curiosity to know the cause which had moved the islanders to fly with such precipitation upon the approach of his ships, the cacique informed him that the country was much infested by the incursions of certain people, whom he called *Carribeans*, who inhabited several islands to the south-east. These he described as a fierce and war-like race of men, who delighted in blood, and devoured the flesh of the prisoners who were so unhappy as to fall into their hands; and as the Spaniards, at their first appearance, were supposed to be Carribeans, whom the natives, however numerous, durst not face in battle, they had recourse to their usual method of securing their safety, by flying into the thickest and most impenetrable woods. Guacanahari, while speaking of those dreadful invaders, discovered such symptoms of terror, as well as such consciousness of the inability of his own people to resist them, as led Columbus to conclude that he would not be alarmed at the proposition of any scheme which afforded him the prospect of an additional security against their attacks. He instantly offered him the assistance of the Spaniards to repel his enemies; he engaged to take him and his people under the protection of the powerful monarch whom he served, and offered to leave in the island such a number of his men as should be sufficient, not only to defend the inhabitants from future incursions, but to avenge their past wrongs.

The credulous prince closed eagerly with the proposal, and thought himself already safe under the patronage of beings sprung from Heaven, and superior in power to mortal man. The ground was marked out for a small fort, which Columbus called *Navidad*, because he had landed there on Christmas day. A deep ditch was drawn around it. The ramparts were fortified with palisades, and the great guns, saved out of the admiral's ship, were planted upon them. In ten days the work was finished; that simple race of men labouring with inconsiderate assiduity in erecting this first monument of their own servitude. During this time Columbus, by his caresses and liberality, laboured to increase the high opinion which the natives entertained of the Spaniards. But while he endeavoured to inspire them with confidence in their disposition to do good, he wished likewise to give them some striking idea, of their power to punish and destroy such as were the objects of their indignation. With this view, in presence of a vast assembly, he drew up his men in order of battle, and made an ostentatious but innocent display of the sharpness of the Spanish swords, of the force of their spears, and the operation of their cross-bows. These rude people, strangers to the use of iron, and unacquainted with any hostile weapons, but arrows of reeds pointed with the bones of fishes, wooden swords, and javelins hardened in the fire, wondered and trembled. Before this surprise or fear had time to abate, he ordered the great guns to be fired. The sudden explosion struck them with such terror, that they fell flat to the ground, covering their faces with their hands: and when they beheld the astonishing effect of the bullets among the trees, towards which the cannon had been pointed, they concluded that it was impossible to resist men, who had the command of such destructive instruments, and who came armed with thunder and lightning against their enemies.

After giving such impressions both of the beneficence and power of the Spaniards, as might have rendered it easy to preserve an ascendant over the minds of the natives, Columbus appointed thirty-eight of his people to remain in the island. He entrusted the command of these to Diego de Arada, a gentleman of Cordova, investing him with the same powers which he himself had received from Ferdinand and Isabella: and furnished him with every thing requisite for the subsistence or defence of this infant colony. He strictly enjoined them to maintain concord among themselves, to yield an unreserved obedience to their commander, to avoid giving offence to the natives by any violence or exaction, to cultivate the friendship of Guacanahari, but not to put themselves in his power by straggling in small parties, or marching too far from the fort. He promised to revisit them soon, with such a reinforcement of

Strength as might enable them to take full possession of the country, and to reap all the fruits of their discoveries. In the mean time, he engaged to mention their names to the King and Queen and to place their merit and services in the most advantageous light.

Having thus taken every precaution for the security of the Colony, he left Navidad on the fourth of January, one thousand four hundred and ninety-three, and steering towards the east, discovered, and gave names to most of the harbours on the northern coast of the island. On the sixth, he descried the Pinta, and soon came up with her, after a separation of more than six weeks. Pinzon endeavoured to justify his conduct, by pretending that he had been driven from his course by stress of weather, and prevented from returning by contrary winds. The admiral, though he still suspected his perfidious intentions, and knew well what he urged in his own defence to be frivolous as well as false, was so sensible that it was not a proper time for venturing upon any high strain of authority, and felt such satisfaction in this junction with his consort, which delivered him from many disquieting apprehensions, that, like as Pinzon's apology was, he admitted of it without difficulty, and restored him to favour. During his absence from the admiral, Pinzon had visited several harbours in the island, and acquired some gold by trafficking with the natives, but had made no discovery of any importance.

From the condition of his ships, as well as the temper of his men, Columbus now found it necessary to hasten his return to Europe. The former, having suffered much during a voyage of such an unusual length, were extremely leaky. The latter expressed the utmost impatience to revisit their native country, from which they had been so long absent, and where they had things so wonderful and un-heard of to relate. Accordingly, on the sixteenth of January, he directed his course towards the north-east, and soon lost sight of land. He had on board some of the natives, whom he had taken from the different islands which he discovered; and besides the gold, which was the chief object of research, he had collected specimens of all the productions which were likely to become subjects of commerce in the several countries, as well as many unknown birds, and other natural curiosities, which might attract the attention of the learned, or excite the wonder of the people. The voyage was prosperous to the fourteenth of February, and he had advanced one hundred leagues across the Atlantic Ocean, when the wind rose, and continued to blow with increasing rage, terminated in a furious hurricane. Every expedient th

skill and experience of Columbus could devise was employed, in order to save the ships. But it was impossible to withstand the violence of the storm, and as they were still far from any land, destruction seemed inevitable. The sailors had recourse to prayers to Almighty God, to the invocation of saints, to vows and charms, to every thing that religion dictates, or superstition suggests, to the affrighted mind of man. No prospect of deliverance appearing, they abandoned themselves to despair, and expected every moment to be swallowed up in the waves. Besides the passions which naturally agitate and alarm the human mind in such awful situations, when certain death, in one of his most terrible forms, is before it, Columbus had to endure feelings of distress peculiar to himself. He dreaded that all knowledge of the amazing discoveries which he had made was now to perish; mankind were to be deprived of every benefit that might have been derived from the happy success of his schemes, and his own name would descend to posterity as that of a rash deluded adventurer, instead of being transmitted with the honor due to the author and conductor of the most noble enterprise that had ever been undertaken. These reflections extinguished all sense of his own personal danger. Less affected with the loss of life, than solicitous to preserve the memory of what he had attempted and achieved, he retired to his cabin, and wrote, upon parchment, a short account of the voyage which he had made, of the course which he had taken, of the situation and riches of the countries which he had discovered, and of the colony that he had left there. Having wrapt up this in an oiled cloth, which he inclosed in a cake of wax, he put it into a cask carefully stopped up, and threw it into the sea, in hopes that some fortunate accident might preserve a deposit of so much importance to the world.*

* Every monument of such a man as Columbus is valuable. A letter which he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, describing what passed on this occasion, exhibits a most striking picture of his intrepidity, his humanity, his prudence, his public spirit, and courtly address. "I would have been less concerned for this misfortune, had I alone been in danger, both because my life is a debt that I owe to the Supreme Creator, and because I have at other times been exposed to the most imminent hazard. But what gave me infinite grief and vexation was, that after it had pleased our Lord to give me faith to undertake this enterprize, in which I had now been so successful, that my opponents would have been convinced, and the glory of your highnesses, and the extent of your territory increased by me; it should please the Divine Majesty to stop all by my death. All this would have been more tolerable, had it not been attended with the loss of those men whom I had carried with me, upon promise of the greatest prosperity, who seeing themselves in such distress, curbed not only their coming along with me, but that fear and awe of me, which prevented them from returning as they had often resolved to have done. But besides all this, my sorrow was greatly increased, by recollecting that I had

At length Providence interposed, to save a life reserved for other services. The wind abated, the sea became calm, and on the evening of the fifteenth, Columbus and his companions discovered land; and though uncertain what it was, they made towards it. They soon knew it to be St. Mary, one of the Azores or western isles, subject to the crown of Portugal. There, after a violent contest with the governor, in which Columbus displayed no less spirit than prudence, he obtained a supply of fresh provisions, and whatever else he needed. One circumstance, however, greatly disquieted him. The Santa, of which he had lost sight on the first day of the hurricane, did not appear: he dreaded for some time that she had foundered at sea, and that all her crew had perished: afterwards, his former suspicions recurred, and he became apprehensive that Pinzon had borne away for Spain, that he might reach it before him, and, by giving the first account of his discoveries, might obtain some share of his fame.

In order to prevent this, he left the Azores on the twenty-fourth of February, as soon as the weather would permit. At no great distance from the coast of Spain, when near the end of his voyage, and seemingly beyond the reach of any disaster, another storm arose, little inferior to the former in violence; and after driving before it during two days and two nights, he was forced to take shelter in the river Tagus. Upon application

to my two sons at school at Cordova, destitute of friends, in a foreign country, when it could not in all probability be known that I had done such services as might induce your highnesses to remember them. And though I comforted myself with the faith that our Lord would not permit that, which tended so much to the glory of his church, and which I had brought about with so much trouble, to remain imperfect, yet I considered, that on account of my sins, it was his will to deprive me of that glory, which I might have attained in this world. While in this contrived state, I thought on the good fortune which accompanies your highnesses, and imagined, that although I should perish, and the vessel be lost, it was possible that you might somehow come to the knowledge of my voyage, and the success with which it was attended. For that reason I wrote upon parchment with the brevity which the situation required, that I had discovered the lands which I promised, in how many days I had done it, and what course I had followed. I mentioned the goodness of the country, the character of the inhabitants, and that your highnesses' subjects were left in possession of all that I had discovered. Having sealed this writing, I addressed it to your highnesses, and promised a thousand ducats to any person who should deliver it sealed, so that if any person found it, the promised reward might prevail on them not to give it to themselves, but to another. I then caused a great cask to be brought to me, and wrapping up the parchment in an oiled cloth, and afterwards in a cake of wax, I put it into the cask, and having stoped it well, I cast it into the sea. All the men believed that it was some act of devotion. Imagining that this might never be taken up, as the ships approached nearer to Spain, I made another parchment, and placed it at the top of the poop, so that if the ship sank, the cask might, by the water might be committed to the guidance of fortune."

to the King of Portugal, on the fourth of March, one thousand four hundred and ninety-three he was allowed to come up to Lisbon; and, notwithstanding the envy which it was natural for the Portuguese to feel, when they beheld another nation entering upon that province of discovery which they had hitherto deemed peculiarly their own, and in its first essay, not only rivalling but eclipsing their fame, Columbus was received with all the marks of distinction due to a man who had performed things so extraordinary and unexpected. The King admitted him into his presence, treated him with the highest respect, and listened to the account which he gave of his voyage with admiration mingled with regret. While Columbus, on his part, enjoyed the satisfaction of describing the importance of his discoveries, and of being now able to prove the solidity of his schemes to those very persons, who with an ignorance disgraceful to themselves, and fatal to their country, had lately rejected them as the projects of a visionary or designing adventurer.

Columbus was so impatient to return to Spain, that he remained only five days in Lisbon. On the fifteenth of March he arrived in the port of Palos, seven months and eleven days from the time when he set out thence upon his voyage. As soon as his ship was discovered approaching the port, all the inhabitants of Palos ran eagerly to the shore, in order to welcome their relations and fellow-citizens, and to hear tidings of their voyage. When the prosperous issue of it was known, when they beheld the strange people, the unknown animals, and singular productions brought from the countries which had been discovered, the effusion of joy was general and unbounded. The bells were rung, the cannon fired; Columbus was received at landing with royal honours, and all the people, in solemn procession, accompanied him and his crew to the church, where they returned thanks to Heaven, which had so wonderfully conducted and crowned with success, a voyage of greater length and of more importance, than had been attempted in any former age. On the evening of the same day, he had the satisfaction of seeing the *Pinta*, which the violence of the tempest had driven far to the north, enter the harbour.

The first care of Columbus was to inform the King and Queen, who were then at Barcelona, of his arrival and success. Ferdinand and Isabella, no less astonished than delighted with this unexpected event, desired Columbus, in terms the most respectful and flattering to repair immediately to court, that from his own mouth they might receive a full detail of his extraordinary services and discoveries. During his journey to Barcelona, the people crowded from the adjacent country, following him every

where with admiration and applause. His entrance into the city was conducted, by order of Ferdinand and Isabella, with pomp suitable to the great event, which added such distinguished lustre to their reign. The people whom he brought along with him from the countries which he had discovered, marched first, and by their singular complexion, the wild peculiarity of their features, and uncouth finery, appeared like men of another species. Next to them were carried the ornaments of gold, fashioned by the rude art of the natives, the grains of gold found in the mountains, and dust of the same metal gathered in the rivers. After these appeared the various commodities of the new discovered countries, together with their curious productions. Columbus himself closed the procession, and attracted the eyes of all the spectators, who gazed with admiration on the extraordinary men, whose superior sagacity and fortitude had conducted their countrymen, by a route concealed from past ages, to the knowledge of a new world. Ferdinand and Isabella received him clad in their royal robes, and seated upon a throne, under a magnificent canopy. When he approached they stood up, and raising him as he kneeled to kiss their hands, commanded him to take his seat upon a chair prepared for him, and to give a circumstantial account of his voyage. He delivered it with gravity and composure no less suitable to the disposition of the Spaniards, than to the dignity of the audience in which he spoke, and with that modest simplicity which characterises men of superior minds: who, satisfied with having performed great actions, court not vain applause by an ostentatious display of their exploits. When he had finished his narration, the King and Queen, kneeling down, offered up solemn thanks to Almighty God for the discovery of those new regions, from which they expected so many advantages to flow in upon the kingdoms subject to their government. Every mark of honour that gratitude or admiration could suggest was conferred upon Columbus. Letters patent were issued, confirming to him and to his heirs, all the privileges contained in the capitulation concluded at Santa Fé; his family was ennobled; the King and Queen, and, after their example, the courtiers, treated him, on every occasion, with all the ceremonious respect paid to persons of the highest rank. But what pleased him most, as it gratified his active mind, bent continually upon great objects, was, an order to equip, without delay, an armament of such force, as might enable him not only to take possession of the countries which he had already discovered, but to go in search of those more opulent regions, which he still confidently expected to find.

While preparations were making for this expedition, the fame of Columbus's successful voyage spread over Europe, and excited general attention. The multitude, struck with amazement when they heard that a new world had been found, could hardly believe an event so much above their conception. Men of science, capable of comprehending the nature, and of discerning the effects of this great discovery, received the account of it with admiration and joy. They spoke of his voyage with rapture, and congratulated one another upon their felicity, in having lived in the period when, by this extraordinary event, the boundaries of human knowledge were so much extended, and such a new field of inquiry and observation opened, as would lead mankind to a perfect acquaintance with the structure and productions of the habitable globe. Various opinions and conjectures were formed concerning the new-found countries, and what division of the earth they belonged to. Columbus adhered tenaciously to his original opinion, that they should be reckoned a part of those vast regions in Asia, comprehended under the general name of India. This sentiment was confirmed by the observations which he made concerning the productions of the countries he had discovered. Gold was known to abound in India, and he had met with such promising samples of it in the islands which he visited, as led him to believe that rich mines of it might be found. Cotton, another production of the East Indies, was common there. The pimento of the Islands he imagined to be a species of the East-India pepper. He mistook a root, somewhat resembling rhubarb, for that valuable drug, which was then supposed to be a plant peculiar to the East-Indies. The birds brought home by him were adorned with the same rich plumage which distinguishes those of India. The alligator of the ~~one~~ country appeared to be the same with the crocodile of the other. After weighing all these circumstances, not only the Spaniards, but the other nations of Europe, seem to have adopted the opinion of Columbus. The countries which he had discovered were considered as a part of India. In consequence of this notion, the name of Indies is given to them by Ferdinand and Isabella, in a ratification of their former agreement, which was granted to Columbus upon his return. Even after the error which gave rise to this opinion was detected, and the true position of the New World was ascertained, the name has remained, and the appellation of *West India* is given by all the people of Europe to the country, and that of *Indians* to its inhabitants.

The name by which Columbus distinguished the countries which he had discovered was so inviting, the specimens of their riches and fertility, which he produced, were so considerable, and the reports of his companions, delivered frequently with the exaggeration natural to travellers, so favourable, as to excite a wonderful spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards. Though little accustomed to naval expeditions, they were impatient to set out upon the voyage. Volunteers of every rank solicited to be employed. Allured by the inviting prospects which opened to their ambition and avarice, neither the length nor danger of the navigation intimidated them. Cautious as Ferdinand was, and averse to every thing new and adventurous, he seems to have caught the same spirit with his subjects. Under its influence, preparations for a second expedition were carried on with a rapidity unusual in Spain, and to an extent that would be deemed not inconsiderable in the present age. The fleet consisted of seventeen ships, some of which were of good burden. It had on board fifteen hundred persons, among whom were many of noble families, who had served in honorable stations. The greater part of these being destined to remain in the country, were furnished with every thing requisite for conquest or settlement, with all kinds of European domestic animals, with such seeds and plants as were most likely to thrive in the climate of the West Indies, with utensils and instruments of every sort, and with such artificers as might be most useful in an infant colony.

But, formidable and well provided as this fleet was, Ferdinand and Isabella did not rest their title to the possession of the newly-discovered countries upon its operations alone. The example of the Portuguese, as well as the superstition of the age, made it necessary to obtain from the Roman pontiff a grant of those territories which they wished to occupy. The Pope, as the vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth. Alexander VI. a pontiff infamous for every crime which disgraces humanity, filled the papal throne at that time. As he was born Ferdinand's subject, and very solicitous to secure the protection of Spain, in order to facilitate the execution of his ambitious schemes in favour of his own family, he was extremely willing to gratify the Spanish monarchs. By an act of liberality which cost him nothing, and that served to establish the jurisdiction and pretensions of the papal see, he granted in full right to Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries inhabited by Infidels, which they discovered, or should discover; and, in virtue of that which he derived from Jesus Christ, he conferred on of Castile vast regions, to the possession of which he

so far from having any title, that he was unacquainted with their situation, and ignorant even of their existence. As it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with that formerly made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line, supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, should serve as the limit between them; and in the plenitude of his power, bestowed all to the east of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the west of it upon the Spaniards. Zeal for propagating the Christian faith was the consideration employed by Ferdinand in soliciting this bull, and is mentioned by Alexander as his chief motive for issuing it. In order to manifest some concern for this laudable object, several friars, under the direction of Father Boyl, a Catalonian monk of great reputation, as apostolical vicar, were appointed to accompany Columbus, and to devote themselves to the instruction of the natives. The Indians whom Columbus had brought along with him, having received some tincture of Christian knowledge, were baptized with much solemnity, the king himself, the prince his son, and the chief persons of his court, standing as their godfathers. Those first fruits of the New World have not been followed by such an increase as pious men wished, and had reason to expect.

Ferdinand and Isabella, having thus acquired a title, which was then deemed completely valid, to extend their discoveries, and to establish their dominion over such a considerable portion of the globe, nothing now retarded the departure of the fleet. Columbus was extremely impatient to revisit the colony which he had left, and to pursue the career of glory upon which he had entered. He set sail from the bay of Cadiz on the twenty-fifth of September, and touching again at the island of Gomera, he steered farther towards the south than in his former voyage. By holding this course, he enjoyed more steadily the benefit of the regular winds, which reign within the tropics, and was carried towards a large cluster of islands, situated considerably to the east of those which he had already discovered. On the twenty-sixth day, Nov. 2, after his departure from Gomera, he made land. It was one of the Caribbee or Leeward islands, to which he gave the name of Descada, on account of the impatience of his crew to discover some part of the New World. After this he visited successively Dominica, Marigante, Antigua, San Juan de Puerto Rico, and several other islands, scattered in his way as he advanced towards the north-west. All these he found to be inhabited by that fierce race of people whom Guacanahari had painted in such frightful colours. His descriptions appeared not to have been exaggerated. The Spaniards never attempted

to land without meeting with such a reception, as discovered the martial and daring spirit of the natives; and in their habitations were found relics of those horrid feasts which they had made upon the bodies of their enemies taken in war.

But as Columbus was eager to know the state of the colony which he had planted, and to supply it with the necessaries of which he supposed it to be in want, he made no stay in any of those islands, and proceeded directly to Hispaniola. When he arrived off Navidad, the station in which he had left the thirty-eight men under the command of Arada, he was astonished that none of them appeared, and expected every moment to see them running with transports of joy to welcome their countrymen. Full of solicitude about their safety, and foreboding in his mind what had befallen them, he rowed instantly to land. All the natives from whom he might have received information had fled. But the fort which he had built was entirely demolished, and the tattered garments, the broken arms and utensils scattered about it, left no room to doubt concerning the unhappy fate of the garrison. While the Spaniards were shedding tears over those sad memorials of their fellow-citizens, a brother of the cazique Guacanahari arrived. From him Columbus received a particular detail of what had happened after his departure from the island. The familiar intercourse of the Indians with the Spaniards tended gradually to diminish the superstitious veneration with which their first appearance had inspired that simple people. By their own indolence and ill conduct, the Spaniards speedily effaced those favourable impressions, and soon convinced the natives, that they had all the wants, and weaknesses, and passions of men. As soon as the powerful restraint which the presence and authority of Columbus imposed was withdrawn, the garrison threw off all regard for the officer whom he had invested with command. Regardless of the prudent instructions which he had given them, every man became independent, and gratified his desires without controul. The gold, the women, the provisions of the natives, were all the prey of those licentious oppressors. They roamed in small parties over the island, extending their rapacity and insolence to every corner of it. Gentle and timid as the people were, those unprovoked injuries at length exhausted their patience, and roused their courage. The cazique of Cibao, whose country the Spaniards chiefly infested on account of the gold which it contained, surprised and cut off several of them, while they straggled in as perfect security as if their conduct had been altogether inoffensive. He then assembled his subjects, and surrounded the fort, set it on

fire. Some of the Spaniards were killed in defending it, the rest perished in attempting to make their escape by crossing an arm of the sea. Guacanahari, whom all their exactions had not alienated from the Spaniards, took arms in their behalf, and, in endeavouring to protect them, had received a wound, by which he was still confined.

Though this account was far from removing the suspicions which the Spaniards entertained with respect to the fidelity of Guacanahari, Columbus perceived so clearly that this was not a proper juncture for inquiring into his conduct with scrupulous accuracy, that he rejected the advice of several of his officers, who urged him to seize the person of that prince, and to revenge the death of their countrymen by attacking his subjects. He represented to them the necessity of securing the friendship of some potentate of the country, in order to facilitate the settlement which they intended, and the danger of driving the natives to unite in some desperate attempt against them, by such an ill-timed and unavailing exercise of rigour. Instead of wasting his time in punishing past wrongs, he took precaution for preventing any future injury. With this view, he made choice of a situation more healthy and commodious than that of Navidad. He traced out the plan of a town in a large plain near a spacious bay, and obliging every person to put his hand to a work on which their common safety depended, the houses and ramparts were soon so far advanced by their united labour, as to afford them shelter and security. This rising city, the first that the Europeans founded in the New World, he named *Isabella*, in honour of his patroness the Queen of Castile.

In carrying on this necessary work, Columbus had not only to sustain all the hardships, and to encounter all the difficulties, to which infant colonies are exposed when they settle in an uncultivated country, but he had to contend with what was more insuperable, the laziness, the impatience, and mutinous disposition of his followers. By the enervating influence of a hot climate, the natural inactivity of the Spaniards seemed to increase. Many of them were gentlemen, unaccustomed to the fatigue of bodily labour, and all had engaged in the enterprise with the sanguine hopes excited by the splendid and exaggerated descriptions of their countrymen who returned from the first voyage, or by the mistaken opinion of Columbus, that the country which he had discovered was either the Cipango of Marco Polo, or the Ophir, from which Solomon imported those precious commodities which suddenly distilled such extraordinary riches through his kingdom. But when, instead of that golden harvest which they had expected to reap without toil or pains, the Spaniards

for their prospect of wealth was remote as well as uncertain, and that it could not be attained but by the slow and persevering efforts of industry, the disappointment of those chimerical hopes occasioned such dejection of mind as bordered on despair, and led to general discontent. In vain did Columbus endeavour to revive their spirits by pointing out the fertility of the soil, and exhibiting the specimens of gold daily brought in from different parts of the island. They had not patience to wait for the gradual returns which the former might yield, and the latter they despised as scanty and inconsiderable. The spirit of dissatisfaction spread, and a conspiracy was formed, which might have been fatal to Columbus and the colony. Happily he discovered it, and seizing the ring-leaders, punished some of them, sent others prisoners into Spain whither he dispatched twelve of the ships which had served as transports, with an earnest request for a reinforcement of men and a large supply of provisions.

Meanwhile, in order to banish that idleness which, by allowing his people leisure to brood over their disappointment, nourished the spirit of discontent, Columbus planned several expeditions into the interior part of the country. He sent a detachment, under the command of Alonso de Ojeda, a vigilant and enterprising officer, to visit the district of Cibao, which was said to yield the greatest quantity of gold, and followed him in person with the main body of his troops. In this expedition, March 12. 1494. he displayed all the pomp of military magnificence that he could exhibit, in order to strike the imagination of the natives. He marched with colours flying, with martial music, and with a small body of cavalry that paraded sometimes in the front and sometimes in the rear. As these were the first horses which appeared in the New World, they were objects of terror no less than of admiration to the Indians, who having no tame animals themselves, were unacquainted with that vast accession of power, which man hath acquired by subjecting them to his dominion. They supposed them to be rational creatures. They imagined that the horse and rider formed one animal, with whose speed they were astonished, and whose impetuosity and strength they considered as irresistible. But while Columbus endeavoured to inspire the natives with a dread of his power, he did not neglect the arts of gaining their love and confidence. He adhered scrupulously to the principles of integrity and justice in all his transactions with them, and treated them, on every occasion, not only with humanity, but with indulgence. The district of Cibao answered the description given of it by the natives. It was mountainous and

uncultivated, but in every river, and brook, gold was gathered either in dust or in grains, some of which were of considerable size. The Indians had never opened any mines in learch of gold. To penetrate into the bowels of the earth, and to refine the rude ore, were operations too complicated and laborious for their talents and industry, and they had no such high value for gold as to put their ingenuity and invention upon the stretch in order to obtain it. The small quantity of that precious metal which they possessed, was either picked up in the beds of the rivers, or washed from the mountains by the heavy rains that fall within the tropics. But, from those indications, the Spaniards could no longer doubt that the country contained rich treasures in its bowels, of which they hoped soon to be masters. In order to secure the command of this valuable province, Columbus erected a small fort, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, by way of ridicule upon some of his incredulous followers, who would not believe that the country produced gold, until they saw it with their own eyes, and touched it with their hands.

The account of those promising appearances of wealth in the country of Cibao, came very seasonably to comfort the desponding colony, which was effected with distresses of various kinds. The stock of provisions which had been brought from Europe was mostly consumed; what remained was so much corrupted by the heat and moisture of the climate, as to be almost unfit for use; the natives cultivated so small a portion of ground, and with so little skill, that it hardly yielded what was sufficient for their own subsistence: the Spaniards at Isabella had hitherto neither time nor leisure to clear the soil, so as to reap any considerable fruits of their own industry. On all these accounts, they became afraid of perishing with hunger, and were reduced already to a scanty allowance. At the same time the diseases predominant in the torrid zone, and which rage chiefly in those uncultivated countries, where the hand of industry has not opened the woods, drained the marshes, and confined the rivers within a certain channel, began to spread among them. Alarmed at the violence and unusual symptoms of those maladies, they exclaimed against Columbus and his companions in the former voyage, who by their splendid but deceitful descriptions of Hispaniola, had allured them to quit Spain for a barbarous uncultivated land, where they must either be cut off by famine, or die of unknown distempers. Several of the officers and persons of note, instead of checking, joined in those seditious complaints. Father Boyl, the apostolical vicar, was one of the most turbulent and outrageous. It required all the authority

and address of Columbus to re-establish subordination and tranquility in the colony. Threats and promises were alternately employed for this purpose; but nothing contributed more to soothe the malcontents than the prospect of finding, in the mines of Cibao, such a rich store of treasure as would be a recompence for all their sufferings, and efface the memory of former disappointments.

When, by his unwearied endeavours, concord and order were so far restored, that he could venture to leave the island, Columbus resolved to pursue his discoveries, that he might be able to ascertain whether those new countries with which he had opened a communication were connected with any region of the earth already known, or whether they were to be considered as a separate portion of the globe hitherto unvisited. He appointed his brother Don Diego, with the assistance of a council of officers, to govern the island in his absence; and gave the command of a body of soldiers to Don Pedro Margarita, with which he was to visit the different parts of the island, and endeavour to establish the authority of the Spaniards among the inhabitants. Having left them very particular instructions with respect to their conduct, he weighed anchor on the twenty-fourth of April, with one ship and two small barks under his command. During a tedious voyage of full five months, he had a trial of almost all the numerous hardships to which persons of his profession are exposed, without making any discovery of importance, except the island of Jamaica. As he ranged along the southern coast of Cuba, he was entangled in a labyrinth formed by an incredible number of small islands, to which he gave the name of the Queen's Garden. In this unknown course, among rocks and shelves, he was retarded by contrary winds, assaulted with furious storms, and alarmed with the terrible thunder and lightning which is often almost incessant between the tropics. At length his provisions fell short; his crew, exhausted with fatigue, as well as hunger, murmured and threatened, and were ready to proceed to the most desperate extremities against him. Belet with danger in such various forms, he was obliged to keep continual watch, to observe every occurrence with his own eyes, to give every order, and to superintend the execution of it. On no occasion, was the extent of his skill and experience as a navigator so much tried. To these the squadron owed its safety.

this unremitting fatigue of body, and intense application of , overpowering his constitution, though naturally vigorous and robust, brought on a feverish disorder, which terminated in death, that deprived him of sense and memory and had almost fatal to his life.

But, on his return, Sept. 27th, to Hispaniola, the sudden emotion of joy which he felt upon meeting with his brother Bartholomew at Isabella, occasioned such a flow of spirits as contributed greatly to his recovery. It was now thirteen years since the two brothers, whom similarity of talents united in close friendship, had separated from each other, and during that long period there had been no intercourse between them. Bartholomew, after finishing his negociation at the court of England, had set out for Spain by the way of France. At Paris he received an account of the extraordinary discoveries which his brother had made in his first voyage, and that he was then preparing to embark on a second expedition. Though this naturally induced him to pursue his journey with the utmost dispatch, the admiral had sailed for Hispaniola before he reached Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella received him with the respect due to the nearest kinsman of a person whose merit and services rendered him so conspicuous; and as they knew what consolation his presence would afford to his brother, they persuaded him to take the command of three ships, which they had appointed to carry provisions to the colony of Isabella.

He could not have arrived at any juncture when Columbus stood more in need of a friend capable of assisting him with his counsels, or of dividing with him the cares and burden of government. For although the provisions now brought from Europe, afforded a temporary relief to the Spaniards from the calamities of famine, the supply was not in such quantity as to support them long, and the island did not hitherto yield what was sufficient for their sustenance. They were threatened with another danger, still more formidable than the return of scarcity, and which demanded more immediate attention. No sooner did Columbus leave the island on his voyage of discovery, than the soldiers under Margarita, as if they had been set free from discipline and subordination, scorned all restraint. Instead of conforming to the prudent instructions of Columbus, they dispersed in straggling parties over the island, lived at discretion upon the natives, wasted their provisions, seized their women, and treated that inoffensive race with all the insolence of military oppression.

As long as the Indians had any prospect that their sufferings might come to a period by the voluntary departure of the invaders, they submitted in silence, and dissembled their sorrow; but they now perceived that the yoke would be as permanent as it was intolerable. The Spaniards had built a town, and surrounded it with ramparts. They had erected forts in different places. They had enclosed and sown several fields. It was apparent that they came not to visit the country but to settle in it. Though the number of these strangers was inconsiderable, the state of cultiva-

tion among this rude people was so imperfect, and in such exact proportion to their own consumption, that it was with difficulty they could afford subsistence to their new guests. Their own mode of life was so indolent and inactive, the warmth of the climate so enervating, the constitution of their bodies naturally so feeble, and so unaccustomed to the laborious exertions of industry, that they were satisfied with a proportion of food amazingly small. A handful of maize, or a little of the insipid bread made of a cassia-root, was sufficient to support men, whose strength and spirits were not exhausted by any vigorous efforts either of body or mind. The Spaniards, though the most abstemious of all the European nations, appeared to them excessively voracious. One Spaniard consumed as much as several Indians. This keenness of appetite surprized them so much, and seemed to them to be so insatiable, that they supposed the Spaniards had left their own country, because it did not produce as much as was requisite to gratify their unmoderate desire of food, and had come among them in quest of nourishment. Self-preservation prompted them to wish for the departure of guests who wasted so fast their slender stock of provisions. The injuries which they suffered, added to their impatience for this event. They had long expected that the Spaniards would retire of their own accord. They now perceived that, in order to avert the destruction with which they were threatened, either by the slow consumption of famine, or by the violence of their oppressors, it was necessary to assume courage, to attack those formidable invaders with united force, and drive them from the settlements of which they had violently taken possession.

Such were the sentiments which universally prevailed among the Indians, when Columbus returned to Isabella. Inflamed by the unprovoked outrages of the Spaniards, with a degree of rage of which their gentle natures, formed to suffer and labour, seemed highly susceptible, they waited only for a signal from their leaders to fall upon the colony. Some of the caciques had already surprised and cut off several stragglers. The dread of this impending danger united the Spaniards, and re-established the authority of Columbus, as they saw no prospect of safety but in committing themselves to his prudent guidance. It was now necessary to have recourse to arms, the employing of which against the Indians, Columbus had hitherto avoided with the greatest solicitude. Unequal as the condition lay between the naked inhabitants of the New World, armed with clubs, sticks hardened in the fire, wooden swords, and arrows pointed with bones or flints; and troops accustomed to the discipline and provided with the instruments of destruction known to the European art of war, the situation of the Sp

far from being exempt from danger. The vast superiority of the natives in number, compensated many defects. An handful of men was about to encounter a whole nation. One adverse event, or even any adverse delay in determining the fate of the war, might prove fatal to the Spaniards. Conscious that success depended on the vigour and rapidity of his operations, Columbus instantly assembled his forces. They were reduced to a very small number. Diseases, engendered by the warmth and humidity of the country, or occasioned by their own licentiousness, had raged among them with much violence; experience had not yet taught them the art either of curing these, or the precautions requisite for guarding them; two-thirds of the original adventurers were dead, and many of those who survived were incapable of service. The body which took the field on March 24, 1495, consisted only of two hundred foot, twenty horse, and twenty large dogs; and how strange soever it may seem to mention the last as composing part of a military force, they were not perhaps the least formidable and destructive of the whole, when employed against naked and timid Indians. All the caziques of the island, Guacanahari excepted, who retained an inviolable attachment to the Spaniards, were in arms to oppose Columbus, with forces amounting, if we may believe the Spanish historians, to an hundred thousand men. Instead of attempting to draw the Spaniards into the fastnesses of the woods and mountains, they were so imprudent as to take their station in Vega Real, the most open plain in the country. Columbus did not allow them time to perceive their error, or to alter their position. He attacked them during the night, when undisciplined troops are least capable of acting with union and concert, and obtained an easy and bloodless victory. The consternation with which the Indians were filled by the noise and havoc made by the fire-arms, by the impetuous force of the cavalry, and the first onset of the dogs, was so great, that they threw down their weapons, and fled without attempting resistance. Many were slain; more were taken prisoners, and reduced to servitude; and so thoroughly were the rest intimidated, that from that moment they abandoned themselves to despair, relinquishing all thoughts of contending with aggressors whom they deemed invincible.

Columbus employed several months in marching through the island, and in subjecting it to the Spanish government, without meeting with any opposition. He imposed a tribute upon all the inhabitants above the age of fourteen. Each person who lived in those districts where gold was found, was obliged to pay quarterly as much gold dust as filled a hawk's bell; from those in

other parts of the country, twenty-five pounds of cotton were demanded. This was the first regular taxation of the Indians, and served as a precedent for exactions still more intolerable. Such an imposition was extremely contrary to those maxims which Columbus had hitherto inculcated with respect to the mode of treating them. But intrigues were carrying on in the court of Spain at this juncture, in order to undermine his power and discredit his operations, which constrained him to depart from his own system of administration. Several unfavourable accounts of his conduct, as well as of the countries discovered by him, had been transmitted to Spain. Margarita and Father Boyl were now at court; and in order to justify their own conduct, or to gratify their resentment, watched with malevolent attention for every opportunity of spreading insinuations to his detriment. Many of the courtiers viewed his growing reputation and power with envious eyes. Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville, who was intrusted with the chief direction of Indian affairs, had conceived from an unfavourable opinion of Columbus, for some reason which the contemporary writers have not mentioned, that he listened with partiality to every invective against him. It was not easy for an unfriended stranger, unpractised in courtly arts, to counteract the machinations of so many enemies. Columbus saw that there was but one method of supporting his own credit, and of silencing all his adversaries. He must produce such a quantity of gold as would not only justify what he had reported with respect to the richness of the country, but encourage Ferdinand and Isabella to persevere in prosecuting his plans. The necessity of obtaining it, forced him not only to impose this heavy tax upon the Indians, but to exact payment of it with extreme rigour; and may be pleaded in excuse for his deviating on this occasion from the mildness and humanity with which he uniformly treated that unhappy people.

The labour, attention, and foresight which the Indians were obliged to employ in procuring the tribute demanded of them, appeared the most intolerable of all evils, to men accustomed to pass their days in a careless, improvident indolence. They were incapable of such a regular and persevering exertion of industry, and felt it such a grievous restraint upon their liberty, that they had recourse to an expedient for obtaining deliverance from this yoke, which demonstrates the excess of their impatience and despair. They formed a scheme of slaying those oppressors whom they durst not attempt to expel; and from the opinion which they entertained with respect to the voracious appetite of the Spaniards, they concluded the execution of it to be very p

With this view they suspended all the operations of agriculture ; they sowed no maize, they pulled up the roots of the manioc or cassada which were planted, and retiring to the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, left the uncultivated plains to their enemies. This desperate resolution produced in some degree the effects which they expected. The Spaniards were reduced to extreme want ; but they received such tolerable supplies of provisions from Europe, and found so many resources in their own ingenuity and industry, that they suffered no great loss of men. The wretched Indians were the victims of their own ill-concerted policy. A great multitude of people, shut up in the mountainous part of the country, without any food but the spontaneous productions of the earth, soon felt the utmost distresses of famine. This brought on contagious diseases ; and, in the course of a few months, more than a third part of the inhabitants of the island perished, after experiencing misery in all its various forms.

But while Columbus was establishing the foundations of the Spanish grandeur in the New World, his enemies laboured with unwearyed assiduity to deprive him of the glory and rewards, which by his services and sufferings he was intitled to enjoy. The hardships unavoidable in a new settlement, the calamities occasioned by an unhealthy climate, the disasters attending a voyage in unknown seas, were all represented as the effects of his selfish and inconsiderate ambition. His prudent attention to preserve discipline and subordination was denominated excess of rigour ; the punishments which he inflicted upon the mutinous and disorderly were imputed to cruelty. These accusations gained much credit in a jealous court, that a commissioner was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, and to inspect into the conduct of Columbus. By the recommendation of his enemies, Aguado, a groom of the bed-chamber, was the person to whom this important trust was committed. But in this choice they seem to have been more influenced by the obsequious attachment of the man to their interest, than by his capacity for the station. Puffed up with such sudden elevation, Aguado displayed in the exercise of this office, all the frivolous self-importance, and acted with all the disgusting insolence, which are natural to little minds, when raised to unexpected dignity, or employed in functions to which they are not equal. By listening with eagerness to every accusation against Columbus, and encouraging not only the discontent Spaniards, but even the Indians, to produce their grievances, real or imaginary, he fomented the spirit of dissention in the island, without establishing any regulation of public utility, or that tended to redress the many wrongs, with the odium of which he wished to load the admiral's administration. As Columbus felt sensibly how humiliating his situation must be, if he should

remain in that country while such a partial inspector observed his motions, and controuled his jurisdiction, he took the resolution of returning to Spain, in order to lay a full account of all his transactions, particularly with respect to the points in dispute between him and his adversaries, before Ferdinand and Isabella, from whose justice and discernment he expected an equal and a favourable decision. He committed the administration of affairs, during his absence, in one thousand four hundred and ninety-six, to Don Bartholomew his brother, with the title of Adelantado, or Lieutenant Governor. By a choice less fortunate, and which proved the source of many calamities to the colony, he appointed Francis Roldan chief justice, with very extensive powers.

In returning to Europe, Columbus held a course different from that which he had taken in his former voyage. He steered almost due east from Hispaniola, in the parallel of twenty-two degrees of latitude; as experience had not yet discovered the more certain and expeditious method of stretching to the north, in order to fall in with the south-west winds. By this ill-advised choice, which, in the infancy of navigation between the New and the Old Worlds, can hardly be imputed to the admiral as a defect in naval skill, he was exposed to infinite fatigue and danger, in a perpetual struggle with the trade-winds, which blow, without variation from the east between the tropics. Notwithstanding the almost insuperable difficulties of such a navigation, he persisted in his course with his usual patience and firmness, but made so little way, that he was three months without seeing land. At length his provisions began to fail, the crew was reduced to the scanty allowance of six ounces of bread a-day for each person. The admiral fared no better than the meanest sailor. But even in this extreme distress, he retained the humanity which distinguishes his character, and refused to comply with the earnest solicitations of his crew, some of whom proposed to feed upon the Indian prisoners whom they were carrying over, and others insisted to throw them over-board, in order to lessen the consumption of their small stock. He represented that they were human beings, reduced by a common calamity to the same condition with themselves, and intitled to share an equal fate. His authority and remonstrances dissipated those wild ideas suggested by despair. Nor had they time to recur, as they came soon within sight of the coast of Spain, when all their fears and sufferings ended.

Columbus appeared at court with the modest but determined confidence of a man conscious not only of integrity, but of having performed great services. Ferdinand and Isabella, ashamed of their own facility in lending too favourable an ear to frivolous or

too strong for them to oppose. Their enmity, however, was too inveterate to remain long inactive. They resumed their operations, and by the assistance of Fonteca, the minister for Indian affairs, who was now promoted to the bishopric of Bajados, they threw in so many obstacles to protract the preparations for Columbus's expedition, that a year elapsed before he could procure two ships to carry over a part of the supplies destined for the colony, and almost two years were spent before the small squadron was equipped of which he himself was to take the command.

This squadron consisted of six ships only, of no great burden, and but indifferently provided for a long or dangerous navigation. This voyage which he now meditated was in a course different from any he had undertaken. As he was fully persuaded that the fertile regions of India lay to the south-west of those countries which he had discovered, he proposed, as the most certain method of finding out these, to stand directly south from the Canary or Cape de Verd islands, until he came under the equinoctial line, and then to stretch to the west before the favourable wind for such a course, which blows invariably between the tropics. With this idea he set sail, on May the thirtieth, one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight, and touched first at the Canary, and then at the Cape de Verd islands, on July the fourth. From the former he dispatched three of his ships with a supply of provisions for the colony in Hispaniola: with the other three, he continued his voyage towards the south. No remarkable occurrence happened till July the nineteenth, when they arrived within five degrees of the line. There they were becalmed, and at the same time the heat became so excessive, that many of their wine casks burst, the liquor in others soured, and their provisions corrupted. The Spaniards, who had never ventured so far to the south, were afraid that the ships would take fire, and began to apprehend the reality of what the ancients had taught concerning the destructive qualities of that torrid region of the globe. They were relieved, in some measure, from their fears by a seasonable fall of rain. This, however, though so heavy and unintermitting that the men could hardly keep the deck, did not greatly mitigate the intensity of the heat. The admiral, who with his usual vigilance had personally directed every operation, from the beginning of the voyage, was now so much exhausted by fatigue and want of sleep, that he was no longer able to perform his usual duties. He was seized with a violent fit of the gout, accompanied with a fever. This constrained him to yield to the importunities of his council, and to alter his course to the north-west, in search of the Carribee islands, where he might refit, and procure fresh provisions.

ruined sanguine hopes with respect to the riches contained in the mines which had been discovered, a band of workmen, skilled in the various arts employed in digging and refining the precious metals, was provided. All these emigrants were to receive pay and subsistence for some years, at the public expence.

Thus far the regulations were prudent, and well adapted to the end in view. But as it was foreseen that few would engage voluntarily to settle in a country, whose noxious climate had been fatal to so many of their countrymen, Columbus proposed to transport to Hispaniola such malefactors as had been convicted of crimes, which, though capital, were of a less atrocious nature; and that for the future a certain proportion of the offenders usually lent to the galleys, should be condemned to labour in the mines which were to be opened. This advice, given without due reflection, was as inconsiderately adopted. The prisons of Spain, were drained, in order to collect members for the intended colony; and the judges empowered to try criminals, were instructed to recruit it by their future sentences. It is not, however, with such materials, that the foundations of a society, destined to be permanent, should be laid. Industry, sobriety, patience, and mutual confidence are indispensably requisite in an infant settlement, where purity of morals must contribute more towards establishing order, than the operation or authority of laws. But when such a mixture of what is corrupt is admitted into the original constitution of the political body, the vices of those unsound and incurable members will probably infect the whole, and must certainly be productive of violent and unhappy effects. This the Spaniards fatally experienced; and the other European nations having successively imitated the practice of Spain in this particular, pernicious consequences have followed in their settlements, which can be imputed to no other cause.

Though Columbus obtained, with great facility and dispatch, the royal approbation of every measure and regulation that he proposed, his endeavours to carry them into execution were so long retarded, as must have tired out the patience of any man, less accustomed to encounter and to surmount difficulties. Those delays were occasioned partly by that tedious formality and spirit of procrastination, with which the Spaniards conduct business; and partly by the exhausted state of the treasury, which was drained by the expence of celebrating the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella's only son with Margaret of Austria, and that of Joanna, their second daughter, with Philip archduke of Austria; but must be chiefly imputed to the malicious arts of Columbus's enemies. Astonished at the reception which he met with upon his return, by his presence, they gave way, for some time to

the impatience of his crew, prevented him from pursuing his discoveries any farther, and made it necessary to bear away for Hispaniola. In his way thither he discovered the islands of Cubagua and Margarita, which afterwards became remarkable for their pearl-fishery. When he arrived at Hispaniola, on the thirtieth of August, he was wasted to an extreme degree with fatigue and sickness; but found the affairs of the colony in such a situation, as afforded him no prospect of enjoying that repose of which he stood so much in need.

Many revolutions had happened in that country during his absence. His brother the adelantado, in consequence of the advice which the admiral gave before his departure, had removed the colony from Isabella to a more commodious station, on the opposite side of the island, and laid the foundation of St. Domingo, which was long the most considerable European town in the New World, and the seat of the supreme courts in the Spanish dominions there. As soon as the Spaniards were established in this new settlement, the adelantado, that they might neither languish in inactivity, nor have leisure to form new cabals, marched into those parts of the island which his brother had not yet visited or reduced to obedience. As the people were unable to resist, they submitted every where to the tribute which he imposed. But they soon found the burden to be so intolerable, that, overawed as they were by the superior power of their oppressors, they took arms against them. These insurrections, however, were not formidable. A conflict with timid and naked Indians was neither dangerous nor of doubtful issue.

But while the adelantado was employed against them in the field, a mutiny of an aspect far more alarming, broke out among the Spaniards. The ringleader of it was Francis Roldan, whom Columbus had placed in a station which required him to be the guardian of order and tranquility in the colony. A turbulent and inconsiderate ambition precipitated him into this desperate measure, so unbecoming his rank. The arguments which he employed to seduce his countrymen were frivolous and ill-founded. He accused Columbus and his two brothers of arrogance and severity; he pretended that they aimed at establishing an independent dominion in the country: he taxed them with an intention of cutting off part of the Spaniards by hunger and fatigue, that they might more easily reduce the remainder to subjection: he represented it as unworthy of Castilians, to remain the tame and passive slaves, of three Geonese adventurers. As men have always a propensity to impute the hardships of which they feel the pressure, to the misconduct of their rulers: as every nation views with a jealous eye the power and exaltation of foreigners, Roldan's insinuations made

deep impression on his countrymen. His character and rank added weight to them. A considerable number of the Spaniards made choice of him as their leader, and taking arms against the adelantado and his brother, seized the King's magazine of provisions, and endeavoured to surprise the fort at St. Domingo. This was prevented by the vigilance and courage of Don Diego Columbus. The mutineers were obliged to retire to the province of Xaragua, where they continued not only to disclaim the adelantado's authority themselves, but excited the Indians to throw off the yoke.

Such was the distracted state of the colony when Columbus landed at St. Domingo. He was astonished to find that the three ships which he had dispatched from the Canaries were not yet arrived. By the unskilfulness of the pilots, and the violence of currents, they had been carried a hundred and sixty miles to the west of St. Domingo, and forced to take shelter in a harbour of the province of Xaragua, where Roldan and his seditious followers were cantoned. Roldan carefully concealed from the commanders of the ships his insurrection against the adelantado, and employing his utmost address to gain their confidence, persuaded them to set on shore a considerable part of the new settlers whom they brought over, that they might proceed by land to St. Domingo. It required but few arguments to prevail with those men to espouse his cause. They were the refuse of the jails of Spain, to whom idleness, licentiousness, and deeds of violence were familiar; and they returned eagerly to a course of life nearly resembling that to which they had been accustomed. The commanders of the ships perceiving, when it was too late, their imprudence in disembarking so many of their men, stood away for St. Domingo, and got safe into the port a few days after the admiral; but their stock of provisions was so wasted during a voyage of such long continuance, that they brought little relief to the colony.

By this junction with a band of such bold and desperate associates, Roldan became extremely formidable, and no less extravagant in his demands. Columbus, though filled with resentment at his ingratitude, and highly exasperated by the insolence of his followers, made no haste to take the field. He trembled at the thoughts of kindling the flames of a civil war, in which, whatever party prevailed, the power and strength of both must be so much wasted, as might encourage the common enemy to unite and complete their destruction. At the same time, he observed, that the prejudices and passions which incited the rebels to take arms, had so far infected those who still adhered to him, that many of them were adverse, and all cold to the cause. From such sentiments with respect to the public interests, well as from this view of his

own situation, he chose to negotiate rather than to fight. By a reasonable proclamation, offering free pardon to such as should merit it by returning to their duty, he made impression upon some of the malcontents. By engaging to grant such as should desire it the liberty of returning to Spain, he allured all those unfortunate adventurers, who, from sickness and disappointment, were disgusted with the country. By promising to re-establish Roldan in his former office, he soothed his pride; and by complying with most of his demands in behalf of his followers, he satisfied their avarice. Thus, gradually and without bloodshed, but after many tedious negotiations, he dissolved this dangerous combination which threatened the colony with ruin; and restored the appearance of order, regular government, and tranquillity.

In consequence of this agreement with the mutineers, lands were allotted them in different parts of the island, and the Indians settled in each district were appointed to cultivate a certain portion of ground for the use of those new masters*. The performance of this work was substituted in place of the tribute formerly imposed; and how necessary soever such a regulation might be in a sickly and feeble colony, it introduced among the Spaniards the *Repartimientos*, or distributions of Indians established by them in all their settlements, which brought numberless calamities upon that unhappy people, and subjected them to the most grievous oppression. This was not the only bad effect of the insurrection in Hispaniola; it prevented Columbus from prosecuting his discoveries on the continent, as self-preservation obliged him to keep near his person his brother the adelantado, and the sailors whom he intended to have employed in that service. As soon as his affairs would permit, he sent some of his ships to Spain with a journal of the voyage which he had made, a description of the new countries which he had discovered, a chart of the coast along which he had sailed, and specimens of the gold, the pearls, and other curious or valuable productions which he had acquired by trafficking with the natives. At the same time he transmitted an account of the insurrection in Hispaniola; he accused the mutineers not only of having thrown the colony into such violent convulsions as threatened its dissolution, but of having obstructed every attempt towards discovery and improvement, by their unprovoked rebellion against their superiors, and proposed several regulations for the better government of the island, as well as the extinction of that mutinous spirit, though suppressed at present, might soon burst out with rage. Roldan and his associates did not neglect to convey by the same ships, an apology for their own conduct, together with their recriminations upon the admiral and his brothers.

ely for the honour of Spain, and the happiness of Columbus, the
 fact gained most credit in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella,
 and produced unexpected effects.

But, previous to the relating of these, it is proper to take a view
 of some events, which merit attention, both on account of their own
 importance, and their connection with the history of the New
 World. While Columbus was engaged in his successive voyages
 to the west, the spirit of discovery did not languish in Portugal, the
 kingdom where it first acquired vigour, and became enterprising.
 If condemnation and regret were not the only sentiments to which
 the success of Columbus, and reflection upon their own imprudence
 in rejecting his proposals, gave rise among the Portuguese, They
 excited a general emulation to surpass his performances, and an ar-
 dent desire to make some reparation to their country for their own
 error. With this view, Emmanuel, who inherited the enterpri-
 sing genius of his predecessors, persisted in their grand scheme of
 opening a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope;
 and soon after his accession to the throne, equipped a squadron
 for that important voyage. He gave the command of it to Vasco
 de Gama, a man of noble birth, possessed of virtue, prudence and
 courage, equal to the station. The squadron, like all those fitted
 out for discovery in the infancy of navigation, was extremely fee-
 ble, consisting only of three vessels, of neither burden nor force
 adequate to the service. As the Europeans were at that time little
 acquainted with the course of the trade winds and periodical mon-
 soons which render navigation in the Atlantic ocean, as well as in
 the sea that separates Africa from India, at some seasons easy, and
 at others not only dangerous, but almost impracticable, the time
 chosen for Gama's departure was the most improper during the
 whole year. He set sail from Lisbon on the ninth of July, 1497,
 and standing towards the south, had to struggle for four months
 with contrary winds, before he could reach the Cape of Good
 Hope. On November 20, their violence began to abate; and du-
 ring an interval of calm weather, Gama doubled that formidable
 promontory, which had so long been the boundary of navigation,
 and directed his course towards the north-east, along the African
 coast. He touched at several ports; and after various adventures,
 which the Portuguese historians relate with high but just encomi-
 ums upon his conduct and intrepidity, he came to anchor before
 Melinda. Throughout all the vast countries which
 along the coast of Africa, from the river Senegal to the
 Zanguebar, the Portuguese had found a race of men
 uncultivated, strangers to letters, to arts and commerce,
 & from the inhabitants of Europe no less in their sea-

tures and complexion, than in their manners and institutions. As they advanced from this, they observed, to their inexpressible joy, that the human form gradually altered and improved, the Asiatic features began to predominate, marks of civilization appeared, letters were known, the Mahometan religion was established, and a commerce, far from being inconsiderable, was carried on. At that time several vessels from India were in the port of Melinda. Gama now pursued his voyage with almost absolute certainty of success, and, under the conduct of a Mahometan pilot, arrived at Calcut, upon the coast of Malabar, on the twenty-second of May, one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight. What he beheld of the wealth, the populousness, the cultivation, the industry and arts of this highly civilized country, far surpassed any idea that he had formed, from the imperfect accounts which the Europeans had hitherto received of it. But as he possessed neither sufficient force to attempt a settlement, nor proper commodities with which he could carry on commerce of any consequence, he hastened back to Portugal, with an account of his success in performing a voyage the longest, as well as most difficult, that had ever been made since the first invention of navigation. He landed at Lisbon on the fourteenth of September, one thousand four hundred and ninety nine, two years two months and five days from the time he left that port.

Thus, during the course of the fifteenth century, mankind made greater progress in exploring the state of the habitable globe, than in all the ages which preceded previous to that period. The spirit of discovery, so lively and cautious, moved within a very narrow sphere, and men's efforts with hesitation and timidity. Encouraged by success, it became adventurous, and boldly extended its operations. In the course of its progression, it continued to acquire vigour, and advanced at length with a rapidity and force which burst through all the limits within which ignorance and fear had hitherto circumscribed the activity of the human race. Almost fifty years were employed by the Portuguese in creeping along the coast of Africa, from Cape Non to Cape de Verd, the latter of which lies only twelve degrees to the south of the former. In less than thirty years they ventured beyond the equinoctial line into another hemisphere, and penetrated to the southern extremity of Africa, at the distance of forty-nine degrees from Cape de Verd. During the last seven years of the century, a New World was discovered in the west not inferior in extent to all the parts of the earth with which mankind were at that time acquainted. In the vast unknown seas and countries were found out, and a communication, long desired, but hitherto concealed, was opened between Europe and the opulent regions of India. In comparison with events so wonderful and unexpected, all that had hitherto been

deemed great or splendid, faded away and disappeared. Vast objects now presented themselves. The human mind, roused and interested by the prospect, engaged with ardour in pursuit of them, and exerted its active powers in a new direction.

This spirit of enterprise, though but newly awakened in Spain, began soon to operate extensively. All the attempts towards discovery made in that kingdom, had hitherto been carried on by Columbus alone, and at the expence of the sovereign. But now private adventurers, allured by the magnificent descriptions he gave of the regions which he had visited, as well as by the specimens of their wealth which he produced, offered to fit out squadrons at their own risk, and to go in quest of new countries.—The Spanish court, whose scanty revenues were exhausted by the charge of its expeditions to the New World, which, though they opened alluring prospects of future benefit, yielded a very sparing return of present profit, was extremely willing to devolve the burden of discovery upon its subjects. It seized with joy an opportunity of rendering the avarice, the ingenuity, and efforts of projectors, instrumental in promoting designs of certain advantage to the public, though of doubtful success with respect to themselves. One of the first propositions of this kind was made by Alonso de Ojeda, a gallant and active officer, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage. His rank and character procured him such credit with the merchants of Seville, that they undertook to equip four ships, provided he could obtain the royal licence, authorising the voyage. The powerful patronage of the bishop of Badajoz easily secured success in a suit so agreeable to the court. Without consulting Columbus, or regarding the rights and jurisdiction which he had acquired by the capitulation in one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, Ojeda was permitted to set out for the New World. In order to direct his course, the bishop communicated to him the admiral's journal of his last voyage, and his charts of the countries which he had discovered. Ojeda struck out into no new path of navigation, but adhering servilely to the route which Columbus had taken, arrived on the coast of Paria. He traded with the natives, and standing to the west, proceeded as far as Cape de Vela, and ranged along a considerable extent of coast beyond that on which Columbus had touched. Having thus ascertained the opinion of Columbus, that this country was a part of the continent, Ojeda returned in October, by way Hispaniola to Spain, with some reputation as a discoverer, but with little benefit to those who had raised the funds for the expedition.

Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, accompanied in this voyage. In what station he served, is uncertain

he was an experienced sailor, and eminently skilled in all the sciences subservient to navigation, he must have acquired some authority among his companions, that they willingly allowed him to have a chief share in directing their operations during the voyage. Soon after his return, he transmitted an account of his adventures and discoveries to one of his countrymen; and labouring with the vanity of a traveller to magnify his own exploits, he had the address and confidence to frame his narrative, so as to make it appear that he had the glory of having first discovered the continent in the New World. Amerigo's account was drawn up not only with art, but with some elegance. It contained an amusing history of his voyage, and judicious observations upon the natural productions, the inhabitants, and the customs of the countries which he had visited. As it was the first description of any part of the New World that was published, a performance so well calculated to gratify the passion of mankind for what is new and marvellous, circulated rapidly, and was read with admiration. The country, of which Amerigo was supposed to be the discoverer, came gradually to be called by his name. The caprice of mankind, often as unaccountable as unjust, has perpetuated this error. By the universal consent of nations, AMERICA is the name bestowed on this new quarter of the globe. The bold pretensions of a fortunate impostor have robbed the discoverer of the New World of a distinction which belonged to him. The name of Amerigo has supplanted that of Columbus; and mankind may regret an act of injustice, which, having received the sanction of time, it is now too late to redress.

During the same year, another voyage of discovery was undertaken. Columbus not only introduced the spirit of naval enterprise into Spain, but all the first adventurers who distinguished themselves in this new career, were formed by his instructions, and acquired in his voyages the skill and information which qualified them to imitate his example. Alonzo Nigno, who had served under the admiral in his last expedition, fitted out a single ship, in conjunction with Christopher Guerra, a merchant of Seville, and sailed to the coast of Paria. This voyage seems to have been conducted with greater attention to private emolument, than to any general or national object. Nigno and Guerra made no discoveries of any importance; but they brought home such a return of gold and pearls, as inflamed their countrymen with the desire of engaging in similar adventures.

Soon after, Vincent Yanez Pinzon, one of the admiral's companions in his first voyage, sailed from Palos with four ships. He stood boldly towards the south, and was the first Spaniard who ventured to cross the equinoctial line; but he seems to have been

ed on no part of the coast beyond the mouth of the Maragnon, or river of the Amazons. All these navigators adopted the erroneous theory of Columbus, and believed that the countries which they had discovered were part of the vast continent of India.

During the last year of the fifteenth century, that fertile district of America, on the confines of which Pinon had sto^d short, was more fully discovered. The successful voyage of Gama to the East Indies having encouraged the King of Portugal to fit out a fleet so powerful, as not only to carry on trade, but to attempt conquest, he gave the command of it to Pedro Alvarez Cabral. In order to avoid the coast of Africa, where he was certain of meeting with variable breezes, or frequent calms, which might retard his voyage, Cabral stood out to sea, and kept so far to the west, that, to his surprise, he found himself upon the shore of an unknown country, in the tenth degree beyond the line. He imagined, at first, that it was some island in the Atlantic Ocean hitherto unobserved; but, proceeding along its coast for several days, he was led gradually to believe, that a country so extensive formed a part of some great continent. This latter opinion was well founded. The country with which he fell in belongs to that province in South America, now known by the name of Brasil. He landed; and having formed a very high idea of the fertility of the soil, and agreeableness of the climate, he took possession of it for the crown of Portugal, and dispatched a ship to Lisbon with an account of this event, which appeared to be no less important than it was unexpected. Columbus's discovery of the New World was the effort of an active genius, enlightened by science, guided by experience, and conducted upon a regular plan, executed with no less courage than perseverance. But from this adventure of the Portuguese, it appears that chance might have accomplished that great design which it is the pride of human reason to have formed and perfected. If the sagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them, a few years later, to the knowledge of that extensive continent.

While the Spaniards and Portuguese, by those successive voyages, were daily acquiring more enlarged ideas of the extent and opulence of that quarter of the globe which Columbus had made known to them, he himself, far from enjoying the tranquillity and honours with which his services should have been recompensed, was struggling with every distress in which the envy and malevolence of the people under his command, or the ingratitude of the court which he served, could involve him. Though the pacification with P broke the union and weakened the force of the mutineers, it extirpated the seeds of discord out of the island. Several malcontents continued in arms, refusing to submit to the

He and his brothers were obliged to take the field alternately, in order to check their incursions, or to punish their crimes. The perpetual occupation and disquiet which this civil presence hindered him from giving due attention to the dangerous machinations of his enemies in the court of Spain. A good number of such as were most dissatisfied with his administration, had embraced the opportunity of returning to Europe with the ships which he dispatched from St. Domingo. The final disappointment of all their hopes inflamed the rage of these unfortunate adventurers against Columbus to the utmost pitch. Their poverty and distress, by exciting compassion, rendered their accusations credible, and their complaints interesting. They teased Ferdinand and Isabella incessantly with memorials, containing the detail of their own grievances, and the articles of their charge against Columbus. Whenever either the King or Queen appeared in public, they surrounded them in a tumultuous manner, insisting with importunate clamours for payment of the arrears due to them, and demanding vengeance upon the author of their sufferings. They insulted the admiral's sons wherever they met them, reproaching them as the offspring of the projector, whose fatal curiosity had discovered those pernicious regions which drained Spain of its wealth, and would prove the grave of its people. These avowed endeavours of the malcontents from America to ruin Columbus, were seconded by the secret, but more dangerous insinuations of that party among the courtiers, which had always inveterated his enemies, and envied his success and credit.

Ferdinand was disposed to listen, not only with a willing, but with a partial ear, to these accusations. Notwithstanding the flattering accounts which Columbus had given of the riches of America, the treasures from it had hitherto been so scanty, that they fell far short of the expense of the armaments fitted out. The glory of the discovery, together with the prospect of remote commercial advantages, was all that Spain had yet received to reward the efforts which she had made. But time had already diminished the first sensations of joy which the discovery of a New World occasioned, and since it was not an object to satisfy the cold interest of avarice and avarice. The nature of commerce was then so little understood, that, where immediate gain was not required, the hope of distant benefit, or of slow and moderate returns, was totally disregarded. Ferdinand considered Spain, on this account, as having lost by the enterprise of Columbus, and imputed it to her narrow and incapable government, that a country bounding in gold had yielded nothing of value to its conquerors. Even Isabella, who from the favourable opinion which she entertained of Columbus, had uniformly protected him, was shaken at length

by the number and boldness of his accusers, and began to suspect that a diffamation so general must have been occasioned by real grievances, which called for redress. The Bishop of Bajados, with his usual animosity against Columbus, encouraged these suspicions, and confirmed them.

As soon as the queen began to give way to the torrent of calumny, a resolution fatal to Columbus was taken. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of Calatrava, was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, with full powers to enquire into the conduct of Columbus, and, if he should find the charge of mal-administration proved, to supersede him and assume the government of the island. It was impossible to escape condemnation, when this preposterous commission made it the interest of the judge to pronounce the person, whom he was sent to try, guilty. Though Columbus had now composed all the dissensions in the island, though he had brought both Spaniards and Indians to submit peaceably to his government; though he had made such effectual provision for working the mines, and cultivating the country, as would have secured a considerable revenue to the king, as well as large profits to himself; though Bovadilla, without deigning to attend to the nature or merit of those charges discovered from the moment that he landed in Hispaniola, was directed peremptorily to treat him as a criminal. He took possession of the admiral's house in St. Domingo, from whence his arrival happened at that time to be absent, and directed his officers, who had been already fully proved; he retook the royal stores, and the king's stores by violence, he took possession of the crown-lands, and as supreme governor; he ordered all the prisoners confined by the admiral, and summoned him to appear before his tribunal, in order to answer for his conduct, in relation to him, together with the commons, a copy of which was made, by which Columbus was enjoined to yield up his arms to his command.

Columbus, though deeply affected with the ingratitude and injustice of Ferdinand and Isabella, did not however quit his country without conduct. He submitted to the will of his sovereigns with a respectful silence, and did not dispute the authority of that violent and partial judge. He waited at St. Domingo, without admitting any assistance to be afforded him, and did not board a ship. His conduct was a silent protest against the injustice of mind which he did not forsake him. He did not forsake himself with reflection, and he endured

composure, but with dignity. Nor had he the consolation of sympathy to mitigate his sufferings. Bovadilla had already rendered himself so extremely popular, by granting various immunities to the colony, by liberal donations of Indians to all who applied for them, and by relaxing the reins of discipline and government, that the Spaniards, who were mostly adventurers, whom their indigence or crimes had impelled to abandon their native country, expressed the most indecent satisfaction with the disgrace and imprisonment of Columbus. They flattered themselves, that now they should enjoy an uncontrouled liberty, more suitable to their disposition and former habits of life. Among persons thus prepared to censure the proceedings, and to asperse the character of Columbus, Bovadilla collected materials for a charge against him. All accusations, the most improbable, as well as inconsistent, were received. No informer, however infamous, was rejected. The result of this inquest, no less indecent than partial, he transmitted to Spain. At the same time, he ordered Columbus, with his two brothers, to be carried thither in fetters; and, adding cruelty to insult, he confined them in different ships, and excluded them from the comfort of that friendly intercourse which might have soothed their common distress. But while the Spaniards in Hispaniola viewed the arbitrary and intolent proceedings of Bovadilla with a general approbation, which reflects dishonour upon their name and country, one man still retained a proper sense of the great actions which Columbus had performed, and was touched with the sentiments of veneration and pity due to his rank, his age, and his merit. Alonso de Vallejo, the captain of the vessel on board which the admiral was confined, as soon as he was clear of the island, approached the prisoner with great respect, and offered to release him from the fetters with which he was unjustly loaded. "No replied Columbus, with a generous indignation, "I wear these irons in consequence of an order from my sovereigns. They shall find me as obedient to this as to their other injunctions. By their command I have been confined, and their command alone shall set me at liberty."

Fortunately, the voyage to Spain was extremely short. As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella were informed that Columbus was brought home a prisoner, and in chains, they perceived at once what universal astonishment this event must occasion, and what an impression to their disadvantage it must make. All Europe, they foresaw, would be filled with indignation at this ungenerous requital of a man who had performed actions worthy of the highest recompence, and would exclaim against the injustice of the nation, to which he had been such an eminent benefactor, as well as against the ingratitude of the princes whose reign he had rendered

Illustrious. Ashamed of their own conduct, and eager not only to make some reparation for this injury, but to efface the stain which it might fix upon their character, they instantly issued orders to set Columbus at liberty, on December the seventeenth, invited him to court, and remitted money to enable him to appear there in a manner suitable to his rank. When he entered the royal presence, Columbus threw himself at the feet of his sovereigns. He remained for some time silent; the various passions which agitated his mind suppressing his power of utterance. At length he recovered himself, and vindicated his conduct in a long discourse, producing the most satisfying proofs of his own integrity as well as good intention, and evidence, no less clear, of the malevolence of his enemies, who, not satisfied with having ruined his fortune, laboured to deprive him of what alone was now left, his honour, and his fame. Ferdinand received him with decent civility, and Isabella with tenderness and respect. They both expressed their sorrow for what had happened, disavowed their knowledge of it, and joined in promising him protection and future favour. But though they instantly degraded Bovadilla, in order to remove from themselves any suspicion of having authorised his violent proceedings, they did not restore to Columbus his jurisdiction and privileges as viceroy of those countries which he had discovered. Though willing to appear the avengers of Columbus's wrongs, that illiberal jealousy which prompted them to invest Bovadilla with such authority as put it in his power to treat the admiral with indignity still subsisted. They were afraid to trust a man to whom they had been so highly indebted, and retaining him at court under various pretexts, they appointed Nicholas de Ovando, a knight of the military order of Alcantara, governor of Hispaniola.

Columbus was deeply affected with this new injury, which came from hands that seemed to be employed in making reparation for his past sufferings. The sensibility with which great minds feel every thing that implies any suspicion of their integrity, or that wears the aspect of an affront, is exquisite. Columbus had experienced both from the Spaniards; and their ungenerous conduct exasperated him to such a degree, that he could no longer conceal the sentiments which it excited. Wherever he went, he carried about with him, as a memorial of their ingratitude, those fetters with which he had been loaded. They were constantly hung up in his chamber, and he gave orders that when he died they should be buried in his grave.

Meanwhile, in the year one thousand five hundred and one the spirit of discovery, notwithstanding the severe check which

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it received by the ungenerous treatment of the man, who first excited it in Spain, continued active and vigorous. Roderigo de Bastidas, a person of distinction, fitted out two ships, in January, in company with John de la Cosa, who having served under the admiral in two of his voyages, was deemed the most skilful pilot in Spain. They steered directly towards the continent, arrived on the coast of Peru, and proceeding to the west, discovered all the coast of the province now known by the name of Tierra Firme, from Cape de Vela to the gulf of Darien. Not long after Ojeda, with his former associate Amerigo Vespucci, set out upon a second voyage, and being unacquainted with the destination of Bastidas, held the same course, and touched at the same places. The voyage of Bastidas was prosperous and lucrative, that of Ojeda unfortunate. But both tended to increase the ardour of discovery: for in proportion as the Spaniards acquired a more extensive knowledge of the American continent, their idea of its opulence and fertility increased.

Before these adventurers returned from their voyages, a fleet was equipped at the public expence, for carrying over Ovando, the new governor to Hispaniola. His principles were extremely requisite, in order to stop the march of the career of blood, which was imprudent colonization, had turned the continent into a ruin. Conscious of the violence and injustice of his proceedings against Columbus, he endeavored to make his sails drop to gain the favour and consent of his countrymen, before commencing himself to their ruin and destruction. With this view, he effected a recognition of the sovereignty of the whole, which Columbus deemed essential to the prosperity of the colony. Instead of the severe discipline, which a governor should have to the dissolute and corrupted members of which the society was composed to the refinement of law and civilization, he permitted them to enjoy every untroubled licence, he encouraged the wildest cruelties. Instead of protecting the Indians, he gave a legal sanction to the oppression of that unhappy people. He took the exact number of men as survived their persecution, divided them into distinct classes, distributed them in property among his adherents, and reduced all the people of the island to a state of complete servitude. At the entrance of the Spaniards was too rapacious and impatient to try any method of acquiring wealth but that of searching for gold, this turbulence became as grievous as it was unjust. The Indians were driven in crowds to the mines, and compelled to work in the mines, by whips, while they did their tasks without mercy or remuneration. Labour, disproportioned to their strength and former habits of life, wasted that feeble race of men,

with such rapid consumption, as must have soon terminated in the utter extinction of the ancient inhabitants of the country.

The necessity of applying a speedy remedy to these disorders hastened Ovando's departure. He had the command of the most respectable armament hitherto fitted out for the New World. It consisted of thirty-two ships, on board of which two thousand five hundred persons embarked, with an intention of settling in the country. Upon the arrival of the new governor with this powerful reinforcement to the colony, in the year one thousand five hundred and two, Bovadilla resigned his charge, and was commanded to return instantly to Spain, in order to answer for his conduct. Roldan, and the other ringleaders of the mutineers, who had been most active in opposing Columbus, were required to leave the island at the same time. A proclamation was issued, declaring the natives to be free subjects of Spain, of whom no service was to be exacted contrary to their own inclination, and without paying them an adequate price for their labour. With respect to the Spaniards themselves, various regulations were made, tending to suppress the licentious spirit which had been so fatal to the colony, and to establish that reverence for law and order on which society is founded, and to which it is indebted for its increase and stability. In order to limit the exorbitant gain which private persons were supposed to make by working the mines, an ordinance was published, directing all the gold to be brought to a public melting-house, and declaring everything else to be the property of the crown.

While these steps were taken for securing the tranquility and welfare of the colony, which Columbus had planted, he himself was engaged in the negotiation and employment of soliciting the favour of an English monarch, and in recommending all his merits and his services to that monarch. He demanded, in terms of the original capitulation, for one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, to be retained in his office of viceroy over the countries which he had discovered. By a strange fatality, the circumstance which he urged in support of his claim, determined a jealous monarch to reject it. The greatness of his discoveries, and the prospect of their increasing value, made Ferdinand consider the concessions in the capitulation as extremely small and insignificant. He was afraid of entrusting a subject with the exercise of a jurisdiction that now appeared to be so truly extensive, and might grow no less formidable. He inspired Isabella with the same disposition, and under various pretences, equally frivolous and unjust, they declined Columbus's requisitions to perform that which a solemn compact bound them to accomplish. After attending the court of Spain for nearly two years, as an humble petitioner, he found it impossible to remove her husband's prejudices and apprehensions; and perceived,

at length, that he laboured in vain, when he urged a claim of justice or merit to an interested and unfeeling prince.

But even this ungenerous return did not discourage him from pursuing the great object which first called forth his inventive genius, and excited him to attempt discovery. To open a new passage to the East Indies was his original and favourite scheme. This still engrossed his thoughts; and either from his own observations in his voyage to Paria, or from some obscure hint of the natives, or from the accounts given by Bastidas and de la Cosa, of their expedition, he conceived an opinion that, beyond the continent of America, there was a sea which extended to the East Indies, and hoped to find some narrow strait or narrow neck of land by which a communication might be opened with it and the part of the ocean already known. By a very fortunate conjecture, he supposed this strait or isthmus to be situated near the gulph of Darien. Full of this idea, though he was now of an advanced age, worn out with fatigue, and broken with infirmities, he offered with the alacrity of a youthful adventurer, to undertake a voyage which would ascertain this important point, and perfect the great scheme which from the beginning he proposed to accomplish. Several circumstances concurred in disposing Ferdinand and Isabella to lend a favourable ear to this proposal. They were glad to have the pretext of an honourable employment for removing from court a man with whose demands they deemed it impolitic to comply, and whose services it was indecent to neglect. Though unwilling to reward Columbus, they were not insensible of his merit, and from their experience of his skill and conduct, had reason to give credit to his conjectures, and to confide in his success. To these considerations, a third must be added of still more powerful influence. About this time the Portuguese fleet, under Cabral, arrived from the Indies; and, by the richness of its cargo, gave the people of Europe a more perfect idea, than they had hitherto been able to form, of the opulence and fertility of the East. The Portuguese had been more fortunate in their discoveries than the Spaniards. They had opened a communication with countries where industry, arts, and elegance flourished; and where commerce had been longer established, and carried to greater extent than in any region of the earth. Their first voyages thither yielded immediate, as well as vast returns of profit, in commodities extremely precious and in great request. Lisbon became immediately the seat of commerce and of wealth; while Spain had only the expectation of remote benefit, and of future gain, from the western world. Nothing, then, could be more acceptable to the Spaniards than Columbus's offer to conduct them to the east, a route which he expected to be shorter, as well as less dangerous.

than that which the Portuguese had taken. Even Ferdinand was roused by such a prospect, and warmly approved of the undertaking.

But, interesting as the object of his voyage was to the nation, Columbus could procure only four small barks, the largest of which did not exceed seventy tons in burden, for performing it. Accustomed to brave danger, and to engage in arduous undertakings with inadequate force, he did not hesitate to accept the command of this pitiful squadron. His brother Bartholomew, and his second son Ferdinand, the historian of his actions, accompanied him. He sailed from Cadiz on the ninth of May, and touched, as usual, at the Canary islands : from thence he purposed to have sailed directly for the continent : but his largest vessel was so clumsy and unfit for service, as constrained him to bear away for Hispaniola, in hopes of exchanging her for some ship of the fleet that had carried out Ovando. When he arrived off St. Domingo, on June the twenty-ninth, he found eighteen of these ships ready loaded, and on the point of departing for Spain. Columbus immediately acquainted the governor with the destination of his voyage, and the accident which had obliged him to alter his route. He requested permission to enter the harbour, not only that he might negotiate the exchange of his ship, but that he might take shelter during a violent hurricane, of which he discerned the approach from various prognostics, which his experience and sagacity had taught him to observe ; on that account, he advised him likewise to put off for some days the departure of the fleet bound to Spain. But Ovando refused his request, and despised his counsel. Under circumstances in which humanity would have afforded refuge to a stranger, Columbus was denied admittance into a country of which he had discovered the existence and acquired the possession. His salutary warning, which merited the greatest attention, was regarded as the dream of a visionary prophet, who arrogantly pretended to predict an event beyond the reach of human foresight. The fleet set sail for Spain. Next night the hurricane came on with dreadful impetuosity. Columbus aware of the danger, took precautions against it, and saved his little squadron. The fleet destined for Spain met with the fate which the rashness and obstinacy of its commanders deserved. Of eighteen ships two or three only escaped. In this general wreck perished Bovadilla, Roldan, and the greater part of those who had been the most active in persecuting Columbus, and oppressing the Indians. Together with themselves, all the wealth which they had acquired by their injustice and cruelty was swallowed up. It exceeded in value two hundred thousand *pesos* ; an immense sum at that period, and sufficient not only to have screened them from any severe punish-

into their conduct, but to have secured them a gracious reception at the Spanish court. Among the ships that escaped, one had on board all the effects of Columbus which had been recovered from the ruins of his fortune. Historians, struck with the exact discrimination of characters, as well as the just distribution of rewards and punishments, conspicuous in these events, universally attribute them to an immediate interposition of divine Providence; in order to avenge the wrongs of an injured man, and to punish the oppressors of an innocent people. Upon the ignorant and superstitious race of men, who were witnesses of his occurrence, it made a different impression. From an opinion, which vulgar admiration is apt to entertain with respect to persons who have distinguished themselves by their exploits and actions, as they believed Columbus to be possessed of supernatural powers, and imagined that he had conjured up this dreadful storm by magical art, and incantations, in order to be avenged of his enemies.

Columbus soon left Hispaniola, July 19, where he met with such an inhospitable reception, and stood towards the continent. After a tedious and dangerous voyage, he discovered Guayana, an island not far distant from the coast of Venezuela. There he had an interview with some inhabitants of the continent, who arrived in a large canoe. They appeared to be a people more civilized, and who had made greater progress in the knowledge of useful arts, than any whom he had hitherto seen or felt. In return to the inquiries which the Spaniards made, with their usual eagerness concerning the places where the Indians got the gold which they wore by way of ornament, they directed them to countries situated to the west, in which gold was found in a copious situation, that it was applied to the most common uses. Instead of offering in quest of a country so inviting, which would have conducted him along the coast of Venezuela to the rich empire of Mexico, Columbus was so bent up in his favourite scheme of finding out the strait which he supposed to communicate with the Indian ocean, that he bore away to the east towards the gulf of Darien. In this navigation he discovered all the coast of the continent, from Cape Gracias a Dios, to a harbour which, on account of its beauty and security, he called Porto Belia. He searched, in vain, for the imaginary strait, through which he expected to make his way into an unknown sea; and though he went on three several times, and advanced into the country, he did not penetrate so far as to cross the narrow isthmus which separates the gulf of Mexico from the great southern ocean. He was so much delighted, however, with the fertility of the country, and conceived such an idea of its wealth, from the specimens of gold produced by the natives, that he resolved to have a small colony upon the river Belia, in the

province of Veragua, under the command of his brother, and to return himself to Spain, in order to procure what was requisite for rendering the establishment permanent. But the ungovernable spirit of the people under his command, deprived Columbus of the glory of planting the first colony on the continent of America. Their insolence and rapaciousness provoked the natives to take arms, and as these were a more hardy and warlike race of men than the inhabitants of the islands, they cut off part of the Spaniards, and obliged the rest to abandon a station which was found to be untenable.

This repulse, the first that the Spaniards met with from any of the American nations, was not the only misfortune that befel Columbus; it was followed by a succession of all the disasters to which navigation is exposed. Furious hurricanes, with violent storms of thunder and lightning, threatened his leaky vessels with destruction; while his discontented crew, exhausted with fatigue, and destitute of provisions, was unwilling or unable to execute his commands. One of his ships perished; he was obliged to abandon another, as unfit for service; and with the two which remained, he quitted that part of the continent which in his anguish he named the Coast of Vexation, and bore away for Hispaniola. New distresses awaited him in this voyage. He was driven back by a violent tempest from the coast of Cuba, his ships fell foul of one another, and were so much shattered by the shock, that with the utmost difficulty they reached Jamaica, on June 24, where he was obliged to run them aground, to prevent them from sinking. The measure of his calamities seemed now to be full. He was cast ashore upon an island at a considerable distance from the only settlement of the Spaniards in America. His ships were ruined beyond the possibility of being repaired. To convey an account of his situation to Hispaniola, appeared impracticable; and without this it was vain to expect relief. His genius, fertile in resources, and most vigorous in those perilous extremities when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, discovered the only expedient which afforded any prospect of deliverance. He had recourse to the hospitable kindness of the natives, who considered the Spaniards as beings of a superior nature, were eager, on every occasion, to minister to their wants. From them he obtained two of their canoes, each formed out of the trunk of a single tree hollowed with fire, and so mis-shapen and awkward as hardly to merit the name of boats. In these, which were fit only for creeping along the coast, or crossing from one side of a bay to another, he, a Spaniard, and Fieschi, a Genoese, two gentlemen particularly attached to Columbus, gallantly offered to set out for Hi-

Spaniards, upon a voyage of above thirty leagues. This they accomplished in ten days, after surmounting incredible dangers, and during such fatigue, that several of the Indians who accompanied them sunk under it, and died. The attention paid to them by governor of Hispaniola was neither such as their courage merited nor the distress of the persons from whom they came required. Ovando, from a mean jealousy of Columbus was afraid of allowing him to set foot in the island under his government. This ungovernable passion hardened his heart against every tender sentiment which reflection upon the services and misfortunes of that great man, or compassion for his own fellow-citizens involved in the same calamities, must have excited. Mendez and Fieschi spent eight months in soliciting relief for their commander and associates without any prospect of obtaining it.

During this period, various passions agitated the mind of Columbus, and his companions in adversity. At first the expectation speedily deliverance, from the success of Mendez and Fieschi's voyage, cheered the spirits of the most desponding. After some time the more timorous began to suspect that they had miscarried in their daring attempt. At length, even the most sanguine concluded that they had perished. The ray of hope which had been upon them, made their condition appear now more distressing. Despair, heightened by disappointment, settled in every breast. Their last resource had failed, and nothing remained but the prospect of ending their miserable days among wild savages, far from their country and their friends. The seamen in a transport rage, rose in open mutiny, threatened the life of Columbus, whom they reproached as the author of all their calamities, seized the canoes, which he had purchased from the Indians, and despising his remonstrances and entreaties, made off with them as a distant part of the island. At the same time the natives murmured at the long residence of the Spaniards in their country. As their industry was not greater than that of their neighbours in Hispaniola, like them they found the burden of supporting so many strangers to be altogether intolerable. They began to bring provisions with reluctance, they furnished them with a spare hand, and threatened to withdraw those supplies altogether. Such a resolution must have been quickly fatal to the Spaniards. Their safety depended upon the good-will of the Indians; and unless they could revive the admiration and reverence with which that simple people had at first beheld them, destruction was unavoidable. Though the licentious proceedings of the mutineers had, in a great measure effaced those impressions which had been so favourable to the Spaniards, the ingenuity of Columbus fitted a happy artifice, that not only restored but heightened the

right opinion which the Indians had originally entertained of them. By his skill in astronomy he knew that there was shortly to be a total eclipse of the moon. He assembled all the principal persons of the district around him on the day before it happened; and, after reproaching them for their fickleness in withdrawing their affection and assistance from men whom they had lately revered, he told them, that the Spaniards were servants of the Great Spirit who dwells in heaven, who made and governs the world; that he, offended at their refusing to support men who were the objects of his peculiar favour, was preparing to punish this crime with exemplary severity; and that very night the moon should withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a sign of the divine wrath, and an emblem of the vengeance ready to fall upon them. To this marvellous prediction some of them listened with the careless indifference peculiar to the people of America; others, with the credulous astonishment natural to barbarians. But when the moon began gradually to be darkened, and at length appeared of a red colour, all were struck with terror. They ran with consternation to their houses, and returning instantly to Columbus loaded with provisions, threw them at his feet, conjuring him to intercede with the Great Spirit to avert the destruction with which they were threatened. Columbus, seeming to be moved by their entreaties, promised to comply with their desire. The eclipse went off, the moon recovered her splendour, and from that day the Spaniards were not only furnished profusely with provisions, but the natives, with superstitious attention, avoided every thing that could give them offence.

During those transactions, the mutineers had made repeated attempts to pass over to Hispaniola in the canoes which they had seized. But, from their own misconduct, or the violence of the winds and currents, their efforts were all unsuccessful. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched towards that part of the island where Columbus remained, threatening him with new insults and danger. While they were advancing, an event happened, more cruel and afflicting than any calamity which he dreaded from them. The governor of Hispaniola, whose mind was still filled with some dark suspicions of Columbus, sent a small bark to America, not to deliver his distressed countrymen, but to spy out their condition. Lest the sympathy of those whom he employed should afford them relief, contrary to his intention, he gave the command of this vessel to Escobar, an inveterate enemy of Columbus, who adhering to his instructions with malignant accuracy cast at some distance from the island, approached the shore in a boat, observed the wretched plight of the Spaniards, deliver-

ed a letter of empty compliments to the admiral, received his answer and departed. When the Spaniards first descried the vessel standing towards the island, every heart exulted, as if the long expected hour of their deliverance had at length arrived; but when it disappeared so suddenly, they sunk into the deepest dejection, and all their hopes died away. Columbus alone, though he felt most sensibly this wanton insult which Ovando added to his past neglect, retained such composure of mind, as to be able to cheer his followers. He assured, them, that Mendez and Fieschi had reached Hispaniola in safety; that they would speedily procure ships to carry them off: but as Escobar's vessel could not take them all on board, he had refused to go with her, because he was determined never to abandon the faithful companions of his distress. Soothed with the expectation of speedy deliverance, and delighted with his apparent generosity in attending more to their preservation than to his own safety, their spirits revived, and he regained their confidence.

Without this confidence, he could not have resisted the mutineers, who were now at hand. All his endeavours to reclaim those desperate men had no effect but to increase their frenzy. Their demands became every day more extravagant, and their intentions more violent and bloody. The common safety rendered it necessary to oppose them with open force. Columbus who had been long afflicted with the gout, could not take the field. On the twentieth of May his brother, the Adelantado, marched against them. They quickly met. The mutineers rejected with scorn terms of accommodation, which were once more offered them, and rushed on boldly to the attack. They fell not upon an enemy unprepared to receive them. In the first shock, several of their most daring leaders were slain. The Adelantado, whose strength was equal to his courage, closed with their captain, wounded, disarmed, and took him prisoner. At sight of this, the rest fled with a dastardly fear, suitable to their former insolence. Soon after, they submitted in a body to Columbus, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to obey all his commands. Hardly was tranquility re-established, when the ships appeared, whose arrival Columbus had promised with great address, though he could foresee it with little certainty. With transports of joy, the Spaniards quitted an island in which the unfeeling jealousy of Ovando had suffered them to languish above a year, exposed to misery in all its various forms.

When they arrived at St. Domingo, on the thirteenth of August, the governor, with the mean artifice of a vulgar mind, threatened to atone for intolerance by servility, flattered on the re-

whom he envied, and had attempted to ruin. He received Columbus with the most studied respect, lodged him in his own house, and distinguished him with every mark of honor. But amidst these overacted demonstrations of regard, he could not conceal the hatred and malignity latent in his heart. He set at liberty the captain of the mutineers, whom Columbus had brought over in chains, to be tried for his crimes, and threatened such as had adhered to the admiral with proceeding to a judicial enquiry into their conduct. Columbus submitted in silence to what he could not redress; but discovered an extreme impatience to quit a country which was under the jurisdiction of a man who had treated him, on every occasion, with inhumanity and injustice. His preparations were soon finished, and he set sail for Spain with two ships, on September the twelfth 1504. Disasters similar to those which had accompanied him through life continued to pursue him to the end of his career. One of his vessels being disabled, was soon forced back to St. Domingo; the other, shattered by violent storms, sailed seven hundred leagues with jury masts, and reached with difficulty the port of St. Lucar in the month of December.

There he received the account of an event the most fatal that could have befallen him, and which completed his misfortunes. This was the death, on the ninth of November, 1504, of his patroness Queen Isabella, in whose justice, humanity, and favour, he confided as his last resource. None now remained to redress his wrongs, or to reward him for his services and sufferings, but Ferdinand, who had so long opposed and so often injured him. To solicit a prince thus prejudiced against him, was an occupation no less irksome than hopeless. In this, however, was Columbus doomed to employ the close of his days. As soon as his health was in some degree re-established, he repaired to court; and though he was received there with civility barely decent, he plied Ferdinand with petition after petition, demanding the punishment of his oppressors, and the restitution of all the privileges bestowed upon him by the capitulation of one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. Ferdinand amused him with fair words and unmeaning promises. Instead of granting his claims, he proposed expedients in order to elude them, and spun out the affair with such apparent art, as plainly discovered his intention that it should never be terminated. The declining health of Columbus flattered Ferdinand with the hopes of being soon delivered from an importunate suitor, and encouraged him to persevere in this cruel plan. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Disgusted with the ingratitude of a monarch whom he had served with fidelity

and success, exhausted with the fatigues and hardships which he had endured, and broken with the infirmities which these brought upon him, Columbus ended his life at Valladolid on the twentieth of May, one thousand five hundred and six, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He died with a composure of mind suitable to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety becoming that supreme respect for religion, which he manifested in every occurrence of his life.

Having thus given an Account of the first Discovery of America, we shall now proceed to lay before the Reader, a **GENERAL DESCRIPTION** of that Country, its *Soil, Climate, Productions, Original Inhabitants, &c. &c.*

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF AMERICA.

BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

THIS vast country extends from the 80th degree of north, to the 55th degree of south latitude; and, where its breadth is known, from the 35th to the 136th degree west longitude from London; stretching between 8000 and 9000 miles in length, and in its greatest breadth 3690. It sees both hemispheres, has two summers and a double winter, and enjoys all the variety of climates which the earth affords. It is washed by the two great oceans. To the eastward it has the Atlantic, which divides it from Europe and Africa; to the west it has the Pacific or Great South Sea, by which it is separated from Asia. By these seas it may, and does, carry on a direct commerce with the other three parts of the world.

NORTH AND SOUTH CONTINENT. America is not of equal breadth throughout its whole extent; but is divided into two great continents, called *North and South America*, by an isthmus 500 miles long, and which at Darien, about Lat. 9° N. is only 20 miles over. This isthmus forms, with the northern and southern continents, a vast gulph, in which lie a great number of islands, called the *West Indies*, in contradistinction to the eastern parts of Asia which are called the *East Indies*.

CLIMATE. Between the New World and the Old, there are several very striking differences; but the most remarkable is the general predominance of cold throughout the whole extent of America. Though we cannot, in any country, determine the precise degree of heat merely by the distance of the equator, because the elevation above the sea, the nature of the soil, &c. affect the climate; yet, in the ancient continent, the heat is much more in proportion to the vicinity to the equator than in any part of America. Here the rigour of the frigid zone extends over half that which should be temperate by its position. Even in those

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

latitudes where the winter is scarcely felt on the Old continent, is felt with great severity in America, though during a short period. Nor does this cold, prevalent in the New World, confine itself to the temperate zones; but extends its influence to the torrid zone, also, considerably mitigating the excess of its heat. Along the eastern coast, the climate, though more similar to that of the torrid zone in other parts of the earth, is nevertheless considerably milder than in those countries of Asia and Africa which lie in the same latitude. From the southern tropic to the extremity of the American continent, the cold is said to be much greater than in parallel northern latitudes even of America itself.

For this remarkable difference between the climate of the New continent and the Old, various causes have been assigned by different authors. The following is the opinion of the learned Dr. Robertson on this subject. "Though the utmost extent of America towards the north be not yet discovered, we know that she lies nearer to the pole than either Europe or Asia. The bays have large seas to the north, which are open during part of the year, and, even when covered with ice, the wind that blows from them is infinitely colder than that which blows over land in the most northern parts. But, in America, the land stretches from the equator to the pole, and spreads out immensely towards the north. A chain of enormous mountains, covered with perpetual snow, runs through all this dreary region. The wind blowing over such an extent of high and frozen land, becomes so extremely cold, that it acquires a piercing keenness, which it retains as it proceeds through warmer climates; and is not softened till it reaches the gulf of Mexico. Over all the continent of North America, a north-westerly wind and exhalation is constantly blowing. Even in the most sultry season, it is so cold that the wind veers to that quarter, its penetrating power, and its transition from heat to cold no less remarkable. To this powerful cause we may ascribe the prevalence of the season of cold, and its violent in-roads into the temperate zone in that part of the globe.

Another cause of remarkable difference, diminish the active power of the sun in the parts of the American continent which lie between the tropics. In all that portion of the globe, the wind blows from the east to west, or from east to west. As this wind, after crossing the ancient continent, it arrives at the southern extremity of the African, the western shore of Africa, in that direction it collects the exhalations which it hath collected from the burning lands in the African continent. Hence the climate of Africa is accordingly the region of the

most fervent heat, and is exposed to the unmitigated ardour of the torrid zone. But this same wind, which brings such an accession of warmth to the countries lying between the river of Senegal and Cafraria, traverses the Atlantic ocean before it reaches the American shore. It is cooled in its passage over this vast body of water; and is felt as a refreshing gale along the coasts of Brazil and Guiana, rendering those countries, though amongst the warmest in America, temperate, when compared with those which lie opposite to them in Africa. As this wind advances in its course across America, it meets with immense plains covered with impenetrable forests; or occupied by large rivers, marshes, and stagnant waters, where it can recover no considerable degree of heat. At length it arrives at the Andes, which run from north to south through the whole continent. In passing over their elevated and frozen summits, it is so thoroughly cooled, that the greater part of the countries beyond them hardly feel the ardour to which they seem exposed by their situation. In the other provinces of America, from Terra Firma westward to the Mexican empire, the heat of the climate is tempered, in some places, by the elevation of the land above the sea; in others, by their extraordinary humidity; and in all, by the enormous mountains scattered over this tract. The islands of America in the torrid zone are either small or mountainous, and are fanned alternately by refreshing sea and land breezes.

"The causes of the extraordinary cold towards the southern limits of America, and in the seas beyond it, cannot be ascertained in a manner equally satisfying. It was long supposed, that a vast continent, distinguished by the name of *Terra Australis Incognita*, lay between the southern extremity of America and the antarctic pole. The same principles which account for the extraordinary degree of cold in the northern regions of America, were employed in order to explain that which is felt at Cape Horn and the adjacent countries. The immense extent of the southern continent, and the rivers which it poured into the ocean, were mentioned and admitted by philosophers as causes sufficient to occasion the unusual sensation of cold, and the still more uncommon appearances of frozen seas in that region of the globe. But the imaginary continent to which such influence was ascribed having been searched for in vain, and the space which it was supposed to occupy having been found to be an open sea, new conjectures must be formed with respect to the causes of a temperature of climate so extremely different from that which we experience in countries removed at the same distance from the opposite pole.

"The most obvious and probable cause of this superior degree of cold towards the southern extremity of America, seems to be the form of the continent there. Its breadth gradually decreases as it stretches from St. Antonio southwards, and from the bay of St. Julian to the straits of Magellan its dimensions are much contracted. On the east and west sides, it is washed by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. From its southern point, it is probable that an open sea stretches to the antarctic pole. In whichever of these directions the wind blows, it is cooled before it approaches the Magellanic regions, by passing over a vast body of water; nor is the land there of such extent, that it can recover any considerable degree of heat in its progress over it. These circumstances concur in rendering the temperature of the air in this district of America more similar to that of an insular, than to that of a continental climate; and hinder it from acquiring the same degree of summer-heat with places in Europe and Asia, in a corresponding northern latitude. The north wind is the only one that reaches this part of America, after blowing over a great continent. But, from an attentive survey of its position, this will be found to have a tendency rather to diminish than augment the degree of heat. The southern extremity of America is properly the termination of the immense ridge of the Andes, which stretches nearly in a direct line from north to south, through the whole extent of the continent. The most saltry regions in South America, Guiana, Brazil, Paraguay, and Tucuman, lie many degrees to the east of the Magellanic regions. The level country of Peru, which enjoys the tropical heats, is situated considerably to the west of them. The north wind, then, though it blows over land, does not bring to the southern extremity of America an increase of heat collected in its passage over torrid regions; but, before it arrives there, it must have swept along the summit of the Andes, and come impregnated with the cold of that frozen region."

Another particularity in the climate of America, is its excessive moisture in general. In some places, indeed, on the western coast, rain is not known: but, in all other parts, the moistness of the climate is as remarkable as the cold.—The forests wherewith it is every where covered, no doubt, partly occasion the moisture of its climate: but the most prevalent cause is the vast quantity of water in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, with which America is environed on all sides. Hence those places where the continent is narrowest are deluged with almost perpetual rains, accompanied with violent thunder and lightning, by which some of them, particularly Porto Bello, are rendered in a manner uninhabitable.

This extreme moisture of the American climate is productive of much larger rivers there than in any other part of the world. The Danube, the Nile, the Indus, or the Ganges, are not comparable to the Mississippi, the river St. Laurence, or that of the Amazons: nor are such large lakes to be found any where as those which North America affords. To the same cause we are also partly to ascribe the excessive luxuriance of all kinds of vegetables in almost all parts of this country. In the southern provinces, where the moisture of the climate is aided by the warmth of the sun, the woods are almost impervious, and the surface of the ground is hid from the eye, under a thick covering of shrubs, herbs, and weeds.—In the northern provinces, the forests are not encumbered with the same luxuriance of vegetation; nevertheless, they afford trees much larger of their kind than what are to be found any where else.

From the coldness and the moisture of America, an extreme malignity of climate has been inferred, and asserted by M. de Paw, in his *Recherches Philosophiques*. Hence, according to his hypothesis, the smallness and irregularity of the nobler animals, and the size and enormous multiplication of reptiles and insects.

But the supposed smallness and less ferocity of the American animals, the Abbé Clavigero observes, instead of the malignity, demonstrates the mildness and bounty of the clime, if we give credit to Buffon, at whose fountain M. de Paw has drank, and of whose testimony he has availed himself against Don Pernetty. Buffon, who in many places of his *Natural History* produces the smallness of the American animals as a certain argument of the malignity of the climate of America, in treating afterwards of savage animals, in Tom. II. speaks thus: “As all things, even the most free creatures, are subject to natural laws, and animals as well as men are subjected to the influence of climate and soil, it appears that the same causes which have civilized and polished the human species in our climates, may have likewise produced similar effects upon other species. The wolf, which is perhaps the fiercest of all the quadrupeds of the temperate zone, is however incomparably less terrible than the tyger, the lion, and the panther, of the torrid zone: and the white bear and hyena of the frigid zone. In America, where the air and the earth are more mild than those of Africa, the tyger, the lion, and the panther, are not terrible but in the name. They have degenerated, if fierceness, joined to cruelty, made their nature; or, to speak more properly, they have only suffered the influence of the climate: under a milder sky, their nature also has become more mild. From climes which are immoderate in their temperature, are obtained drugs, perfumes, poisons,

and all those plants whose qualities are strong. The temperate earth, on the contrary, produces only things which are temperate; the mildest herbs, the most wholesome pulse, the sweetest fruits, the most quiet animals, and the most humane men, are the natives of this happy clime. As the earth makes the plants, the earth and plants make animals: the earth, the plants, and the animals, make man. The physical qualities of man, and the animals which feed on other animals, depend, though more remotely, on the same causes which influence their dispositions and customs. This is the greatest proof and demonstration, that in temperate climes every thing becomes temperate, and that in intemperate climes every thing is excessive; and that size and form, which appear fixed and determinate qualities, depend, notwithstanding, like the relative qualities, on the influence of climate. The size of our quadrupeds cannot be compared with that of an elephant, the rhinoceros, or sea-horse. The largest of our birds are but small, if compared with the ostrich, the condore, and *cassare*." So far M. Buffon, whose text we have copied, because it is contrary to what M. de Paw writes against the climate of America, and to Buffon himself in many other places.

If the large and fierce animals are natives of intemperate climes, and small and tranquil animals of temperate climes, as M. Buffon has here established; if mildness of climate influences the disposition and customs of animals, M. de Paw does not well deduce the malignity of the climate of America from the smaller size and less fierceness of its animals: he ought rather to have deduced the gentleness and sweetness of its climate from this antecedent. If, on the contrary, the smaller size and less fierceness of the American animals, with respect to those of the old continent, are a proof of their degeneracy, arising from the malignity of the clime, as M. de Paw would have it, we ought in like manner to argue the malignity of the climate of Europe from the smaller size and less fierceness of its animals, compared with those of Africa. If a philosopher of the country of Guinea should undertake a work in imitation of M. de Paw, with this title, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Européens*, he might avail himself of the same argument which M. de Paw uses, to demonstrate the malignity of the climate of Europe, and the advantages of that of Africa. The climate of Europe, he would say, is very unfavorable to the production of quadrupeds, which are found incomparably smaller, and more cowardly than ours. What are the horse and the ox, the largest of its animals, compared with our elephants, our rhinoceroses, our sea-horses, and our camels? What are its lizards, either in size or intrepidity, compared with our crocodiles? Its wolves, its bears, the most dreadful of its wild beasts, when beside our lions or

part of an enormous corpulence in their species, beyond what can be imagined. Panama is infested with serpents, Carthagena with clouds of enormous bats, Portobello with toads, Surinam with *kakerlacas*, or *cucarachas*, Guadeloupe, and the other colonies of the islands, with beetles, Quito with niguas or chegoes, and Lima with lice and bugs. The ancient Kings of Mexico, and the emperors of Peru, found no other means of ridding their subjects of those insects which fed upon them, than the imposition of an annual tribute of a certain quantity of lice. Ferdinand Cortes found bags full of them in the palace of Montezuma." But this argument exaggerated as it is, proves nothing against the climate of America, in general, much less against that of Mexico. There being some lands in America, in which, on account of their heat, humidity, or want of inhabitants, large insects are found, and excessively multiplied, will prove at most, that in some places the surface of the earth is infected, as he says, with putrefaction; but not that the soil of Mexico, or that of all America, is stinking, uncultivated, vitiated, and abandoned to itself. If such a deduction were just, M. de Paw might also say, that the soil of the old continent is barren, and stinks; as in many countries of it there are prodigious multitudes of monstrous insects, noxious reptiles, and vile animals, as in the Philippine isles, in many of those of the Indian Archipelago, in several countries of the south of Asia, in many of Africa, and even in some of Europe. The Philippine isles are infested with enormous ants and monstrous butterflies, Japan with scorpions, south of Asia and Africa with serpents, Egypt with asps, Guinea and Ethiopia with

according to M. Buffon, a new species of field-mice, larger than the common kind, called by him *Sarmulets*, which have multiplied exceedingly, to the great damage of the fields. M. Bazin, in his *Compendium of the History of Insects*, numbers 77 species of bugs, which are all found in Paris and its neighbourhood. That large capital, as Mr. Bomare says, swarms with those disgusting insects. It is true, that there are places in America, where the multitude of insects, and filthy vermin, make life irksome; but we do not know that they have arrived at such excess of multiplication as to depopulate any place, at least there cannot be so many examples produced of this cause of depopulation in the new as in the old continent, which are attested by Theophrastus, Varro, Pliny, and other authors. The frogs depopulated one place in Gaul, and the locusts another in Africa. One of the Cyclades was depopulated by mice; Amiclas, near to Taracina, by serpents; another place, near to Ethiopia, by scorpions and poisonous ants; and another by scolopendras; and not so distant from our own times, the Mauritius was going to have been abandoned on account of the extraordinary multiplication of rats, as we can remember to have read in a French author.

With respect to the size of the insects, reptiles, and such animals, M. de Paw makes use of the testimony of Mr. Dumont, who, in his *Memoirs on Louisiana*, says, that the frogs are so large there that they weigh 37 French pounds, and their horrid croaking imitates the bellowing of cows. But M. de Paw himself says in his answer to Don Pernetty, cap. 17. that all those who have written about Louisiana from Henepin, Le Clerc, and Carr. Tonti, to Dumont, have contradicted each other, sometimes on one and sometimes on another subject. In fact, neither in the old or the new continent are there frogs of 37 pounds in weight; but there are in Asia and Africa, serpents, butterflies, ants, and other animals of such monstrous size, that they exceed all those which have been discovered in the new world. We know very well, that some American historian says, that a certain gigantic species of serpents is to be found in the woods, which attract men with their breath, and swallow them up; but we know also, that several historians, both ancient and modern, report the same thing of the serpents of Asia, and even something more. Magasthenes, cited by Pliny, said, that there were serpents found in Asia, so large, that they swallowed entire stags and bulls. Metrodorus cited by the same author, affirms, that in Asia there were serpents which, by their breath, attracted birds, however high they were or quick their flight. Among the moderns, Gemelli, in Vol. V. of his *Tour of the world*, when he treats of the animals of the Philippine isles speaks thus: "There are serpents in these islands of moderate

size; there is one called *Ibitin*, very long, which suspending itself by the tail from the trunk of a tree, waits till flags, bears, and also men pass by, in order to attract them with its breath, and devour them at once entirely:" from whence it is evident, that this very ancient fable has been common to both continents.

Further, it may be asked, In what country of America could M. de Paw find ants to equal those of the Philippine islands, called *salum*, respecting which Hernandez affirms, that they were six fingers broad in length and one in breadth? Who has ever seen in America butterflies so large as those of Bourbon, Ternate, the Philippine isles, and all the Indian archipelago? The largest bat of America (native to hot shady countries), which is that called by Buffon *vampiro*, is, according to him, of the size of a pigeon. *La rayette*, one of the species of Asia, is as large as a raven; and the *oxfette*, another species of Asia, is as big as a large hen. Its wings, when extended, measure from tip to tip three Parisian feet, and according to Gemellii, who measured it in the Philippine isles, six palms. M. Buffon acknowledges the excess in size of the Asiatic bat over the American species, but denies it as to number. Gemelli says, that those of the island of Luzon were so numerous that they darkened the air, and that the noise which they made with their teeth, in eating the fruits of the woods, was heard at the distance of two miles. M. de Paw says, in talking of serpents, "it cannot be affirmed that the New World has shown any serpents larger than those which Mr. Adanson saw in the desert of Africa." The greatest serpent found in Mexico, after a diligent search made by Hernandez, was 18 feet long: but this is not to be compared with that of the Moluccas, which Bomare says is 27 feet in length; nor with the *anacajida* of Ceylon, which the same author says is more than 33 feet long; nor with others of Asia and Africa, mentioned by the same author. Lastly, the argument drawn from the multitude and size of the American insects is fully as weighty as the argument drawn from the smallness and scarcity of quadrupeds, and both detect the same ignorance, or rather the same voluntary and studied forgetfulness, of the things of the old continent.

With respect to what M. de Paw has said of the tribute of flies in Mexico, in that as well as in many other things he discovers his ridiculous credulity. It is true that Cortes found bags of flies in the magazines of the palace of king Axajacoth. It is also true that Montezuma imposed such a tribute, not on all his subjects, however, but only on those who were beggars: not on account of the extraordinary multitude of those insects, as M. de Paw affirms, but because Montezuma, who could not suffer disorders in his subjects, resolved that that miserable set of people should be

not labour, should at least be occupied in lousing themselves. It was the true reason of such an extravagant tribute, as Torquemada Betancourt, and other historians relate; and nobody ever before thought of that which M. de Paw affirms, merely because it suited his preposterous system. Those disgusting insects possibly about as much in the hair and cloaths of American beggars, as of a poor and uncleanly low people in the world: but there is no doubt, that if any sovereign of Europe was to exact such a tribute from the poor in his dominions, not only bags, but great vessels might be filled with them.

ABORIGENES. At the time America was discovered, it was found inhabited by a race of men no less different from those in the other parts of the world, than the climate and natural productions of this continent are different from those of Europe, Asia, or Africa. One great peculiarity in the native Americans is their colour, and the identity of it throughout the whole extent of the continent. In Europe and Asia, the people who inhabit the northern countries are of a fairer complexion than those who dwell more to the southward. In the torrid zone, both in Africa and Asia, the natives are entirely black, or the next thing to this, however, must be understood with some limitation. The people of Lapland, who inhabit the most northerly part of Europe, are by no means so fair as the inhabitants of Britain: nor are the Tartars so fair as the inhabitants of Europe who lie under the same parallels of latitude. Nevertheless, a Laplander is fair when compared with an Abyssinian, and a Tartar is fair when compared with a native of the Molucca islands.—In America, this distinction of colour was not to be found. In the torrid zone there were no negroes, and in the temperate and frigid zones there were no white people. All of them were of a kind of red copper colour, which Mr. Forster observed, in the Peleerays of Terra del Fuego, to have something of a gloss resembling that metal. It doth not appear, however, that this matter hath ever been inquired into with sufficient accuracy. The inhabitants of the inland parts of South America, where the continent is widest, and consequently the influence of the sun the most powerful, have never been compared with those of Canada, or more northerly parts, at least by any person of credit. Yet this ought to have been done, and that in many instances too, before it could be asserted so positively as most authors do, that there is not the least difference of complexion among the natives of America. Indeed, so many systems have been formed concerning them, that it is very difficult to obtain a true knowledge of the most simple facts. If we believe the Abbé Raynal, the Californians are swarther than

Dr. Robertson, and so positive is he in this opinion, that he gives a reason for it. "This difference of colour," says he, "proves, that the civilized life of society subverts, or totally changes, the order and laws of nature, since we find, under the temperate zone, a savage people that are blacker than the civilized nations of the torrid zone." On the other hand, Dr. Robertson classes all the inhabitants of Spanish America together with regard to colour, whether they are civilized or uncivilized; and when he speaks of California, makes no notice of any peculiarity in their colour more than others. The general appearance of the indigenous Americans in various districts is thus described by the Chevalier Pinto: "They are all of a copper colour, with some diversity of shade, not in proportion to their distance from the equator, but according to the degree of elevation of the territory in which they reside. Those who live in a high country are fairer than those in the marshy low lands on the coast. Their face is round: farther removed, perhaps, than that of any people from an oval shape. Their forehead is small; the extremity of their ears far from the face; their lips thick; their nose straight; their eyes black, or of a chestnut colour, small, but capable of discerning objects at a great distance. Their hair is always thick and sleek, and without any tendency to curl. At the first aspect, a South American appears to be mild and innocent; but, on a more attentive view, one discovers in his countenance something wild, distrustful and sullen."

The following account of the native Americans is given by Don Antonio Ulloa, in a work intitled *Memoires philosophiques, historiques et physiques, concernant, la decouverte de l' Amerique*, lately published.

The American Indians are naturally of a colour bordering upon red. Their frequent exposure to the sun and wind changes it to their ordinary dusky hue. The temperature of the air appears to have little or no influence in this respect. There is no perceptible difference in complexion between the inhabitants of the high and those of the low parts of Peru; yet the climates are of an extreme difference. Nay, the Indians who live as far as 40 degrees and upwards south or north of the equator, are not to be distinguished, in point of colour, from those immediately under it.

There is also a general conformation of features and person, such, more or less, characteriseth them all. Their chief distinctions in these respects are a small forehead, partly covered with hair; low brows, little eyes, the nose thin, pointed, and bent to the upper lip; a broad face, large ears, black, thick, and lank; legs well formed, the feet small, the body thick and muscular, or no beard on the face, and that little never exten-

ing beyond a small part of the chin and upper lip. It may easily be supposed that this general description cannot apply, in all its parts, to every individual; but all of them partake so much of it, that they may easily be distinguished even from the mulattoes, who come nearest to them in point of colour.

The resemblance among all the American tribes is not less remarkable in respect to their genius, character, manners, and particular customs. The most distant tribes are, in these respects, as similar as though they formed but one nation.

All the Indian nations have a peculiar pleasure in painting their bodies of a red colour, with a certain species of earth. The mine of Guancavelica was formerly of no other use than to supply them with this material for dyeing their bodies; and the cinnabar extracted from it was applied entirely to this purpose. The tribes in Louisiana and Canada have the same passion; hence minium is the commodity most in demand there.

It may seem singular that these nations, whose natural colour is red, should affect the same colour as an artificial ornament. But it may be observed, that they do nothing in this respect but what corresponds to the practice of Europeans, who also study to heighten and display to advantage the natural red and white of their complexions. The Indians of Peru have now indeed abandoned the custom of painting their bodies: but it was common among them before they were conquered by the Spaniards; and it still remains the custom of all those tribes who have preserved their liberty. The northern nations of America, besides the red colour which is predominant, employ also black, white, blue, and green, in painting their bodies.

The adjustment of these colours is a matter of as great consideration with the Indians of Louisiana and the vast regions extending to the north, as the ornaments of dress among the most polished nations. The business itself they call *Mactacher*, and they do not fail to apply all their talents and assiduity to accomplish it in the most finished manner. No lady of the greatest fashion ever consulted her mirror with more anxiety, than the Indians do while painting their bodies. The colours are applied with the utmost accuracy and address. Upon the eye-lids, precisely at the root of the eye-lashes, they draw two lines as fine as the smallest thread; the same upon the lips, the openings of the nostrils, the eye-brows, and the ears; of which last they even follow all the inflexions and insinuosities. As to the rest of the face, they distribute various figures, in all which the red predominates, and the other colours are assorted so as to throw it out to the best advantage. The face also receives its proper ornaments: a thick coat of vermilion commonly distinguishes the cheeks. Five or six hours are spent for accomplishing all this with the nicety which they

their first attempts do not always succeed to their wish, they efface them, and begin a-new upon a better plan. No coquette is more fastidious in her choice of ornament, none more vain when the important adjustment is finished. Their delight and self-satisfaction are then so great, that the mirror is hardly ever laid down. An Indian *Mactahed* to his mind is the vainest of all the human species. The other parts of the body are left in their natural state, and, excepting what is called a *cacheut*, they go entirely naked.

Such of them as have made themselves eminent for bravery, or other qualifications, are distinguished by figures painted on their bodies. They introduce the colours by making punctures on their skins, and the extent of surface which this ornament covers is proportioned to the exploits they have performed. Some paint only their arms, others both their arms and legs; others again their thighs, while those who have attained the summit of warlike renown, have their bodies painted from the waist upwards. This is the heraldry of the Indians; the devices of which are probably more exactly adjusted to the merits of the persons who bear them than those of more civilized countries.

Besides these ornaments, the warriors also carry plumes of feathers on their heads, their arms, and ancles. These likewise are tokens of valour, and none but such as have been thus distinguished may wear them.

The propensity to indolence is equal among all the tribes of Indians, civilized or savage. The only employment of those who have preserved their independence is hunting and fishing. In some districts the women exercise a little agriculture in raising Indian corn and pumpions, of which they form a species of aliment, by bruising them together: they also prepare the ordinary beverage in use among them, taking care, at the same time, of the children, of whom the fathers take no charge.

The female Indians of all the conquered regions of South America practise what is called the *ureu* (a word which among them signifies elevation.) It consists in throwing forward the hair from the crown of the head upon the brow, and cutting it round from the ears to above the eye; so that the forehead and eye-brows are entirely covered. The same custom takes place in the Northern countries. The female inhabitants of both regions tie the rest of their hair behind, so exactly on the same fashion, that it is supposed the effect of mutual imitation. This however possible, from the vast distance that separates them, is to countenance the supposition of the whole of America originally planted with one race of people.

This custom does not take place among the males. Those of the higher parts of Peru wear long and flowing hair, which they reckon a great ornament. In the lower parts of the same country they cut it short, on account of the heat of the climate; a circumstance in which they imitate the Spaniards. The inhabitants of Louisiana pluck out their hair by the root, from the crown of the head forwards, in order to obtain a large forehead, otherwise denied them by nature. The rest of their hair they cut as short as possible, to prevent their enemies from seizing them by it in battle, and also to prevent them from easily getting their scalp, should they fall into their hands as prisoners.

The whole race of American Indians is distinguished by thickness of skin and hardnets of fibres; circumstances which probably contribute to that insensibility to bodily pain, for which they are remarkable. An instance of this insensibility occurred in an Indian who was under the necessity of submitting to be cut for the stone. This operation, in ordinary cases, seldom lasts above four or five minutes. Unfavourable circumstances in his case prolonged it to the uncommon period of 27 minutes. Yet all this time the patient gave no tokens of the extreme pain commonly attending this operation; he complained only as a person does who feels some slight uneasiness. At last the stone was extracted. Two days after, he expressed a desire for food, and on the eighth day from the operation he quitted his bed, free from pain, although the wound was not yet thoroughly closed. The same want of sensibility is observed in cases of fractures, wounds, and other accidents of a similar nature. In all these cases their cure is easily effected, and they seem to suffer less present pain than any other race of men. The skulls that have been taken up in their ancient burying-grounds are of a greater thickness than that bone is commonly found, being from six to seven lines from the outer to the inner superficies. The same is remarked as to the thickness of their skin.

It is natural to infer from hence, that their comparative insensibility to pain is owing to a coarser and stronger organization than that of other nations. The ease with which they endure the severities of climate is another proof of this. The inhabitants of the higher parts of Peru live amidst perpetual frost and snow. Although their clothing is very slight, they support this inclement temperature without the least inconvenience. Habit, it is to be confessed, may contribute a good deal to this, but much also is to be ascribed to the compact texture of their skin, which defend them from the impression of cold through their pores.

The northern Indians resemble them in this respect. The utmost rigours of the winter season do not prevent them from

and kneeling, where they lay, and where they were to be
held of it; whilst on the contrary, they have the habit of
bearding of their naked bodies. At all times they go with
their heads uncovered, without infusing the least inconvenience,
either from the cold, or from the exposure of heat, which in
Louisiana are so often fatal to the inhabitants of other climates.

Dress. The Indians of South America distinguish themselves
by various dresses, in which they affect various tastes. Those
of the high country, and of the valleys in Peru, dress partly in the
Spanish fashion. Instead of hats they wear bonnets of coarse dou-
ble cloth, the weight of which neither seems to inconvenience them
when they go to warmer climates, nor does the accidental want
of them seem to be felt in situations where the most piercing
cold reigns. Their legs and feet are always bare, if we except
a sort of sandals made of the skins of oxen. The inhabitants of
South America, compared with those of North America, are
described as generally more feeble in their frame; less vigorous in
the efforts of their mind; of gentler dispositions, more addicted
to pleasure, and sunk in indolence.—This, however, is not
universally the case. Many of their nations are as intrepid and
enterprising as any others on the whole continent. Among the
tribes on the banks of Oroonoko, if a warrior aspires to the
post of captain, his probation begins with a long fast, more rigid
than any ever observed by the most
At the
close of this the chiefs assemble

dignity of which he is ambitious. Even after this evidence, his fortitude is not deemed to be sufficiently ascertained, till he has stood another test more severe, if possible, than the former. He is again suspended in his hammock, and covered with the leaves of the palmetto. A fire of stinking herbs is kindled underneath, so as he may feel its heat, and be involved in smoke. Though scorched and almost suffocated, he must continue to endure this with the same patient insensibility. Many perish in this essay on their firmness and courage; but such as go through it with applause receive the ensigns of their new dignity with much solemnity, and are ever after regarded as leaders of approved resolution, whose behaviour, in the most trying situations, will do honor to their country. In North America, the previous trial of a warrior is neither so formal nor so severe: Though, even there, before a youth is permitted to bear arms, his patience and fortitude are proved by blows, by fire, and by insults, more intolerable to a haughty spirit than either.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS. Of the manners and customs of the North Americans more particularly, the following is the most consistent account that can be collected from the best informed and most impartial writers.

When the Europeans first arrived in America, they found the Indians quite naked, except those parts which even the most uncultivated people usually conceal. Since that time, however, they generally use a coarse blanket, which they buy of the neighbouring planters.

Their huts or cabins are made of stakes of wood driven into the ground, and covered with branches of trees or reeds. They lie on the floor either on mats or on the skins of wild beasts. Their dishes are of timber; but their spoons are made of the skulls of wild oxen, and their knives of flint. A kettle and a large pipe constitute almost all the whole utensils of the family. Their diet consists chiefly in what they procure by hunting; and sagamite, or pottage, is likewise one of their most common kinds of food. The most honourable furniture amongst them is the scalps of their enemies; with those they ornament their huts, which are esteemed in proportion to the number of this sort of spoils.

The character of the Indians is altogether founded upon their circumstances and way of life. A people who are constantly employed in procuring the means of a precarious subsistence, who live by hunting the wild animals, and who are generally engaged in war with their neighbours, cannot be supposed to enjoy gaiety of temper, or a high flow of spirits. The Indians there are in general grave even to sadness; they have nothing of that giddy vivacity peculiar to some nations of Europe, and they are

pile it. Their behaviour to those about them is regular, modest, and respectful. Ignorant of the arts of amusement, of which that of laying trifles agreeably is one of the most considerable, they never speak but when they have something important to observe; and all their actions, words, and even looks, are attended with some meaning. This is extremely natural to men who are almost continually engaged in pursuits which to them are of the highest importance. Their subsistence depends entirely on what they procure with their hands; and their lives, their honour, and every thing dear to them, may be lost by the smallest inattention to the designs of their enemies. As they have no particular object to attach them to one place rather than another, they fly wherever they expect to find the necessaries of life in greatest abundance. Cities, which are the effects of agriculture and arts, they have none. The different tribes or nations are for the same reason extremely small, when compared with civilized societies, in which industry, arts, agriculture, and commerce, have united a vast number of individuals, whom a complicated luxury renders useful to one another. These small tribes live at an immense distance; they are separated by a desert frontier, and hid in the bosom of impenetrable and almost boundless forests.

GOVERNMENT. There is established in each society a certain species of government, which over the whole continent of America prevails with exceeding little variation; because over the whole of this continent the manners and way of life are nearly similar and uniform. Without arts, riches, or luxury, the great instruments of subjection in polished societies, an American has no method by which he can render himself considerable among his companions, but by superiority in personal qualities of body or mind. But as Nature has not been very lavish in her personal distinctions, where all enjoy the same education, all are pretty much equal, and will desire to remain so. Liberty, therefore, is the prevailing passion of the Americans; and their government under the influence of this sentiment, is better secured than by the wisest political regulations. They are very far, however, from despising all sort of authority; they are attentive to the voice of wisdom, which experience has conferred on the aged, and they insist under the banners of the chief in whose valour and military address they have learned to repose their confidence. In every society, therefore, there is to be considered the power of the chief and of the elders; and according as the government inclines more to the one or to the other, it may be regarded as monarchical, or as a species of aristocracy. Among those tribes which are most engaged in war, the power of the chief is naturally predominant; because the idea of having a military leader was

the first source of his superiority, and the continual exigencies of the state requiring such a leader, will continue to support, and even to enhance it. His power, however, is rather persuasive than coercive: he is revered as a father, rather than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no offices of justice, and one act of ill-judged violence would pull him from the throne. The elders, in the other form of government, which may be considered as an aristocracy, have no more power. In some tribes, indeed, there are a kind of hereditary nobility, whose influence being constantly augmented by time, is more considerable. But this source of power, which depends chiefly on the imagination, by which we annex to the merit of our contemporaries that of their forefathers, is too refined to be very common among the natives of America. In most countries, therefore, age alone is sufficient for acquiring respect, influence, and authority. It is age which teaches experience, and experience is the only source of knowledge among a barbarous people. Among those persons business is conducted with the utmost simplicity, and which may recal to those who are acquainted with antiquity a picture of the most early ages. The heads of families meet together in a house or cabin appointed for the purpose. Here the business is discussed; and here those of the nation, distinguished for their eloquence or wisdom, have an opportunity of displaying those talents. Their orators, like those of Homer, express themselves in a bold figurative style, stronger than refined, or rather softened, nations can well bear, and with gestures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expressive. When the business is over, and they happen to be well provided with food, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes. The feast is accompanied with a song, in which the real or fabulous exploits of their forefathers are celebrated. They have dances too, though, like those of the Greeks and Romans, chiefly of the military kind; and their music and dancing accompany every feast.

To assist their memory, they have belts of small shells, or beads, of different colours, each representing a particular object, which is marked by their colour and arrangement. At the conclusion of every subject on which they discourse, when they treat with a foreign state, they deliver one of those belts: for if this ceremony should be omitted, all that they have said passes for nothing. Those belts are carefully deposited in each town, as the public records of the nation: and to them they occasionally have recourse, when any public contest happens with a neighbouring tribe. Of late, as the materials of which those belts are made have become scarce, they often give some skin in place of the wampum (the name of the beads,) and receive in return presents of a more va-

table kind from our commissioners; for they never consider a treaty as of any weight, unless every article in it be ratified by such a grand council.

It often happens, that those different tribes or nations, scattered as they are at an immense distance from one another, meet in their excursions after prey. If there subsists no animosity between them, which seldom is the case, they behave in the most friendly and courteous manner; but if they happen to be in a state of war, or if there has been no previous intercourse between them, all who are not friends are deemed enemies, and they fight with the most savage fury.

War, if we except hunting, is the only employment of the men; as to every other concern, and even the little agriculture they enjoy, it is left to the women. Their most common motive for entering into war, when it does not arise from an accidental encounter or interference, is either to revenge themselves for the death of some lost friends, or to acquire prisoners, who may assist them in their hunting, and whom they adopt into their society. These wars are either undertaken by some private adventurers, or at the instance of the whole community. In the latter case, all the young men who are disposed to go out to battle for no one is compelled contrary to his inclination; give a bundle of wood to the chief, as a token of their design to accompany him; for every thing among these people is transacted with a great deal of ceremony and many forms. The chief who is to conduct them fasts several days, during which he converses with no one, and is particularly careful to observe his dreams; which the presumption natural to savages generally renders as favourable as he could desire. A variety of other superstitions and ceremonies are observed. One of the most hideous is setting the war-kettle on the fire, as an emblem that they are going out to devour their enemies; which among some nations must formerly have been the case, since they still continue to express it in clear terms, and use an emblem significant of the ancient usage. Then they dispatch a porcelaine, or large shell, to their allies, inviting them to come along, and drink the blood of their enemies. They think that those in their alliance must not only adopt their enemies, but have their resentment wound up to the same pitch with themselves. And indeed no people carry their friendship or their resentment so far as they do; and this is what should be expected from their peculiar circumstances: that principle in human nature which is the spring of the social affections, acts with so much the greater force the more it is restrained. The Americans, who live in small societies, who see few objects and few persons, become wonderfully attached to those objects and persons, and cannot be deprived of them.

without feeling themselves miserable. Their ideas are too confined to enable them to entertain just sentiments of humanity, or universal benevolence. But this very circumstance, while it makes them cruel and savage to an incredible degree towards those with whom they are at war, adds a new force to their particular friendships, and to the common tie which unites the members of the same tribe, or of those different tribes which are in alliance with one another. Without attending to this reflection, some facts we are going to relate would excite our wonder without informing our reason, and we should be bewildered in a number of particulars, seemingly opposite to one another, without being sensible of the general cause from which they proceed.

Having finished all the ceremonies previous to the war, and the day appointed for their setting out on the expedition being arrived, they take leave of their friends, and exchange their clothes, or whatever moveables they have, in token of mutual friendship; after which they proceed from the town, their wives and female relations walking before, and attending them to some distance. The warriors march all dressed in their finest apparel and most showy ornaments, without any order. The chief walks slowly before them, singing the war-song, while the rest observe the most profound silence. When they come up to their women, they deliver them all their finery, and putting on their worst clothes, proceed on their expedition.

Every nation has its peculiar ensign or standard, which is generally some beast, bird, or fish. Those among the Five Nations are the bear, otter, wolf, tortoise, and eagle; and by these names the tribes are usually distinguished. They have the figures of those animals pricked and painted on several parts of their bodies; and when they march through the woods, they commonly, at every encampment, cut the representation of their ensign on trees, especially after a successful campaign: marking at the same time the number of scalps or prisoners they have taken. Their military dress is extremely singular. They cut off or pull out all their hair, except a spot about the breadth of two English crown-pieces, near the top of their heads, and entirely destroy their eye-brows. The lock left upon their heads is divided into several parcels, each of which is stiffened and adorned with wampum, beads, and feathers of various kinds, the whole being twisted into a form much resembling the modern pompoon. Their heads are painted red down to the eye-brows, and sprinkled over with white down. The gristles of their ears are split almost quite round, and distended with wires or splinters so as to meet and tie together on the nape of the neck. These are also hung with ornaments, and generally bear the representation of some bird or beast. Their noses are

are likewise bored and hung with trinkets of beads, and their faces painted with various colours so as to make an awful appearance. Their breasts are adorned with a gorget or medal, of brass, copper, or some other metal, and that dreadful weapon the scalping-knife hangs by a string from their neck.

The great qualities in an Indian war are vigilance and attention, to give and to avoid a surprise; and indeed in these they are superior to all nations in the world. Accustomed to continual wandering in the forests, having their perceptions sharpened by open necessity, and living in every respect according to nature, their external senses have a degree of acuteness which at first view appears incredible. They can trace out their enemies at an immense distance by the smoke of their fires, which they smell, and by the tracks of their feet on the ground, imperceptible to an European eye, but which they can count and distinguish with the utmost facility. They can even distinguish the different nations with whom they are acquainted, and can determine the precise time when they passed, where an European could not, with all his glasses, distinguish footsteps at all. These circumstances, however, are of small importance, because their enemies are no less acquainted with them. When they go out, therefore, they take care to avoid making use of any thing by which they might run the danger of a discovery. They light no fire to warm themselves or to prepare their victuals: they lie close to the ground all the day, and travel only in the night; and marching along in files, he that closes the rear diligently covers with leaves the tracks of his own feet and of theirs who preceded him. When they halt to refresh themselves, scouts are sent out to reconnoitre the country and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy to be concealed. In this manner they enter unawares the villages of their foes, and while the flower of the nation are engaged in hunting, massacre all the children, women, and helpless old men, or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or have strength enough to be useful to their nation. But when the enemy is apprised of their design, and coming on in arms against them, they throw themselves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves, which their faces are painted to resemble. Then they allow a part to pass unmolested, when all at once with a tremendous shout, rising up from their ambush, they pour a storm of musket bullets on their foes. The party

the same cry. Every one shelters himself with arms the fire of the adverse party, as soon as they from the ground to give a second fire. Thus does the one party is so much weakened as

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to be incapable of further resistance. But if the force of this sentiment nearly equal, the fierce spirits of the savages, armed by the loss of their friends, can no longer be rest. They abandon their distant war, they rush upon one another, clubs and hatchets in their hands, magnifying their own and punishing their enemies with the bitterest reproaches, cruel and barbarous crimes, death appears in a thousand hideous forms which would congeal the blood of civilized nations to labour which rouse the fury of savages. They trample, they tread over the dead bodies, tearing the scalp from the head, wallowing their blood like wild beasts, and sometimes devouring flesh. The strife rages on till it meets with no resistance, the prisoners are secured, those unhappy men, whose fate is a thousand times more dreadful than theirs who have died in battle. The conquerors set up a hideous howling to lament friends they have lost. They approach in a melancholy and gloom to their own villages: a messenger is sent to announce the evil, and the women, with frightful shrieks, come out to cheer their brothers or their husbands. When they are a company, the chiefs raise a voice to the elders, a circumstance which is every indication of the expedition. The orator then rises, and he speaks to the people, and as he mentions the names of the slain, he tells the virtues of the warriors, and the high and noble actions in which they engaged. The oration is the proclamation of the victory: each individual congratulates his own misfortune, and joins in the triumph. All tears are wiped from their eyes, and by an inextinguishable emotion, they put in a moment from the bitter sorrow to pure rapture of joy. But the treatment of the prisoners, when the result of this time remains undecided, is what distinguishes the savages.

We have already mentioned the strength of their affection for one another. United as they are in their interests, so united are they by the firmest ties, their friendly assistance flows with the most intense warmth within the tribe, and soon extends beyond them. They sympathize for the enemies of their nation: and their resentment is excited when the individual feels that injured the honour of the tribe. The prisoners, who have the misfortune to be taken, know the nature of their conquerors, and are treated accordingly. The prisoners taken from the neighbouring tribes, who are owing to the distance by which they are separated, are treated with the least humanity. But the prisoners taken from the distant weak

are determined to put it to the proof, by the most exquisite tortures. They begin at the extremity of his limbs, and gradually approach the more vital parts. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; another takes a finger into his mouth, and tears off the flesh with his teeth; a third thrusts the finger, mangled as it is, into the bowl of a pipe made red hot, which he smokes like tobacco; then they pound his toes and fingers to pieces between two stones; they cut circles about his joints, and gashes in the fleshy parts of his limbs, which they tear immediately with red-hot irons, cutting, burning, and pinching them alternately: they pull off this flesh, thus mangled and roasted bit by bit, devouring it with greediness, and smearing their faces with the blood in an enthusiasm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the flesh, they twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them, whilst others are employed in pulling and extending their limbs in every way that can increase the torment. This continues often five or six hours; and sometimes such is the strength of the savage, days together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, and to think what new torments they shall inflict, and to refresh the strength of the sufferer, who, wearied out with such a variety of unheard-of tortures, often falls into so profound a sleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to awake him, and renew his sufferings. He is again fastened to the stake, and again they renew their cruelty; they stick him all over with small

clubs and stones, now up, now down, falling into their fires at every step, runs hither and thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compassion, or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or dagger. The body is then put into a kettle, and this barbarous employment is succeeded by a feast as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, and transformed into something worse than furies, even outdo the men in this scene of horror: while the principal persons of the country sit round the stake, smoking and looking on without the least emotion. What is most extraordinary, the sufferer himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smokes too, appears unconcerned, and converses with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed, during the whole time of his execution, there seems a contest which shall exceed, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them with a firmness and constancy almost above human: not a groan, not a sigh, not a distortion of countenance escapes him; he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments; he recounts his own exploits; he informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death: and, though his reproaches exasperate them to a perfect madness of rage and fury, he continues his insults even of their ignorance of the art of tormenting, pointing out himself more exquisite methods, and more sensible parts of the body to be affected. The women have this part of courage as well as the men: and it is so rare for an Indian to behave otherwise as it would be for any European to suffer as an Indian. Such is the wonderful power of an early education, and a ferocious thirst of glory. "I am brave and intrepid (exclaims the savage in the face of his tormentors); I do not fear death, nor any kind of tortures: those who fear them are cowards; they are less than women; life is nothing to those that have courage; May my enemies be confounded with despair and rage! Oh! that I could devour them, and drink their blood to the last drop."

But neither the intrepidity on one side, nor the inflexibility on the other, are among themselves matter of astonishment: for vengeance, and fortitude in the midst of torment, are duties which they consider as sacred; they are the effects of their earliest education, and depend upon principles instilled into them from their infancy. On all other occasions they are humane and compassionate. Nothing can exceed the warmth of their affection towards their friends, who consist of all those who live in the same village, or are in alliance with it: among these all things are common; and this, though it may in part arise from their not possessing very distinct notions of separate property, is chiefly to

is attributed to the strength of their attachment ; because in every thing else, with their lives as well as their fortunes, they are ready to serve their friends. Their houses, their provisions, even their young women, are not enough to oblige a guest. Has any one of these succeeded ill in his hunting ? Has his harvest failed ? Is his horse burned ? He feels no other effect of his misfortunes than that it gives him an opportunity to experience the benevolence and regard of his fellow-citizens. On the other hand, to the enemies of his country, or to those who have privately offended, the American is implacable. He conceals his sentiments, he appears reconciled, until by some treachery or surprise he has an opportunity of executing an horrible revenge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment ; no distance of place great enough to protect the object ; he crosses the steepest mountains, he pierces the most impracticable forest, and traverses the most hideous bogs and deserts for several hundreds of miles ; bearing the inclemency of the seasons, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst, with patience and cheerfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, on whom he exercises the most shocking barbarities, even to the eating of his flesh. To such extremes do the Indians push their friendship or their enmity ; and such indeed, in general, is the character of all strong and uncultivated minds.

But what we have said respecting the Indians would be a faint picture, did we omit observing the force of their friendship, which principally appears by the treatment of their dead. When any one of the society is cut off, he is lamented by the whole : on this occasion a thousand ceremonies are practised, denoting the most lively sorrow. No business is transacted, however pressing, till all the pious ceremonies, due to the dead are performed. The body is washed, anointed, and painted. Then the women lament the loss with hideous howlings, intermixed with songs which celebrate the great actions of the deceased and his ancestors. The men mourn in a less extravagant manner. The whole village is present at the interment, and the corpse is habited in their most sumptuous ornaments. Close to the body of the deceased are placed his bows and arrows, with whatever he valued most in his life, and a quantity of provision for his subsistence on the journey which he is supposed to take. This solemnity, like every other, is attended with feasting. The funeral being ended, the relations of the deceased confine themselves to their huts for considerable time to indulge their grief. After an interval of some weeks they visit the grave, repeat their sorrow, new clothe the remains of the body, and act over again all the solemnities of the funeral.

Among the various tokens of their regard for their deceased friends, the most remarkable is what they call the *feast of the dead*, or the *great feast*. The day for this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence; and the neighboring nations are invited to partake of the entertainment. At this time, all who have died since the preceding feast of the kind are taken out of their graves. Even those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages are diligently sought for, and conducted to this rendezvous of the dead, which exhibits a scene of horror beyond the power of description. When the feast is concluded, the bodies are dressed in the manner in which can be procured, and after being exposed for some time, in this posture, are again committed to the earth with great solemnity, which is succeeded by funeral games.

Idolatry is the principal error, the chief ingredient in their character, and the source of all their religion. Aireikoui, or the god of benevolence, is the great god of the Indians. Him they adore, and to him they offer sacrifices; and according as his disposition is good or bad towards them, they conclude they will be happy or miserable. Some nations worship the sun and moon, and others the stars. There are a number of traditions, relative to the origin of the world, and the history of the gods: traditions which are the basis of their religion; but which are still more ancient and more mysterious. But the most remarkable the prevailing character of the Indians, and the principle on which they have some immediate occasion for the existence of the gods, is that they pay them no sort of worship. Like all the nations of America, they are strongly addicted to superstition. They believe in the existence of a number of good and bad spirits, who interfere in the affairs of mortals, and produce the most violent passions of envy. It is from the evil genius, in particular, that all diseases proceed; and it is to the good genius we are indebted for recovery. The ministers of the gods are the sorcerers, who are also the only physicians among the savages. Some of these are supposed to be inspired by the good genius, in order to deliver mankind from diseases, with the knowledge of future events, and to be called in to the assistance of the sick, and are supposed to be informed by the genius whether they will recover the disease, and in what way they must be treated. But their spirits are extremely impure in their system of philosophy, and almost every doctrine is a struggle to the last moment. The priests are married men, who live in the midst of what is a domestic life, and are not so well worshipped, until they have taken the vows of celibacy, and are then more worshipped. Their religion is a mixture of superstition and reason, and is a mixture of the two.

performs very extraordinary cures. The jugglers have the use of some specifics of wonderful efficacy; and all savages are dexterous in curing wounds by the application of them. But the power of these remedies is always attributed to magical ceremonies with which they are administered.

Though the women generally bear the laborious part of domestic economy, their condition is far from being so slavish as it appears. On the contrary, the greatest respect is paid by the men to the female sex. The women even hold their councils, and have their share in all deliberations which concern the state. Polygamy is practised by some nations, but is not general. In most, they content themselves with one wife; but a divorce is admitted in case of adultery. No nation of the Americans is without a regular marriage in which there are many ceremonies; the principal of which is the bride's presenting the bridegroom with a plate of their corn. The women, though before incontinent, are remarkable for chastity after marriage.

Liberty, in its full extent, being the darling passion of the Indians, their education is directed in such a manner as to cherish this disposition to the utmost. Hence children are never upon any account chastised with blows, and they are seldom even reprimanded. Reason, they say, will guide their children when they come to the use of it, and before that time their faults cannot be very great; but blows might damp their free and martial spirit, by the habit of a slavish motive to action. When grown up, they experience nothing like command, dependence, or subordination; even strong persuasion is industriously withheld by those who have influence among them.—No man is held in great esteem, unless he has increased the strength of his country with a captive, or adorned his hut with a scalp of one of his enemies.

Disputes among the Indians are few, and quickly decided. When any criminal matter is so flagrant as to become a national concern, it is brought under the jurisdiction of the great council; in ordinary cases, the crime is either revenged or compromised by the parties concerned. If a murder be committed, the family which has lost a relation prepares to retaliate on that of the offender. They often kill the murderer; and when this happens, the blood of the last person slain look upon themselves to be as much avenged, and to have the same right to vengeance as the other party. In general, however, the offender absents himself; the party slain send compliments of condolence to those of the person who has been murdered. The head of the family at length appears with a number of presents, the delivery of which he accompanies with a formal speech. The whole ends as usual, in mutual

feastings, songs, and dances. If the murder is committed by one of the same family or cabin, that cabin has the full right of judgment within itself, either to punish the guilty with death, or to pardon him, or to oblige him to give some recompence to the wife or children of the slain. Instances of such a crime, however, very seldom happen: for their attachment to those of the same family is remarkably strong, and is said to produce such friendships as may vie with the most celebrated in fabulous antiquity.

Such, in general, are the manners and customs of the Indian nations: but every tribe has something peculiar to itself. Among the Iroquois and Natchez, the dignity of the chief is hereditary, and the right of succession in the female line. When this happens to be extinct, the most respectable matron of the tribe makes choice of whom she pleases to succeed.

The Cherokees are governed by several sachems or chiefs, elected by the different villages; as are also the Creeks and Chactaws. The two latter punish adultery in a woman by cutting off her hair, which they will not suffer to grow till the corn is ripe the next season; but the Illinois, for the same crime, cut off the womens noses and ears.

The Indians on the lakes are formed into a sort of empire; and the emperor is elected from the eldest tribe, which is that of the Ottowawaws. He has the greatest authority of any chief that has appeared on the continent since our acquaintance with it. A few years ago, the person who held this rank formed a design of uniting all the Indian nations under his sovereignty; but he miscarried in the attempt.

In general, the American Indians live to a great age, although it is not possible to know from themselves the exact number of their years. It was asked of an Indian, who appeared to be extremely old, what age he was of? I am above twenty, was his reply. Upon putting the question in a different form, by reminding him of certain circumstances in former times, My machu, said he, spoke to me when I was young of the Incas: and he had seen these princes. According to this reply, there must have elapsed, from the date of his machu's (his grandfather's) remembrance to that time, a period of at least 232 years. The man who made this reply appeared to be 120 years of age: for, besides the whiteness of his hair and beard, his body was almost bent to the ground; without, however, showing any other marks of debility or suffering. This happened in 1764. This longevity, attended in general with uninterrupted health, is probably the consequence in part of their vacancy from all serious thought and employment, joined also with the robust texture and conformation of their bodily organs. If the Indians did not destroy one another in their almost

perpetual wars, and if their habits of intoxication were not so universal and incurable, they would be, of all the races of men who inhabit the globe, the most likely to prolong, not only the bounds, but the enjoyments, of animal life to their utmost duration.

Let us now attend to other pictures which have been given of the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World. The vices and defects of the American Indians have by several writers been most unaccountably aggravated, and every virtue and good quality denied them. Their cruelties have been already described and accounted for. The following anecdote of an Algonquin woman we find adduced as a remarkable proof of their innate thirst of blood. That nation being at war with the Iroquois, she happened to be made prisoner, and was carried to one of the villages belonging to them. Here she was stripped naked, and her hands and feet bound with ropes in one of their cabins. In this condition she remained ten days, the savages sleeping round her every night. The eleventh night, while they were asleep, she found means to disengage one of her hands, with which she immediately freed herself from the ropes, and went to the door. Though she had now an opportunity of escaping unperceived, her revengeful temper could not let slip so favourable an opportunity of killing one of her enemies. The attempt was manifestly at the hazard of her own life; yet, snatching up a hatchet, she killed the savage that lay next her; and, springing out of the cabin, concealed herself in a hollow tree which she had observed the day before. The groans of the dying person soon alarmed the other savages, and the young ones immediately set out in pursuit of her. Perceiving from her tree, that they all directed their course one way, and that no savage was near her, she left her sanctuary, and, flying by an opposite direction, ran into a forest without being perceived. The second day after this happened, her footsteps were discovered, and they pursued her with such expedition, that the third day she discovered her enemies at her heels. Upon this she threw herself into a pond of water; and, diving among some weeds and bulrushes, she could just breathe above water without being perceived. Her pursuers, after making the most diligent search, were forced to return.—For 35 days this woman held on her course through woods and deserts, without any other subsistence than roots and wild berries. When she came to the River St. Lawrence, she made with her own hands a kind of a raft, on which she crossed it. As she went by the French in the Rivieres, without well knowing where she was, she saw a canoe full of savages; and, fearing they might be run again into the woods, where she remained till sunset. Her course, soon after she saw Trois Rivieres; and

was then discovered by a party whom she knew to be Hurons, a nation in alliance with the Algonquins. She then squatted down behind a bush, calling out to them that she was not in a condition to be seen, because she was naked. They immediately threw her a blanket, and then conducted her to the fort, where she recounted her story.

Personal courage has been denied them. In proof of their pusillanimity, the following incidents are quoted from Charlevoix by Lord Kames, in his sketches of the History of Man. "The fort de Vercheres in Canada, belonging to the French, was, in the year 1690, attacked by some Iroquois. They approached silently, preparing to scale the palisade, when some musket shot made them retire. Advancing a second time, they were again repulsed, wondering they could discover none but a woman, who was seen every where. This was Madame de Vercheres, who appeared as resolute as if supported by a numerous garrison. The hopes of storming a place without men to defend it occasioned reiterated attacks. After two days siege, they retired, fearing to be intercepted in their retreat. Two years after, a party of the same nation appeared before the fort so unexpectedly, that a girl of fourteen, daughter of the proprietor, had but time to shut the gate. With the young woman there was not a soul but one raw soldier. She showed herself with her assistant, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another; changing her dress frequently, in order to give some appearance of a garrison; and always fired opportunely. The faint-hearted Iroquois decamped without success."

There is no instance, it is said, either of a single Indian facing an individual of any other nation in fair and open combat, or of their jointly venturing to try the fate of battle with an equal number of any foes. Even with the greatest superiority of numbers, they dare not meet an open attack. Yet, notwithstanding this want of courage, they are still formidable; nay, it has been known, that a small party of them has routed a much superior body of regular troops: but this can only happen when they have surprised them in the fastnesses of their forests, where the covert of the wood may conceal them until they take their aim with their utmost certainty. After one such discharge they immediately retreat, without leaving the smallest trace of their route. It may easily be supposed, that an onset of this kind must produce confusion even among the steadiest troops, when they can neither know the number of their enemies, nor perceive the place where they lie in ambush.

Perfidy combined with cruelty has been also made a part of their character. Den Ulloa relates, That the Indians of the country

called *Natches*, in Louisiana, laid a plot of massacring in one night every individual belonging to the French colony established there. This plot they actually executed, notwithstanding the seeming good understanding that subsisted between them and these European neighbours. Such was the secrecy which they observed, that no person had the least suspicion of their design until the blow was struck. One Frenchman alone escaped, by favour of the darkness, to relate the disaster of his countrymen. The compassion of a female Indian contributed also in some measure to his exemption from the general massacre. The tribe of *Natches* had invited the Indians of other countries, even to a considerable distance, to join in the same conspiracy. The day, or rather the night, was fixed, on which they were to make an united attack on the French colonists. It was intimated by sending a parcel of rods, more or less numerous according to the local distance of each tribe, with an injunction to abstract one rod daily; the day on which the last fell to be taken away being that fixed for the execution of their plan. The women were partners of the bloody secret. The parcels of rods being thus distributed, that belonging to the tribe of *Natches* happened to remain in the custody of a female. This woman, either moved by her own feelings of compassion, or by the commiseration expressed by her female acquaintances in the view of the proposed scene of bloodshed, abstracted one day three or four of the rods, and thus anticipated the term of her tribe's proceeding to the execution of the general conspiracy. The consequence of this was, that the *Natches* were the only actors in this tragedy: their distant associates having still several rods remaining at the time when the former made the attack. An opportunity was thereby given to the colonists in those quarters to take measures for their defence, and for preventing a more extensive execution of the design.

It was by conspiracies similar to this that the Indians of the province of *Macas*, in the kingdom of *Quito*, destroyed the opulent city of *Logrogno*, the colony of *Guambaya*, and its capital *Sevilla del Oro*; and that so completely, that it is no longer known in what place these settlements existed, or where that abundance of gold was found from which the last-mentioned city took the addition to its name. Like ravages have been committed upon *l'Imperiale* in *Chili*, the colonies of the *Missions* of *Chuncas*, those of *Darien* in *Terra Firma*, and many other places, which have afforded scenes of this barbarous ferocity. These conspiracies are always carried on in the same manner. The secret is inviolably kept, the actors assemble at the precise hour appointed, and every individual is animated with the same sanguinary purposes. The males that fall into their hands are put to death with every

shocking circumstance that can be suggested by a cool and determined cruelty. The females are carried off, and preserved as monuments of their victory, to be employed as their occasions require. ~~Not~~ ^{Not} can this odious cruelty and treachery, it is said, be justly ascribed to their subjection to a foreign yoke, seeing the same character, belongs equally to all the original inhabitants of this vast continent, even those who have preserved their independence most completely. Certain it is, continues he, that their people, with the most limited capacities for every thing else, display an astonishing degree of penetration and subtlety with respect to every object that involves treachery, bloodshed, and rapine. As to these, they seem to have been all educated at one school; and a secret, referring to any such plan, no consideration on earth can extort from them.

Their understandings also have been represented as not less contemptible than their manners are gross and brutal. Many nations are neither capable of forming an arrangement for futurity; nor did their solicitude or foresight extend so far. They set no value upon those things of which they were not in some immediate want. In the evening when a Carib is going to rest, no consideration will tempt him to sell his hammock; but in the morning he will part with it for the slightest trifle. At the close of winter, a North American, mindful of what he has suffered from the cold, sets himself with vigour to prepare materials for erecting a comfortable hut to protect him against the inclemency of the succeeding season: but as soon as the weather becomes mild, he abandons his work, and never thinks of it more till the return of the cold compels him to resume it.—In short to be free from labour seems to be the utmost wish of an American. They will continue whole days stretched in their hammocks, or seated on the earth, without changing their posture, raising their eyes, or uttering a single word. They cannot compute the succession of days nor of weeks. The different aspects of the moon alone engage their attention as a measure of time. Of the year they have no other conception than what is suggested to them by the alternate heat of summer and cold of winter; nor have they the least idea of applying to this period the obvious computation of the months which it contains. When it is asked of any old man in Peru, even the most civilized, what age he is of? the only answer he can give is the number of cicques he has seen. It often happens, too, that they only recollect the most distant of these princes in whose time certain circumstances had happened peculiarly memorable, while of those that lived in a more recent period they have lost all remembrance.

The same gross stupidity is alledged to be observable in those as who have retained their original liberty. They are never

known to fix the dates of any events in their minds, or to trace the succession of circumstances that have arisen from such events. Their imagination takes in only the present, and in that only what intimately concerns themselves. Nor can discipline or instruction overcome this natural defect of apprehension. In fact, the subjected Indians in Peru, who have a continual intercourse with the Spaniards, who are furnished with curates perpetually occupied in giving them lessons of religion and morality, and who mix with all ranks of the civilized society established among them, are almost as stupid and barbarous as their countrymen who have had no such advantages. The Peruvians, while they lived under the government of their Incas, preserved the records of certain remarkable events. They had also a kind of regular government, described by the historians of the conquest of Peru. This government originated entirely from the attention and abilities of their princes, and from the regulations enacted by them for directing the conduct of their subjects. This ancient degree of civilization among them gives ground to presume, that their legislators sprung from some race more enlightened than the other tribes of Indians; a race of which no individual seems to remain in the present times.

Vanity and conceit are said to be blended with their ignorance and treachery. Notwithstanding all they suffer from Europeans, they still, it is said, consider themselves as a race of men far superior to their conquerors. This proud belief, arising from their perverted ideas of excellence, is universal over the whole known continent of America. They do not think it possible that any people can be so intelligent as themselves. When they are deceived in any of their plots, it is their common observation, that the Spaniards, or *Pariacoshas*, want to be as knowing as they are. Those of Louisiana, and the countries adjacent, are equally vain of their superior understanding, confounding that quality with cunning which they themselves constantly practise. The whole object of their transactions is to over-reach those with whom they deal. Yet though faithless themselves, they never give the breach of promise on the part of others. While the Europeans seek their amity by presents, they give themselves no concern to secure a reciprocal friendship. Hence, probably, arises the idea, that they must be a superior race of men, in ability and intelligence, to those who are at such pains to court their friendship and avert their enmity.

Natural eloquence has also been decried. The free tribes who enter into conventions with the Europeans, it is said, are accustomed to make long, pompous, and, according to European notions, sublime harangues, but without any method

or connection. The whole is a collection of disjointed metaphors and comparisons. The light, heat and course of the sun, form the principal topic of their discourse; and these unintelligible reasonings are always accompanied with violent and ridiculous gestures. Numberless repetitions prolong the oration, which, if not interrupted, would last whole days: At the same time, they meditate very accurately beforehand, in order to avoid mentioning any thing but what they are desirous to obtain. This pompous faculty of making speeches is also one of the grounds on which they conceive themselves to be superior to the nations of Europe: They imagine it is their eloquence that procures them the favours they ask. The subjected Indians converse precisely in the same style. Proud and tedious, they never know when to stop: so that, excepting by the difference in language, it would be impossible, in this respect, to distinguish a civilized Peruvian from an inhabitant of the most savage districts to the northward.

But such partial and detached views as the above, were they even free from misrepresentation, are not the just ground upon which to form an estimate of their character. Their qualities, good and bad, for they certainly possess both, their way of life, the state of society among them, with all the circumstances of their condition, ought to be considered in connection, and in regard to their mutual influence. Such a view has been given in the preceding part of this article: from which, it is hoped, their real character may be easily deduced.

Many of the disagreeable traits exhibited in the anecdotes just quoted, are indeed extracted from Don Ulloa: an author of credit and reputation: but a Spaniard, and evidently biased in some degree by a desire to palliate the enormities of his countrymen in that quarter of the globe. And with regard to the worst and least equivoical parts of the American character, cruelty and revenge, it may be fairly questioned, whether the instances of these, either in respect of their cause or their atrocity, be at all comparable to those exhibited in European history, and flaming the annals of Christendom:—to those, for instance, of the Spaniards themselves, at their first discovery of America; to those indicated by the engines found on board their mighty Armada; to those which in cold blood, were perpetrated by the Dutch at Amboyna; to the draggings of the French; to their religious massacres; or even to the *tender mercies* of the Inquisition!

Still farther, however, are the descriptions given by *Buffon* and *de Pau* of the natives of this whole continent, in which the most mortifying degeneracy of the human race, as well as of all the inferior animals, is asserted to be conspicuous. Against those philosophers, or rather theorists, the Americans have found an

able advocate in the Abbé *Clavigero*; an historian whose situation and long residence in America afforded him the best means of information, and who, though himself a subject of Spain, appears superior to prejudice, and disdains in his description the glosses of policy.

Concerning the stature of the Americans, M. de Paw says, in general, that although it is not equal to the stature of the Castilians, there is but little difference between them. But the Abbé *Clavigero* evinces, that the Indians who inhabit those countries lying between 9 and 40 degrees of north latitude, which are the limits of the discoveries of the Spaniards, are more than five Parisian feet in height, and that those that do not reach that stature are as few in number amongst the Indians as they are amongst the Spaniards. It is besides certain, that many of those nations, as the *Apachis*, the *Ilouques*, the *Pimose*, and *Cochimies*, are at least as tall as the tallest Europeans; and that, in all the vast extent of the New World, no race of people has been found, except the *Equinians*, so diminutive in stature as the Lillipudians, the *Samoyeds*, or *Tatars*, in the north of the Old Continent. In this respect, therefore, the inhabitants of the two continents are upon an equality.

Of the shape and character of the Mexican Indians, the Abbé gives a most advantageous description; which he asserts no one who reads it in America will contradict, unless he views them with the eye of a prejudiced mind. It is true, that *Ulloa* says, in speaking of the Indians of *Quito*, he had observed, "that imperfect people abounded among them; that they were either regularly diminutive, or monstrous in some other respect; that they became either insensible, dumb, or blind, or wanted some limb of their body." Having therefore made some inquiry respecting this singularity of the *Quitans*, the Abbé found, that such defects were neither caused by bad humours, nor by the climate, but by the mistaken and blind humanity of their parents, who, in order to free their children from the hardships and toils to which the healthy Indians are subjected by the Spaniards, fix the deformity or weakness upon them that they may become useless, a circumstance of misery which does not happen in other countries of America, not in those places of the same kingdom of *Quito*, where the Indians are under no such oppression. M. de Paw, and in agreement with him Dr. Robertson says, that no deformed persons are to be found among the savages of America, because, like the ancient *Lacedæmonians*, they put to death those children which are born hunch-backed, blind, or defective in any limb; but that in those countries where they are formed into

societies, and the vigilance of their rulers prevent the murder of such infants, the number of their deformed individuals is greater than it is in any other country of Europe. This would make an exceeding good solution of the difficulty if it were true: but if, possibly, there has been in America a tribe of savages who have imitated the barbarous example of the celebrated Lacedemonians, it is certain that those authors have no grounds to impute such inhumanity to the rest of the Americans; for that it has not been the practice, at least with the far greater part of those nations, is to be demonstrated from the attestations of the authors the best acquainted with their customs.

No argument against the New World can be drawn from the colour of the Americans: for their colour is less distant from the white of the Europeans than it is from the black of the Africans, and a great part of the Asiatics. The hair of the Mexicans, and of the greater part of the Indians, is, as we have already said, coarse and thick; on their face they appear to have little, and in general none on their arms and legs: but it is an error to say, as M. de Paw does, that they are entirely destitute of hair in all the other parts of the body. This is one of the many passages of the Philosophical Researches, at which the Mexicans, and all the other nations, must smile to find an European philosopher so eager to divest them of the dress they had from nature. Don Ulloa, indeed in the description which he gives of the Indians of Quito, says, that hair neither grows upon the men nor upon the women when they arrive at puberty, as it does on the rest of mankind: but whatever singularity may attend the Quitans, or occasion this circumstance, there is no doubt, that among the Americans in general, the period of puberty is accompanied with the same symptoms as it is among other nations of the world. In fact, with the North Americans, it is disgraceful to be hairy on the body. They say it likens them to hogs. They therefore pluck the hair as fast as it appears. But the traders who marry their women and prevail on them to discontinue this practice, say, that nature is the same with them as with the whites. As to the beards of the men, had Buffon or de Paw known the pains and trouble it costs them to pluck out by the roots the hair that grows on their faces, they would have seen that nature had not been deficient in that respect. Every nation has its customs. "I have seen an Indian bear, with a looking-glass in his hand (says Mr. Jefferson), examining his face for hours together, and plucking out by the roots every hair he could discover, with a kind of tweezer made of a piece of fine brats wire, that had been twisted round a stick, and which he used with great dexterity."

The very aspect of an Angolan, Mandigan, or Congan, would have shocked M. de Paw, and made him recal that censure which he passes on the colour, the make, and the hair of the Americans. What can be imagined more contrary to the idea we have of beauty, and the perfection of the human frame, than a man whose body emits a rank smell, whose skin is as black as ink, whose head and face are covered with black wool instead of hair, whose eyes are yellow and bloody, whose lips are thick and blackish, and whose nose is flat? Such are the inhabitants of a very large portion of Africa, and of many islands of Asia. What men can be more imperfect than those who measure no more than four feet in stature, whose faces are long and flat, the nose compressed, the irides yellowish black, the eye-lids turned back towards the temples, the cheeks extraordinarily elevated, their mouths monstrously large, their lips thick and prominent, and the lower part of their villages extremely narrow? Such according to Count de Buffon, are the Laplanders, the Zemblans, the Borandines, the Samojeds, and Tartars in the East. What objects more deformed than men whose faces are too long and wrinkled even in their youth, their noses thick and compressed, their eyes small and sunk, their cheeks very much raised, their upper jaw low, their teeth long and disunited, eye-brows so thick that they shade their eyes: the eye-lids thick, some bristles on their faces instead of beard, large thighs and small legs? Such is the picture Count de Buffon gives of the Tartars; that is, of those people who, as he says, inhabit a tract of land in Asia 1200 leagues long and upwards, and more than 750 broad. Amongst these the Caimucks are the most remarkable for their deformity; which is so great, that, according to Tavernier, they are the most brutal men of all the universe. Their faces are so broad that there is a space of five or six inches between their eyes, according as Count de Buffon himself affirms. In Calicut, in Ceylon, and other countries of India, there is, say Pyriard and other writers on those regions, a race of men who have one or both of their legs as thick as the body of a man; and that this deformity among them is almost hereditary. The Hottentots, besides other gross imperfections, have that monstrous irregularity attending them, of a callous appendage extending from the os pubis downwards, according to the testimony of the historians of the Cape of Good Hope. Strays, Gemelli, and other travellers affirm, that in the Lambry, in the islands of Formosa, and of Mindoro, men are found with tails. Bomare says, that a thing is nothing else than an elongation of the os coracoides in quadrupeds but the elongation of the

ded into distinct articulations? However it may be, it is certain that that elongation renders those Asiatics fully as irregular as if it was a real tail.

If we were, in like manner, to go through the nations of Asia and Africa, we should hardly find any extensive country, where the colour of men is not darker, where there are not stronger irregularities observed, and grosser defects to be found in them, than M. de Paw finds fault with in the Americans. The colour of the latter is a good deal clearer than that of almost all the Africans and the Inhabitants of Southern Asia. Even their alledged scantiness of beard is common to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, and of all the Indian Archipelago, to the famous Chinese, Japanese, Tartars, and many other nations of the Old Continent. The imperfections of the Americans, however great they may have been represented, are certainly not comparable with the defects of that immense people, whose character we have sketched, and others whom we omit.

M. de Paw represents the Americans to be a feeble and diseased set of nations; and, in order to demonstrate the weakness and disorder of their physical constitution, adduces several proofs equally ridiculous and ill founded, and which it will not be expected we should enumerate. He alleges, among other particulars, that they were overcome in wrestling by all the Europeans, and that they sunk under a moderate burden: that by a computation made, 200,000 Americans were found to have perished in one year from carrying of baggage. With respect to the first point, the Abbé Clavigero observes, it would be necessary that the experiment of wrestling was made between many individuals of each continent, and that the victory should be attested by the Americans as well as the Europeans. It is not, however, meant to insist, that the Americans are stronger than the Europeans. They may be less strong, without the human species having degenerated in them. The Swiss are stronger than the Italians; and still we do not believe the Italians are degenerated, nor do we tax the climate of Italy. The instance of 200,000 Americans having died in one year, under the weight of baggage, were it true, would not convince us so much of the weakness of the Americans, as of the inhumanity of the Europeans. In the same manner that those 200,000 Americans perished, 200,000 Prussians would also have perished, had they been obliged to make a journey of between 300 and 400 miles, with 100 pounds of burden upon their backs; if they had collars of iron about their necks, and were obliged to carry that load over rocks and mountains; if those who became exhausted with fatigue, or wounded their feet so as to impede their progress, had their heads cut off that they might not retard

the pace of the rest; and if they were not allowed but a small moriel of bread to enable them to support so severe a toil. Les Casas, from whom M. de Paw got the account of the 200,000 Americans who died under the fatigue of carrying baggage, relates also all the above-mentioned circumstances. If the author therefore is to be credited in the last, he is also to be credited in the first. But a philosopher who vaunts the physical and moral qualities of Europeans over those of the Americans, would have done better, we think, to have suppressed facts so opprobrious to the Europeans themselves.

Nothing in fact demonstrates so clearly the robustness of the Americans as those various and lasting fatigues in which they are continually engaged. M. de Paw says, that when the New World was discovered, nothing was to be seen but thick woods; that at present there are some lands uncultivated, not by the Americans, however, but by the Africans and Europeans; and that the soil in cultivation is to the soil which is uncultivated as 2000 to 2,000,000. These three assertions the Abbé demonstrates to be precisely as many errors. Since the conquest, the Americans alone have been the people who have supported all the fatigues of agriculture in all the vast countries of the continent of South America, and in the greater part of those of South America subject to the crown of Spain. No European is ever to be seen employed in the labours of the field. The Moors who, in comparison of the Americans, are very few in number in the kingdom of New Spain, are charged with the culture of the sugar cane and tobacco, and the making of sugar; but the soil destined for the cultivation of those plants is not with respect to all the cultivated land of that country in the proportion of one to two thousand. The Americans are the people who labour in the field. They are the tillers, the sowers, the weathers, and the reapers of the wheat, of the maize, of the rice, of the bean, and other kinds of grain and pulse, of the owner of the vine, of the cotton, of the indigo, and all other plants useful to the maintenance, the clothing, and commerce of these provinces; and without them so little can be done, that in the year 1791, the harvest of wheat was abandoned in many places on account of a sickness which prevailed and prevented the Indians from reaping it. But this is not all; the Americans are they who cut and transport all the necessary timber for the various buildings, transport and work the stones; who make lime, ports, and wharves; who construct all the buildings of that kingdom, except a few places where them inhabit; who open and repair all the roads, canals and sluices, and clean the cities. "mines of gold, of silver, of copper, &c. &c."

herdsmen, weavers, potters, basket-makers, bakers, couriers, day labourers, &c. in a word, they are the persons who bear all the burden of public labours. These, says our justly indignant author, are the employments of the weak, dastardly, and useless Americans; while the vigorous M. de Paw, and other indefatigable Europeans, are occupied in writing invectives against them.

These labours, in which the Indians are continually employed, certainly attest their healthiness and strength; for if they are able to undergo such fatigues, they cannot be diseased, nor have an exhausted stream of blood in their veins, as M. de Paw insinuates. In order to make it believed that their constitutions are vitiated, he copies whatever he finds written by historians of America, whether true or false, respecting the diseases which reign in some particular countries of that great continent. It is not to be denied, that in some countries in the wide compass of America, men are exposed more than elsewhere to the distempers which are occasioned by the intemperature of the air, or the pernicious quality of the aliments; but it is certain, according to the assertion of many respectable authors acquainted with the New World, that the American countries are, for the most part, healthy; and if the Americans were disposed to retaliate on M. de Paw, and other European authors who write as he does, they would have abundant subject of materials to throw discredit on the climate of the Old Continent, and the constitution of its inhabitants in the endemic distempers which prevail there.

Lastly, The supposed feebleness and unsound bodily habit of the Americans do not correspond with the length of their lives. Among those Americans whose great fatigues and excessive toils do not anticipate their death, there are not a few who reach the age of 80, 90, and 100 or more years, as formerly mentioned; and what is more, without there being observed in them that decay which time commonly produces in the hair, in the teeth, in the skin, and in the muscles of the human body. This phenomenon, so much admired by the Spaniards who reside in Mexico, cannot be ascribed to any other cause than the vigour of their constitutions, the temperance of their diet, and the salubrity of their climate. Historians, and other persons who have sojourned there for many years, report the same thing of other countries of the New World.

As to the mental qualities of the Americans, M. de Paw has not been able to discover any other characters than a memory & feeble, that to day they do not remember what they did yesterday; a capacity so blunt, that they are incapable of thinking, or putting their ideas in order; a disposition so cold, that they feel no excitement of love; a dastardly spirit, and a genius that is

torpid and indolent. Many other Europeans, indeed, and what is still more wonderful, many of those children or descendants of Europeans who are born in America, think as M. de Paw does; some from ignorance, some from want of reflection, and others from hereditary prejudice and prepossession. But all this and more would not be sufficient to invalidate the testimonies of other Europeans, whose authority have a great deal more weight, both because they were men of great judgment, learning, and knowledge of these countries, and because they gave their testimony in favour of strangers against their own countrymen. In particular, Acosta, whose natural and moral history even de Paw commends as *an excellent work*, employs the whole sixth book in demonstrating the good sense of the Americans by an explanation of their ancient government, their laws, their histories in paintings and knots, calendars, &c. M. de Paw thinks the Americans are bestial; Acosta, on the other hand, reputes those persons weak and presumptuous who think them so. M. de Paw says, that the most acute Americans were inferior in industry and sagacity to the rudest nations of the Old Continent; Acosta extols the civil government of the Mexicans above many republics of Europe. M. de Paw finds, in the moral and political conduct of the Americans, nothing but barbarity, extravagance, and brutality: and Acosta finds there, laws that are admirable and worthy of being preserved for ever.

M. de Paw denies them courage, and alleges the conquest of Mexico as a proof of their cowardice. "Cortes (he says,) conquered the empire of Mexico with 450 vagabonds and 15 horses, badly armed; his miserable artillery consisted of six falconets, which would not at the present day be capable of exciting the fears of a fortress defended by invalids. During his absence the capital was held in awe by the half of his troops. What men! what events!—It is confirmed by the depositions of all historians, that the Spaniards entered the first time into Mexico without making one single discharge of their artillery. If the title of hero is applicable to him who has the disgrace to occasion the death of a great number of rational animals, Ferdinand Cortes might pretend to it; otherwise I do not see what true glory he has acquired by the overthrow of a tottering monarchy, which might have been destroyed in the same manner by any other assassin of our continent." These passages indicate either M. de Paw's ignorance of the history of the conquest of Mexico, or a wilful suppression of what would openly contradict his system: since all who have read that history know well, that the conquest of Mexico was not made with 450 men, but with more than 200,000. Cortes himself, to whom it was of more importance

than to M. de Paw to make his bravery conspicuous, and his conquest appear glorious, confesses the excessive number of the allies who were under his command at the siege of the capital, and combated with more fury against the Mexicans than the Spaniards themselves. According to the account which Cortes gave to the emperor Charles V. the siege of Mexico began with 87 horses, 848 Spanish infantry, armed with guns, cross-bows, swords, and lances, and upwards of 75,000 allies, of Tlascala, Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Chalco, equipped with various sorts of arms; with three large pieces of cannon of iron, 15 small of copper, and 13 brigantines. In the course of the siege were assembled the numerous nations of the Otomies, the Cohuixcas, and Matlazincas, and the troops of the populous cities of the lakes; so that the army of the besiegers not only exceeded 200,000, but amounted to 400,000, according to the letter from Cortes; and besides these 3000 boats and canoes came to their assistance. Did it betray cowardice to have sustained, for full 74 days, the siege of an open city, engaging daily with an army so large, and in part provided with arms so superior, and at the same time having to withstand the ravages of famine? Can they merit the charge of cowardice, who, after having lost seven of the eight parts of their city, and about 200,000 of their men, part cut off by the sword, part by famine and sickness, continued to defend the natives until they were finally smothered in the hot mud which was left them?

According to M. de Pau, the Americans at first were not believed to be men, but rather giants, or large apes, which might be maintained without remotion or reproach. At last, in order to add weight to the oppression of the natives, a pope made an original bull, in which he declared, that being desirous of founding colonies in the richest countries of America, it pleased him and the Holy Spirit, to acknowledge the Americans to be true men: in so doing, without this decision of an Italian, the inhabitants of the New World would have appeared, even at this day, to the eyes of the faithful, a race of equivocal men. There is no example of such a decision since this globe has been inhabited by men and brutes. Upon this passage the Abbé animadverts, as being a singular instance of calumny and misrepresentation; and gives the following history of the decision alluded to.

“Some of the first Europeans who established themselves in America, not less powerful than avaricious, desirous of enriching themselves to the detriment of the Americans, kept them continually employed, and made use of them as slaves; and in order to avoid the reproaches which were made them by the bishops and missionaries who inculcated humanity, and the giving liberty to these people to get themselves instructed in religion, that they

in their duties towards the church and their families, alledging that the Indians were by nature slaves and incapable of being civilized, and many other false odds of which the Chroniclers and others mention against them. Those zealous ecclesiasticks, unable, either by their authority or preaching to free those happy converts from the tyranny of such misers, had recourse to the Catholic Kings, and at last obtained from their justice and clemency those laws as favourable to the Americans as honourable to the court of Spain, that compose the Indian code, which were only due to the indefatigable zeal of the bishop de las Casas. On the late, Garcés bishop of Tlascala, knowing that those Spaniards notwithstanding their perversity, a great respect to the name of the saviour of Jesus Christ, made application in the year 1562 to pope Paul III. by that famous letter of which we have made mention, representing to him the evils which the Indians suffered from the wicked Christians, and praying him to interpose his authority in their behalf. The pope, moved by such heavy reasons, dispatched the next year the original bull, which he made, as is manifest, to declare the Americans true men; and his motive of weakness was very distant from that of any other pope, but solely to support the natural rights of the Americans against the attempts of their oppressors, and to condemn the avarice and inhumanity of those, who, under the pretence of converting those people idolatrous, or incapable of being instructed, had taken from them their property and their liberty, and treated them as mere beasts.

As the Americans were esteemed savages, nobody can believe more than Christopher Columbus their discoverer. Let us see, however, how that celebrated admiral speaks, in his account to the Catholic King Ferdinand and Isabella, of the first savages he discovered in the island of Haiti, or Hispaniola. "I swear," he says, "to your majesties, that there is not a better people in the world than these: affectionate, affable, or mild. They love their neighbours, and themselves: their language is the sweetest, the softest, and the most useful, for they always speak smiling, and although they are wild, let your majesties believe me, their customs are very good, and their king, who is served with great respect, has very engaging manners, that it gives great pleasure to behold him. Besides the great retentive faculty of that people, and their knowledge, which incites them to all the sciences and arts of mankind."

As we had intimate commerce with the Americans, and several of them have lived for some years in our country, we have seen the erection and progress of their

college of Gaudaloupe, founded in Mexico, by a Mexican Jesuit, for the education of Indian children: had afterwards some Indians amongst our pupils: had particular knowledge of many American rectors, many nobles, and numerous artists: attentively observed their character, their genius, their disposition, and manner of thinking; and have examined besides, with the utmost diligence, their ancient history, their religion, their government, their laws and their customs. After such long experience and study of them, from which we imagine ourselves enabled to decide without danger of erring, we declare to M. de Paw, and to all Europe, that the mental qualities of the Americans are not in the least inferior to those of the Europeans: that they are capable of all, even the most abstract sciences: and that if equal care was taken of their education, if they were brought up from childhood in seminaries under good masters, were protected and stimulated by rewards, we should see rise among the Americans, philosophers, mathematicians, and divines, who would rival the best in Europe."

But although we should suppose, that, in the torrid climates of the New World, as well as in those of the Old, especially under the additional depression of slavery, there was an inferiority of the mental powers, the Chicle and the North Americans have discovered higher rudiments of human excellence and ingenuity than have ever been known among tribes in a similar state of society in any part of the world.

M. de Paw affirms, that the Americans were unacquainted with the use of money, and quotes the following well-known passage from Montesquieu: "Imagine to yourself, that, by some accident, you are placed in an unknown country: if you find money there, do not doubt that you are arrived among a polished people." But if by money we are to understand a piece of metal with the stamp of the prince or the public, the want of it in a nation is no token of barbarity. The Athenians employed oxen for money, as the Romans did sheep. The Romans had no coined money till the time of Servius Tullius, nor the Persians until the reign of Darius Hytaspes. But if by money is understood a sign representing the value of merchandise, the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, employed money in their commerce. The cacao, of which they made constant use in the market to purchase whatever they wanted, was employed for this purpose, as salt is in Abyssinia.

It has been affirmed, that stone-bridges were unknown in America when it was first discovered: and that the natives did not know how to form arches. But these assertions are erroneous. The remains of the ancient palaces of Tezcuco, and still more their vapour-baths, shew the ancient use of arches and vaults among the Mexicans. But the ignorance of this, it would have been no

proof of barbarity. Neither the Egyptians nor Babylonians understood the construction of arches.

M. de Paw affirms, that the palace of Montezuma was nothing else than a hut. But it is certain, from the affirmation of all the historians of Mexico, that the army under Cortes, consisting of 6,400 men, were all lodged in the palace; and there remained still sufficient room for Montezuma and his attendants.

The advances which the Mexicans had made in the study of astronomy is perhaps the most surprising proof of their attention and sagacity; for it appears from the Abbé Clavigero's history, that they not only counted 365 days to the year, but also knew of the excess of about six hours in the solar over the civil year, and remedied the difference by means of intercalary days.

Of American morality, the following exhortation of a Mexican to his son may serve as a specimen. "My son who art come into the light from the womb of thy mother like a chicken from the egg, and like it are preparing to fly through the world, we know not how long Heaven will grant to us the enjoyment of that precious gem which we possess in thee; but however short the period, endeavour to live exactly, praying God continually to assist thee. He created thee; thou art his property. He is thy father, and loves thee still more than I do: repeat in him thy thoughts, and day and night direct thy sights to him. Reverence and salute thy elders, and hold no one in contempt. To the poor and distressed be not dumb, but rather use words of comfort. Honour all persons, particularly thy parents to whom thou owest obedience, respect, and service. Guard against imitating the example of those wicked sons, who, like brutes who are deprived of reason, neither reverence their parents, listen to their instruction, nor submit to their correction; because whoever follows their steps will have an unhappy end, will die in a desperate or sudden manner, or will be killed and devoured by wild beasts.

"Mock not, my son, the aged or the imperfect. Scorn not him whom ye see fall into some folly or transgression, nor make him reproaches; but restrain thyself, and beware lest thou fall into the same error which offends thee in another. Go not where thou art not called, nor interfere in that which does not concern thee. Endeavour to manifest thy good breeding in all thy words and actions. In conversation, do not lay thy hands upon another, nor speak too much, nor interrupt or disturb another's discourse. When any one discourses with thee, hear him attentively, and hold thyself in an easy attitude, neither playing with thy feet, nor putting thy mantle to thy mouth, nor spitting too often, nor looking about you here and there, nor rising up frequently, if thou art

sitting; for such actions are indications of levity and low-breeding." —He proceeds to mention several particular vices which are to be avoided, and concludes,—“Steal not, nor give thyself to gaming; otherwise thou wilt be a disgrace to thy parents, whom thou oughtest rather to honour for the education they have given thee. If thou wilt be virtuous, thy example will put the wicked to shame. No more, my son; enough has been said in discharge of the duties of a father. With these councils I wish to fortify thy mind. Resist them not, nor act in contradiction to them: for on them thy life and all thy happiness depend.”

ANIMALS. As ringing on the same side with the Abbé Clavigero, the ingenious Mr. Jefferson deserves particular attention. This gentleman, in his notes on the State of Virginia, &c. has taken occasion to combat the opinions of Buffon; and seems to have fully refuted them both by argument and facts. The French philosopher asserts, “That living nature is less active, less energetic, in the New World than in the Old.” He affirms, 1. That the animals common to both continents are smaller in America. 2. That those peculiar to the New are on an inferior scale. 3. That those which have been denuded in both have degenerated in America. And 4. That it exhibits fewer species of living creatures. The cause of this he ascribes to the diminution of heat in America, and to the prevalence of humidity from the extension of its lakes and waters over a prodigious surface. In other words, he affirms, that *heat* is friendly and *moisture* adverse to the production and development of the large quadrupeds.

The hypothesis, that moisture is unfriendly to animal growth, Mr. Jefferson shows to be contradicted by observation and experience. It is by the assistance of heat and moisture that vegetables are elaborated from the elements. Accordingly we find, that the more humid climates produce plants in greater profusion than the dry. Vegetables are immediately or remotely the food of every animal; and from the uniform operation of Nature's laws we discern, that, in proportion to the quantity of food, animals are not only multiplied in their numbers, but improved in their size. Of this last opinion is the Count de Buffon himself, in another part of his work: “En general, il paroît que les pays un peu *froids* conviennent mieux à nos bœufs que les pays chauds, et qu'ils sont d'autant plus gros et plus grands que le climat est plus *humide* et plus abondans en paturages. Les bœufs de Danemark, de la Podolie, de l'Ukraine, et de la Tartarie qu'habitent les Calmouques, sont les plus grands de tous.” Here, then, a race of animals, and one of the largest too, has been increased in its dimensions by cold and moisture, in direct opposition to the hypothesis, which supposes that these two circumstances diminish animal bulk, and that

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in these contraries, heat and dryness, which enlarge it. But to try the question on more general ground, let us take two portions of the earth, Europe and America for instance, sufficiently extensive to give operation to general causes; let us consider the circumstances peculiar to each, and observe their effect on animal nature. America, running through the torrid as well as temperate zone, has more heat, collectively taken, than Europe. But Europe, according to our hypothesis, is the driest. They are equally adapted then to animal productions; each being endowed with one of those causes which befriend animal growth, and with one which opposes it. Let us, then, take a comparative view of the quadrupeds of Europe and America, presenting them to the eye in three different tables; in one of which shall be enumerated those found in both countries; in a second, those found in one only; and in a third, those which have been domesticated in both. To facilitate the comparison, let those of each table be arranged in gradation, according to their sizes, from the greatest to the smallest, so far as their sizes can be conjectured. The weights of the large animals shall be expressed in the English avoirdupoise pound and its decimals; those of the smaller in the ounce and its decimals. Those which are marked thus*, are actual weights of particular subjects, deemed amongst the largest of their species. Those marked thus†, are furnished by judicious persons, well acquainted with the species, and saying, from conjecture only, what the largest individual they had seen would probably have weighed. The other weights are taken from Messrs. Buffon and D'Aubenton, and are of such subjects as came casually to their hands for dissection.

Comparative View of the Quadrupeds of Europe and of America.

TABLE I. *Aboriginals of both.*

	Europe.	America.
	lb.	lb.
Mammoth		
Buffalo. Bison		*1800
White bear. Ours blanc		
Caribou. Renne		
Bear. Ours	153.7	*410
Elk. Elan. Original, palmated		
Red deer. Cerf	288.8	*273
Fallow deer. Daim	167.8	
Wolf. Loup	69.8	
Chevreuil	56.7	
Glouton. Carcajou		
Chat sauvage		†30
oup cervier	25.	
Castor	18.5	*45.
Blaireau	13.6	
Renard	12.5	

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Table I. continued.

		Europe	
		lb.	
Grey fox.	Isatis		
Otter.	Loutre	8.9	
Marmoset.	Marmotte	6.5	
Vizon.	Fouine	2.8	
Hedgehog.	Herisson	2.2	
Martin.	Marte	1.9	
		oz.	
Water rat.	Rat d'eau	7.5	
Weasel.	Belette	3.2	
Flying squirrel.	Polatouche	2.2	
Shrew mouse.	Mausmignie	2.	

TABLE II. *Aboriginals of one only.*

EUROPE.		AMERICA.
Sangler.	Wild boar - 280.	Tapir - - - - -
Mouflon.	Wild sheep 56.	Elk, round horned
Bonquetin.	Wild goat	Puma
Lievre.	Hare - - - 7.6	Jaguar - - - - -
Lapin.	Rabbit - - - 3.4	Cabiai - - - - -
Putois.	Polcat - - - 3.3	Tamanoir - - - - -
Genette	- - - - - 3.1	Tamandua - - - - -
Desman.	Musk rat	Cougar of N. America
Ecureuil.	Squirrel - - 12.	Cougar of S. America
Hermine.	Ermin - - - 8.2	Ocelot
Rat.	Rat - - - - - 7.5	Pecari - - - - -
Loirs	- - - - - 3.1	Jaguaret - - - - -
Lerrot.	Dormouse - - 1.8	Alco
Toupe.	Mole - - - - 1.2	Lama
Hamster	- - - - - .9	Paco
Zifcl		Paca - - - - -
Leming		Serval
Souris.	Moufe - - - .6	Sloth. Unau - - -
		Sarcovienne
		Kincjou
		Tatou Kabaffou - - -
		Urson. Urchin
		Raccoon. Raton - -
		Coati
		Coendou - - - - -
		Sloth. Ai - - - - -
		Sapajou Ouarini
		Sapajou Coaita - - -
		Tatou Encubert
		Tatou Apar
		Tatou Cachich - -
		Little Coendou -
		Opoffum. Sarigou
		Tapeti
		Margay

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Table II. continued.

EUROPE.	AMERICA.
	Crabier
	Agouti - - - - - 4.5
	Sapajou Saki - - - - - 3.6
	Tatou Cirquincon
	Tatou Tatouate - - - - - 3.2
	Mouffette Squash
	Mouffette Cinche
	Mouffette Conepate. Scunk
	Mouffette. Zorilla
	Whabus. Hare. Rabbit
	Aperea
	Akouchi
	Ondatra. Muskrat
	Pilori
	Great grey squirrel - +2.7
	Fox squirrel of Virginia +2.625
	Surikate - - - - - 2.
	Mink - - - - - +2.
	Sapajou. Sajou - - - 1.8
	Indian pig. Cochond'Indo 1.6
	Sapajou. Saimiri - - 1.5
	Phalanger
	Coquallin
	Lesser grey squirrel - +1.5
	Black squirrel - - - +1.5
	Red squirrel - - - 10. oz.
	Sagoin Saki
	Sagoin Pinche
	Sagoin Tamarin oz.
	Sagoin Ouistiti - - - 4.4
	Sagoin Marakine
	Sagoin Mico
	Cayopolin
	Fourmillier
	Marmose
	Savigue of Cayenne
	Tucan
	Red mole oz.
	Ground squirrel - - - 4.

TABLE III. Domesticated in both.

	Europe.	America.
	lb.	lb.
Cow	763.	*2500
Horse		*1366
Ass		
Dog		*1200
Sheep		*125
Pig		*80
Goat	67.6	
Sheep	7.	

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

"The result of this view is, that of 26 quadrupeds common to both countries, seven are said to be larger in America, seven of equal size, and 12 not sufficiently examined. So that the first table impeaches the first member of the assertion, that of the Animals common to both countries the American are smallest, "Et cela sans aucune exception." It shows it not just, in all the latitude in which its author has advanced it, and probably not to such a degree as to found a distinction between the two countries.

"Proceeding to the second table, which arranges the animals found in one of the two countries only, M. de Buffon observes, that the taphir, the elephant of America, is but of the size of a small cow. To preserve our comparison, Mr. Jefferson states the wild boar, the elephant of Europe as little more than half that size. He has made an elk with round or cylindrical horns, an animal of America, and peculiar to it; because he has seen many of them himself, and more of their horns; and because, from the best information, it is certain that in Virginia this kind of elk has abounded much, and still exists in smaller numbers. He makes the American hare or rabbit peculiar, believing it to be different from both the European animals of those denominations, and calling it therefore by its Algonouin name Whabus, to keep it distinct from these. Kalm is of the same opinion. The squirrels are denominated from a knowledge derived from daily sight of them, because with that the European appellations and descriptions seem irreconcilable. These are the only instances in which Mr. Jefferson departs from the authority of M. de Buffon in the construction of this table; whom he takes for his ground-work, because he thinks him the best informed of any naturalist who has ever written. The result is, that there are 18 quadrupeds peculiar to Europe; more than four times as many, to wit 74, peculiar to America; that the first of these 74, the taphir, the largest of the animals peculiar to America weighs more than the whole column of Europeans; and consequently this second table disproves the second member of the assertion, that the animals peculiar to the New World are on a smaller scale, so far as that assertion relied on European animals for support: and it is in full opposition to the theory which makes the animal volume to depend on the circumstances of heat and moisture.

"The third table comprehends those quadrupeds only which are domestic in both countries. That some of these, in some parts of America, have become less than their original stock, is doubtless true; and the reason is very obvious. In a thinly peopled country, the spontaneous productions of the forests and waste fields are sufficient to support indifferently the domestic animals of the farmer, with a very little aid from him in the severest

scarcest season. He therefore finds it more convenient to receive them from the hand of Nature in that indifferent state, than to keep up their size by a care and nourishment which would cost him much labour. If, on this low fare, these animals dwindle, it is no more than they do in those parts of Europe where the poverty of the soil, or poverty of the owner, reduces them to the same scanty subsistence. It is the uniform effect of one and the same cause, whether acting on this or that side of the globe. It would be erring, therefore, against that rule of philosophy, which teaches us to ascribe like effects to like causes, should we impute this diminution of size in America to any imbecility or want of uniformity in the operations of nature. It may be affirmed with truth, that in those countries, and with those individuals of America, where necessity or curiosity has produced equal attention as in Europe to the nourishment of animals, the horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs of the one continent are as large as those of the other. There are particular instances, well attested, where individuals of America have imported good breeders from England, and have improved their size by care in the course of some years. And the weights actually known and stated in the third table, will suffice to show, that we may conclude, on probable grounds, that, with equal food and care, the climate of America will preserve the sizes of domestic animals as large as the European stock from which they are derived; and consequently that the third member of Mont. de Buffon's assertion, that the domestic animals are subject to degeneration from the climate of America, is as probably wrong as the first and second were certainly so.

That the last part of it is erroneous, which affirms, that the species of American quadrupeds are comparatively few, is evident from the tables taken altogether: to which may be added the proof adduced by the Abbe Clavigero. According to Buffon's best calculation, in his *Epoches de la Nature*, there are 300 species of quadrupeds; and America, though it does not make more than a third part of the globe, contains, according to Clavigero, almost one half of the different species of its animals.

Of the human inhabitants of America, to whom the same hypothesis of degeneracy is extended, M. Buffon gives the following description: "Though the American savage be nearly of the same stature with men in polished societies: yet this is not a sufficient exception to the general contraction of animated Nature throughout the whole continent. In the body, the organs of generation are small and feeble. He has no hair, no beard, no ardour for the female. Though taller than the European, because more accustomed to running, his strength is no

His sensations are less acute : and yet he is more timid and cowardly. He has no vivacity, no activity of mind. The activity of his body is not so much an exercise of spontaneous motion, as a necessary action produced by want. Destroy his appetite for victuals and drink, and you will at once annihilate the active principle of all his movement : He remains in stupid repose, on his limbs or couch, for weeks or days. It is easy to discover the cause of the scattered fire of ravages, and of their estrangement from society. They have been refused the most precious spark of Nature's fire : They have no ardour for women, and, of course, no love to mankind. Unacquainted with the most lively and most tender of all attachments, their other sensations of this nature are cold and languid. Their love to parents and children are extremely weak. The bonds of the most intimate of all societies, that of the same family, are feeble : and one family has no attachment to another. Hence no union, no republic, no social state, can take place among them. The physical cause of love gives rise to the morality of their manners. Their heart is frozen, their society cold, and their empire cruel. They regard their females as servants destined to labour, or as load or burden, whom they load unmercifully with the produce of their hunting, and oblige, without pay or gratitude, to perform labours which often exceed their strength. They have few children, and pay little attention to them. Every thing must be referred to the first cause : They are indifferent, because they are weak : and this indifference to the sex is the original stain which depraves Nature, prevents her from expanding, and, by destroying the germs of life, cuts the root of society. Hence man makes no exception to what has been advanced. Nature by denying him the faculty of love, has debilitated and contracted him more than any other animal."

A humiliating picture indeed ! but then which, Mr. Jefferson shares us, never was one more unlike the original. M. Buffon grants, that their stature is the same as that of the men of Europe ; and he might have admitted, that the Iroquois were larger, and the Lenox or Delawares taller, than people in Europe generally are : But he says their organs of generation are smaller and weaker than those of Europeans : which is not a fact. And as to their want of beard, this error has been already noticed.

"They have no ardour for their female."—It is true, that they do not indulge those excesses, nor discover that fondness, which are customary in Europe ; but this is not owing to a defect in nature, but to manners. Their soul is wholly bent upon war. This is what procures them glory among the men, and makes them the admiration of the women. To this they are educated from their earliest youth. When they pursue game with ardour, when they

hear the fatigues of the chase, when they sustain and suffer patiently hunger and cold, it is not so much for the sake of the game they pursue, as to convince their parents and the council of the nation, that they are fit to be enrolled in the number of the warriors. The songs of the women, the dance of the warriors, the sage counsel of the chiefs, the tales of the old, the triumphal entry of the warriors returning with success from battle, and the respect paid to those who distinguish themselves in battle, and in slaying their enemies, in short, every thing they see or hear, tends to inspire them with an ardent desire for military fame. If a young man were to discover a fondness for women before he has been to war, he would become the contempt of the men, and the scorn and ridicule of the women: or were he to indulge himself with a captive taken in war, and much more were he to offer violence in order to gratify his lust, he would incur indelible disgrace. The seeming frigidity of the men, therefore, is the effect of manners, and not a defect of nature. They are neither more defective in ardour, nor more impotent with the female, than are the whites reduced to the same diet and exercise.

“They raise few children.”—They indeed raise fewer children than we do: the causes of which are to be found, not in a difference of nature, but of circumstance. The women very frequently attending the men in their parties of war and of hunting, child-bearing becomes extremely inconvenient to them. It is said, therefore, that they have learned the practice of procuring abortion by the use of some vegetable: and that it even extends to prevent conception for a considerable time after. During these parties they are exposed to numerous attacks, to excessive exertions, to the greatest extremities of hunger. Even at their homes, the nation depends for food, through a certain part of every year, on the gleanings of the forests: that is, they experience a famine once in every year. With all animals, if the female be badly fed, or not fed at all, her young perish: and if both male and female be reduced to like want, generation becomes less active, less productive. To the obstacles, then, of want and hazard, which Nature has opposed to the multiplication of wild animals, for the purpose of restraining their numbers within certain bounds, those of labour and voluntary abortion are added with the Indian. No wonder, then, if they multiply less than we do. Where food is regularly supplied, a single farm will show more of cattle than a whole country of forests can of buffaloes. The tame Indian women, when married to white traders, who feed them and their children plentifully and regularly, who exempt them from excessive drudgery, who keep them stationary and unexposed

one man only, was seen coming from the opposite shore, and unsuspecting any hostile attack from the whites. His party concealed themselves on the bank of the river; moment the canoe reached the shore, singled out their and at one fire killed every person in it. This happened to be the family of Logan, who had long been distinguished as a friend of the whites. This unworthy return for his friendship, he accordingly signalized himself in which ensued. In the autumn of the same year a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanaway, the collected forces of the Shawanees, Mingoes, and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated, and sued for peace. Logan, however, did not appear among the suppliants; but, lest the superiority of the whites should be distrusted from which to distinguish a chief, he sent by a messenger the following speech delivered to Lord Dunmore:—"I appeal to any white man, say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Should my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed out as evil, passed, and said *Logan is the friend of white men*. I thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries done me. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood the veins of any living creature. Thus called on for revenge, I have sought it; I have killed many; I have glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the dawn of peace; but do not harbour a thought that mine is the fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heels to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not I."

To the preceding anecdotes in favour of the American character, may be added the following by Dr. Benjamin Franklin. The Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors; old, counsellors; for all their government is by the advice of the sages. Hence they generally study oratory, the best speaker having the most influence. The Indian woman tills the ground, dresses the food, nurse and bring up the children, preserve and hand down to posterity the memory of transactions. These employments of men and women are adapted to nature and honourable. Having few artificial wants, they have abundance of leisure for improvement by conversation. Our laborious manner of life, compared with theirs, they

lavish and base ; and the learning on which we value ourselves, they regard as frivolous and useless.

Having frequent occasions to hold public councils, they have acquired great order and decency in conducting them. The old men sit in the foremost ranks, the warriors in the next, and the women and children in the hindmost. The business of the women is to take exact notice of what passes ; imprint it in their memories, for they have no writing, and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preserve tradition of the stipulations in treaties a hundred years back ; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would speak rises. The rest observe a profound silence. When he has finished, and sits down, they leave him five or six minutes to recollect, that if he has omitted any thing he intended to say, or has any thing to add, he may rise again and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common conversation, is reckoned highly indecent.

The politeness of these savages in conversation is, indeed, carried to excess ; since it does not permit them to contradict or deny the truth of what is asserted in their presence. By this means they indeed avoid disputes ; but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impression you make upon them. The missionaries who have attempted to convert them to Christianity, all complain of this as one of the greatest difficulties of their mission. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the gospel explained to them, and give their usual tokens of assent and approbation but this by no means implies conviction ; it is mere civility.

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them where they desire to be private ; this they esteem great rudeness, and the effect of the want of instruction in the rules of civility and good manners. “ We have,” say they, “ as much curiosity as you ; and when you come into our towns, we wish for opportunities of looking at you ; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes where you are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your company.”

Their manner of entering one another's villages has likewise its rules. It is reckoned uncivil in travelling strangers to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as soon as they arrive within hearing, they stop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men usually come out to them and lead them in. There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called the *strangers house*. Here are placed, while the old men go round from hut to hut, acqu

ing the inhabitants that strangers are arrived, who are hungry and weary; and every one sends them what he can of victuals, and skins to repose on. When the strangers are refreshed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, but not conversation begins, with inquiries who they are, whether what news, &c. and it usually ends with offers of service. Strangers have occasion for guides, or any necessities for continuing their journey; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

The same hospitality, esteemed among them as a principle, is practised by private persons; of which Conrad Weiser, interpreter, gave Dr. Franklin the following instance: he had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and spoke well the Seneca language. In going through the Indian country to deliver a message from our governor to the council at Onondaga, he was at the habitation of Canassatego, an old acquaintance, who received him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for drink. When he was well refreshed, and had lit his pipe, Canassatego began to converse with him: asked how he had fared many years since they had seen each other, whence he then was, what had occasioned the journey, &c. Conrad answered his questions; and when the discourse began to flag, he continued it, said, "Conrad, you have lived long among this people, and know something of their customs; I have sometimes at Albany, and have observed, that once in ten days they shut up their shops, and assemble all in one house; tell me what it is for?—What do they do there?" "They meet there," says Conrad, "to hear and learn good things." "do not doubt" (says the Indian) "that they tell you so; I have told me the same: but I doubt the truth of what they say." "I will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany to trade for skins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You

generally used to deal with Hans Hanson; but I declined this time to try some other merchants. However I first inquired upon Hans, and asked him what he would give for a pound of powder. He said he could not give more than 4s. a pound. (says he) I cannot talk on business now; this is the day when we meet together to learn good things, and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myself, since I cannot do business to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too; and I went with him.—There stood up a man in black, and began to speak to the people very angrily. I did not understand what he said. Perceiving that he looked much at me and at Hans, and that he was angry at seeing me there: so I went out, and lit my pipe, and struck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting

in the price of beaver. Consider our a little,
and you must be of my opinion. If they met so often
with good things, they certainly would have learned some be-
fore this time. But they are still ignorant. You know our
justice. If a white man, in travelling through our country,
enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I treat you; we
dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is cold, and give him
meat and drink, that he may allay his thirst and hunger; and
we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on: we demand
nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house at
Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they say, Where is
your money? And if I have none, they say, get out, you In-
dian dog. You see they have not yet learned those little good
things that we need no meeting to be instructed in; because our
mothers taught them to us when we were children; and there-
fore it is impossible their meetings should be, as they say, for
any such purpose, or have any such effect; they are only to
contrive the cheating of Indians in the price of beaver."

The next question that occurs is, Whether the peculiarities
of the Americans, or the disparity between them and the inha-
bitants of Europe, afford sufficient grounds for determining
them, as some have done, to be a race of men radically different
from all others?

In this question, to avoid being tedious, we shall confine our-
selves to what has been advanced by Lord Kames; who is of

it is, that all men are not fitted equally for every climate. There is scarce a climate but what is natural to some men, where they prosper and flourish : and there is not a climate but where some men degenerate. Doth not then analogy lead us to conclude, that, as there are different climates on the face of this globe, so there are different races of men fitted for these different climates ?

“ M. Buffon, from the rule, That animals which can procreate together, and whose progeny can also procreate, are of one species ; concludes, that all men are of one race or species ; and endeavours to support that favourite opinion, by ascribing to the climate, to food or other accidental causes, all the varieties that are found among men. But is he seriously of opinion, that any operation of climate, or of other accidental cause, can account for the copper colour and smooth chin universal among the Americans : the prominence of the pudenda universal among the Hottentot women ; or the black nipple no less universal among the female Samoiedes ? — It is in vain to ascribe to the climate the low stature of the Esquimaux, the smallness of their feet, or the overgrown size of their heads. It is equally in vain to ascribe to climate the low stature of the Laplanders, or their ugly visage. The black colour of negroes, their lips, flat nose, craped woolly hair, and rank smell, distinguish them from every other race of men. The Abyssinians, on the contrary, are tall and well made, their complexion a brown olive, features well proportioned, eyes large and of a sparkling black, thin lips, a nose rather high than flat. There is no such difference of climate between Abyssinia and Negro-land as to produce these striking differences.

“ Nor shall our author's ingenious hypothesis concerning the extremities of heat and cold, purchase him impunity with respect to the sallow complexion of the Samoiedes, Laplanders, and Greenlanders. The Finlanders, and northern Norwegians, live in a climate not less cold than that of the people mentioned ; and yet are fair beyond other Europeans. I say more, there are many instances of races of people preserving their original colour, in climates very different from their own ; but not a single instance of the contrary as far as I can learn. There have been four complete generations of negroes in Pennsylvania, without any visible change of colour : they continue jet black, as originally. Those who ascribe all to the sun, ought to consider how little probable it is, that the colour it impresses on the parents should be communicated to their infant children, who never saw the sun : I should be as soon induced to believe with a German naturalist, whose name has escaped me, that the negro colour is owing to an ancient custom in Africa, of dyeing the skin black. Let a European, for years, expose himself to the sun in a hot climate, till he be quite brown ; his

children will nevertheless have the same complexion with those in Europe. From the action of the sun, is it possible to explain why a negro, like a European, is born with a ruddy skin, which turns jet black the eighth or ninth day?"

Our author next proceeds to draw some arguments for the existence of different races of men, from the various tempers and dispositions of different nations; which he reckons to be *specific* differences, as well as those of colour, stature, &c. and having summed up his evidence, he concludes thus: "Upon summing up the whole particulars mentioned above, would one hesitate a moment to adopt the following opinion, were there no counterbalancing evidence, viz. "That God created many pairs of the human race, differing from each other, both externally and internally; that he suited those pairs for different climates, and placed each pair in its proper climate; and the peculiarities of the original pairs were preserved entire in their descendants; who, having no assistance but their natural talents, were left to gather knowledge from experience; and, in particular, were left (each tribe) to form a language for itself; that signs were sufficient for the original pairs, without any language but what nature suggests; and that a language was formed gradually as a tribe increased in numbers, and in different occupations, to make speech necessary?" But this opinion, however plausible, we are not permitted to adopt: being taught a different lesson by Revelation, viz. That God created but a single pair of the human species. Though we cannot doubt the authority of Moses, yet his account of the creation of man is not a little puzzling, as it seems to contradict every one of the facts mentioned above. According to that account, different races of men were not formed, nor were men formed originally for different climates. All men must have spoken the same language, viz. That of our first parents. And what of all seems the most contradictory to that account, is the savage state: Adam, as Moses informs us, was endued by his Maker with an eminent degree of knowledge; and he certainly was an excellent preceptor to his children and their progeny, among whom he lived many generations. Whence then the degeneracy of all men unto the savage state? To account for that dismal catastrophe, mankind must have suffered some terrible convulsion. That terrible convulsion is revealed to us in the history of the tower of Babel, contained in the 11th chapter of Genesis, which is, "That, for many centuries after the deluge, the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech; that they united to build a city on a plain in the land of Shinar, with a tower, whose top might reach unto heaven: that the Lord, beholding the people to be one, and to have all one language, and that nothing would be restrained from them which they imagined to do,

confounded their language that they might not understand one another, and scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth. Here light breaks forth in the midst of darkness. By confounding the language of men, and scattering them abroad upon the face of all the earth, they were rendered savages. And to harden them for their new habitations, it was necessary that they should be divided into different kinds, fitted for different climates. Without an immediate change of constitution, the builders of Babel could not possibly have subsisted in the burning region of Guinea, nor in the frozen region of Lapland; houses not being prepared, nor any other convenience to protect them against a destructive climate."

We may first remark, on his Lordship's hypothesis, that it is evidently incomplete; for, allowing the human race to have been divided into different species at the confusion of languages, and that each species was adapted to a particular climate; by what means were they to get to the climates proper for them, or how were they to know that such climates existed? How was an American, for instance, when languishing in an improper climate at Babel, to get to the land of the Amazons, or the banks of the Oroonoko, in his own country? or how was he to know these places were more proper for him than others?—If, indeed, we take the scripture phrase, "*The Lord scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth,*" in a certain sense, we may account for it. If we suppose that the different species were immediately carried off by a whirlwind, or other supernatural means, to their proper countries, the difficulty will vanish: but if this is his Lordship's interpretation, it is certainly a very singular one.

Before entering upon a consideration of the particular arguments used by our author for proving the diversity of species in the human race, it will be proper to lay down the following general principles, which may serve as axioms. (1.) When we assert a multiplicity of species in the human race; we bring in a supernatural cause to solve a natural phenomenon: for these species are supposed to be the immediate work of the Deity. (2.) No person has a right to call any thing the immediate effect of omnipotence, unless by express revelation from the Deity, or from a certainty that no natural cause is sufficient to produce the effect. The reason is plain. The Deity is invisible, and ~~to~~ are many natural causes: when we see an effect therefore, of which the cause does not manifest itself, we cannot know whether the immediate cause is the Deity, or an invisible natural power. An example of this we have in the phenomena of thunder and earthquakes, which are often ascribed immediately to the Deity, but are now ~~dis~~ proved to be the effects of electricity. (3.) No person can assert

natural causes to be insufficient to produce such and such effects, unless he perfectly knows all these causes and the limits of their power in all possible cases; and this no man has ever known, or can know.

By keeping in view these principles, which we hope are self-evident, we will easily see Lord Kames's arguments to consist entirely in a *petitio principii*.—In substance they are all reduced to this single sentence: "Natural philosophers have been hitherto unsuccessful in their endeavours to account for the differences observed among mankind, therefore these differences cannot be accounted for from natural causes."

His Lordship, however, tells us in the passages already quoted, that "a mastiff differs not more from a spaniel, than a Laplander from a Dane;" that "it is vain to ascribe to climate the low stature of the Laplanders, or their ugly visage."—Yet, in a note on the word *Laplanders*, he subjoins, that "by late accounts it appears, that the Laplanders are only degenerated Tartars; and that they and the Hungarians originally sprung from the same breed of men, and from the same country."—The Hungarians are generally handsome and well made, like Danes, or like other people. The Laplanders, he tells us, differ as much from them as a mastiff from a spaniel. Natural causes, therefore, according to Lord Kames himself, may cause two individuals of the same species of mankind to differ from each other as much as a mastiff does from a spaniel.

While we are treating this subject of colour, it may not be amiss to observe, that a very remarkable difference of colour may accidentally happen to individuals of the same species. In the islands of Darien, a singular race of men have been discovered.—They are of low stature, of a feeble make, and incapable of enduring fatigue. Their colour is a dead milk white; not resembling that of fair people among Europeans, but without any blush or sanguine complexion. Their skin is covered with a fine hairy down of a chalky white; the hair of their heads, their eye-brows, and eye-lashes, are of the same hue. Their eyes are of a singular form, and so weak, that they can hardly bear the light of the sun; but they see clearly by moon-light, and are most active and gay in the night. Among the negroes of Africa, as well as the natives of the Indian islands, a small number of these people are produced. They are called *Allinas* by the Portuguese, and *Kacker-Like*, by the Dutch.

This race of men is not indeed permanent; but it is sufficient to show, that mere colour is by no means the characteristic of a certain species of mankind. The difference of colour in these individuals is undoubtedly owing to a natural cause. To consti-

however plausible, is by no means conclusive, as will appear from the following passage in Mr. Forster's Voyage.

June 9th. "The officers who could not yet relish their salt provisions after the refreshments of New Zealand, had ordered their black dog, mentioned p. 135, to be killed: this day, therefore, we dined for the first time on a leg of it roasted; which tasted so exactly like mutton, that it was absolutely undistinguishable. In our old countries, where animal food is so much used, and where to be carnivorous perhaps lies in the nature of men, it is indispensably necessary to the preservation of their health and strength, it is strange that there should exist a Jewish aversion to dogs-flesh, when hogs the most uncleanly of all animals, are eaten without scruple. Nature seems expressly to have intended them for this use, by making their offspring so very numerous, and their increase so quick and frequent. It may be objected, that the exalted degree of instinct which we observe in our dogs, inspires us with great unwillingness to kill and eat them. But it is owing to the time we spend on the education of dogs, that they acquire those eminent qualities which attach them so much to us. The natural qualities of our dogs may receive a wonderful improvement; but education must give its assistance, without which the human mind itself, though capable of an immense expansion, remains in a very contracted state. In New Zealand, and (according to former accounts of voyages) in the tropical isles of the South Sea, the dogs are the most stupid, dull animals imaginable, and do not seem to have the least advantage in point of sagacity over our sheep, which are commonly made the emblems of silliness. In the former country they are fed upon fish, in the latter on vegetables, and both these diets may have served to alter their disposition. Education may perhaps likewise graft new instincts: the New Zealand dogs are fed on the remains of their master's meals; they eat the bones of other dogs; and the puppies become true cannibals from their birth. We had a young New Zealand puppy on board, which had certainly had no opportunity of tasting any thing but the mother's milk before we purchased it: however, it eagerly devoured a portion of the flesh and bones of the dog on which we dined to-day; while several others of the European breed taken on board at the Cape, turned from it without touching it.

"On the fourth of August, a young bitch, of the terrier breed, taken on board at the Cape of Good Hope, and covered by a spaniel, brought ten young ones, one of which was dead. The New Zealand dog mentioned above, which devoured the bones of the roasted dog, now fell upon the dead puppy, and eat of it with a ravenous appetite. This is a proof how far education may go

in producing and propagating new instincts in animals. Even dogs are never fed on the meat of their own species, but seem to abhor it. The New Zealand dogs, in all likelihood trained up from their earliest age to eat the remains of the master's meals: they are therefore used to feed upon fish, the species, and perhaps human flesh: and what was only a habit at first, may become instinct by length of time. This is remarkable in our cannibal dog; for he came on board so early that he could not have been weaned long enough to have acquired a habit of devouring his own species, and much less of eating man flesh; however, one of our seamen having cut his finger, he held it out to the dog, who fell to greedily, licked it, and began to bite it."

From this account it appears, that even the instincts of animals are not unchangeable by natural causes; and if these causes are powerful enough to change the dispositions of succeeding generations, much more may we suppose them capable of making possible alteration in the external appearance.

We are not here necessitated to confine ourselves to observations made on brute animals. The Franks are an example of the production of one general character, formed by some nations from a mixture of many different nations.—They were a mixture, consisting of various German nations dwelling along the Rhine: who, uniting in defence of their common liberties thence the name of *Franks*; the word *frank* signifying language. It still does in our *frank*. Among them the following nations were mentioned, viz. the Actuni, Chamavi, Bructi, Fritii, Chatti, Amswari, and Catu. We cannot ascribe any character to belong to so many different nations; yet it is that the Franks were nationally characterized as treacherous to death seems this quality to have been rooted in their nature that their descendants have not yet quite free of it in 1500. It is in vain, then, to talk of different races of men, with their colour, size, or prevailing capacities, seeing we have innumerable proofs that all these may be changed in the most various manner, by natural causes, with as much facility as in the hands of the deity.

THE FIRST FRONTIER OF AMERICA. The next question which presents itself is, From what part of the Old World America has most probably been peopled.

Discoveries long ago made inform us, that a intercourse between the Old Continent and America might be carried on with facility from the north-west extremity of Europe and the east boundaries of Asia. In the north run the North

discovered Greenland, and planted a colony there. The communication with that country was renewed in the last century by Moravian missionaries, in order to propagate their doctrine in that bleak and uncultivated region. By them we are informed that the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait ; that at the bottom of the bay it is highly probable that they are united ; that the Esquimaux of America perfectly resemble the Greenlanders in their aspect, dress, and mode of living ; and that a Moravian missionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having visited the country of the Esquimaux, found, to his astonishment, that they spoke the same language with the Greenlanders, and were in every respect the same people. The same species of animals, too, are found in the contiguous regions. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the deer, the roebuck, the elk, frequent the forests of North America, as well as those in the north of Europe.

Other discoveries have proved, that if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow strait. From this part of the Old Continent, also, inhabitants may have passed into the New ; and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the eastern inhabitants of Asia, would induce us to conjecture that they have a common origin. This is the opinion adopted by Dr. Robertson in his History of America, where we find it accompanied with the following narrative.

“ While those immense regions which stretched eastward from the river Ob to the sea of Kamtschatka were unknown, or imperfectly explored, the north-east extremities of our hemisphere were supposed to be so far distant from any part of the New World, that it was not easy to conceive how any communication should have been carried on between them. But the Russians, having subjected the western part of Siberia to their empire, gradually extended their knowledge of that vast country, by advancing towards the east into unknown provinces. These were discovered by hunters in their excursions after game, or by soldiers employed in levying the taxes ; and the court of Moscow estimated the importance of those countries only by the small addition which they made to its revenue. At length, Peter the Great ascended the Russian throne : His enlightened comprehensive mind, intent upon every circumstance that could aggrandize his empire, or render his reign illustrious, discerned consequences of those discoveries, which had escaped the observation of his ignorant predecessors. He perceived, that, in proportion as the regions of Asia extended towards the east, they must approach nearer to America ; that the communication between the

two continents, which had long been searched for in vain, would probably be found in this quarter; and that, by opening this intercourse, some part of the wealth and commerce of the western world might be made to flow into his dominions by a new channel. Such an object suited a genius that delighted in grand schemes. Peter drew up instructions with his own hand for prosecuting this design, and gave orders for carrying it into execution.

“ His successors adopted his idea, and pursued his plan. The officers whom the Russian court employed in this service, had to struggle with so many difficulties, that their progress was extremely slow. Encouraged by some faint traditions among the people of Siberia concerning a successful voyage in the year 1648 round the north-east promontory of Asia, they attempted to follow the same course. Vessels were fitted out, with this view, at different times, from the rivers Lena and Kolyma; but in a frozen ocean, which nature seems not to have destined for navigation, they were exposed to many disasters, without being able to accomplish their purpose. No vessel fitted out by the Russian court ever doubled this formidable cape; we are indebted for what is known of those extreme regions of Asia, to the discoveries made in excursions by land. In all those provinces, an opinion prevails, that countries of great extent and fertility lie at no considerable distance from their own coasts. These the Russians imagined to be part of America; and several circumstances concurred not only in confirming them in this belief, but in persuading them that some portion of that continent could not be very remote. Trees of various kinds, unknown in those naked regions of Asia, are driven upon the coast by an easterly wind. By the same wind floating ice is brought thicker in a few days; flocks of birds arrive annually from the same quarter; and a tradition obtains among the inhabitants, of an intercourse formerly carried on with some countries situated to the east.

“ After weighing all these particulars, and comparing the position of the countries in Asia which they had discovered, with such parts in the north-west of America as were already known, the Russian court formed a plan, which would have hardly occurred to any nation less accustomed to engage in arduous undertakings, and to contend with great difficulties. Orders were issued to build two vessels at Ochotz, in the sea of Kamtschatka, to sail on a voyage of discovery. Though that dreary uncultivated region furnished nothing that could be of use in constructing them but some larch-trees; though not only the iron, the cordage, tools, and all the numerous articles requisite for their equipment, but the provisions for victualling them, were all to be carried

ough the immense deserts of Siberia, along rivers of difficult navigation, and roads almost impassable, the mandate of the sovereign, and the perseverance of the people, at last surmounted every obstacle. Two vessels were finished; and, under the command of the captains Behring and Tschirikow, sailed from Kamtschatka in quest of the New World, in a quarter where it had never been approached. They shaped their course towards the east; and though a storm soon separated the vessels, which never rejoined, and many disasters beset them, the expectations from the voyage were not altogether frustrated. Each of the commanders discovered land, which to them appeared to be part of the American continent; and, according to their observations, it seems to be situated within a few degrees of the north-west coast of California, and to have at least some of his people ashore: but in one place the inhabitants fled as the Russians approached; in another, they carried off those who landed, and destroyed their boats. The violence of the weather, and the distress of their crews, obliged both to quit this inhospitable coast. In their return they touched at several islands, which stretch in a chain from east to west between the country which they had discovered and the coast of Asia. They had some intercourse with the natives, who seemed to them to resemble the North Americans. They presented to the Russians the calumet, or pipe of peace, which is a symbol of friendship universal among the people of North America, and in a usage of arbitrary institution peculiar to them."

The more recent and accurate discoveries of the illustrious navigator Cooke, and his successor Clerke, have brought the matter still nearer to certainty. The sea, from the south of Behring's Straits to the crescent of isles between Asia and America, is very shallow. It deepens from these straits (as the British seas do from those of Dover) till soundings are lost in the Pacific Ocean; but that does not take place but to the south of the isles. Between them and the straits is an increase from 12 to 54 fathom, except only off St. Thaddeus Noss, where there is a channel of greater depth. From the volcanic disposition, it has been judged probable, not only that there was a separation of the continents at the Straits of Behring, but that the whole space from the isles to that small opening had once been occupied by land; and that the fury of the watery element, agitated by fire, had in most remote times, subverted and overwhelmed

and left the islands monumental fragments.

But adopting all the fancies of Buffon, there can be no doubt, as the Abbé Clavigero observes, that our planet has been

subject to great vicissitudes since the deluge. Ancient and modern histories confirm the truth which Ovid has sung in the name of Pythagoras :

*Videō ego quod fuerat quondam scississima tellus,
Ejse fretum ; vidi factas ex aquore terras.*

At present they plough those lands over which ships formerly sailed, and now they sail over lands which were formerly cultivated ; earthquakes had swallowed some lands, and subterraneous fires have thrown up others : the rivers have formed new soil with their mud ; the sea retreating from the shores has lengthened the land in some places, and advancing in others has diminished it ; it has separated some territories which were formerly united, and formed new straits and gulphs. We have examples of all these revolutions in the past century. Sicily was united to the continent of Naples, as Eubœa, now the Black Sea, to Bœtia. Diodorus, Strabo, and other ancient authors, say the same thing of Spain and Africa, and affirm, that by a violent eruption of the ocean upon the land between the mountains Abyla and Calpe, that communication was broken, and the Mediterranean Sea was formed. Among the people of Ceylon there is a tradition that a similar eruption of the sea separated their island from the peninsula of India. The same thing is believed by those of Malabar with respect to the isles of Maldivia, and with the Malayans with respect to Sumatra. It is certain, says the Count de Buffon, that in Ceylon the earth has lost 30 or 40 leagues, which the sea has taken from it ; on the contrary, Tongres, a place of the low countries, has gained 30 leagues of land from the sea. The northern part of Egypt owes its existence to inundations of the Nile. The earth which this river has brought from the inland countries of Africa, and deposited in its inundations, has formed a soil of more than 25 cubits of depth. In like manner, adds the above author, the province of the Yellow River in China, and that of Louisiana, have only been formed of the mud of rivers. Pliny, Seneca, Diodorus, and Strabo, report innumerable examples of similar revolutions, which we omit, that our dissertation may not become too prolix ; as also many modern revolutions, which are related in the theory of the earth of the Count de Buffon and other authors. In South America, all those who have observed with philosophic eyes the peninsula of Yucatan, do not doubt that that country has once been the bed of the sea ; and, on the contrary, in the channel of Bahama many indications shew the island of Cuba to have been once united to the continent of Florida. In the strait which separates America from Asia

many islands are found, which probably were the mountains belonging to that tract of land which we suppose to have been swallowed up by earthquakes: which is made more probable by the multitude of volcanoes which we know of in the peninsula of Kamtschatka. It is imagined, however, that the sinking of that land, and the separation of the two continents, has been occasioned by these great and extraordinary earthquakes mentioned in the histories of the Americans, which formed an era almost as memorable as that of the deluge. The histories of the Toltecas fix such earthquakes in the year I Tecpatl; but as we know not to what century that belonged, we can form no conjecture of the time that great calamity happened. If a great earthquake should overwhelm the isthmus of Suez, and there should be at the same time as great a scarcity of historians as there were in the first ages after the deluge, it would be doubted, in 300 or 400 years after, whether Asia had ever been united by that part to Africa; and many would firmly deny it.

Whether that great event, the separation of the continents, took place before or after the population of America, is as impossible as it is of little moment for us to know; but we are indebted to the above-mentioned navigators for settling the long dispute about the point from which it was effected. Their observations prove, that in one place the distance between continent and continent is only 39 miles, not (as the author of the *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains* would have it) 800 leagues. This narrow strait has also in the middle two islands, which would greatly facilitate the migration of the Asiatics into the New World, supposing that it took place in canoes after the convulsion which rent the two continents asunder. Besides, it may be added, that these straits are, even in the summer, often filled with ice; in winter often frozen. In either case mankind might find an easy passage; in the last, the way was extremely ready for quadrupeds to cross and stock the continent of America. But where, from the vast expanse of the north-eastern world, to fix on the first tribes who contributed to people the New Continent, now inhabited almost from end to end, is a matter that baffles human reason. The learned may make bold and ingenious conjectures, but plain good sense cannot always accede to them.

As mankind increased in numbers, they naturally protruded one another forward. Wars might be another cause of migrations. There appears no reason why the Asiatic north might not be an *officina virorum*, as well as the European. The overteeming country, to the east of the Rhiphaean mountains, must find it necessary to discharge its inhabitants: the first great wave

of people was forced forward by the next to it, more tumid and more powerful than itself: successive and new impulses continually arriving, short rest was given to that which spread over a more eastern tract; disturbed again and again, it covered fresh regions: at length, reaching the farthest limits of the Old World, found a new one, with ample space to occupy unmolested for ages; till Columbus curled them by a discovery, which brought again new sins and new deaths to both worlds.

"The inhabitants of the New World (Mr. Pennant observes,) do not consist of the offspring of a single nation; different people, at several periods, arrived there; and it is impossible to say, that any one is now to be found on the original spot of its colonization. It is impossible, with the lights which we have so recently received, to admit that America could receive its inhabitants (at least the bulk of them) from any other place than eastern Asia. A few proofs may be added, taken from customs or dresses common to the inhabitants of both worlds; some have been long extinct in the Old, others remain in both in full force.

"The custom of scalping was a barbarism in use with the Scythians, who carried about them at all times this savage mark of triumph; they cut a circle round the neck, and stripped off the skin as they would that of an ox. A little image found among the Calmucs, of a Tartarian Denny, mounted on a horse, and sitting on a human skin, with scalps pendent from the breast, fully illustrates the custom of the Scythian progenitors, as described by the Greek historian. This usage, as the Europeans know by horrid experience, is continued to this day in America. The ferocity of the Scythians to their prisoners extended to the remotest part of Asia. The Kamtchatkans, even at the time of their discovery by the Russians, put their prisoners to death by the most lingering and excruciating inventions: a practice in full force to this very day among the aboriginal Americans. A race of the Scythians were stiled *Anthropophagi*, from their feeding on human flesh. The people of Nootka Sound still make a repast on their fellow creatures: but what is more wonderful, the savage allies of the British army have been known to throw the mangled limbs of the French prisoners into the horrible cauldron, and devour them with the same relish as those of a quadruped.

"The Scythians were said, for a certain time, annually to transform themselves into wolves, and again to resume the human shape. The new discovered Americans about Nootka Sound, at this time disguise themselves in dresses made of the skins of wolves and other wild beasts, and wear even the heads fitted to their own. These habits they use in the chase, to circumvent the animals of the field. But would not ignorance or superstition ascribe

to a supernatural metamorphosis these temporary expedients to deceive the brute creation?

"In their marches, the Kamtschatkans never went abreast, but followed one another in the same tract. The same custom is exactly observed by the Americans.

"The Tungusi, the most numerous nation resident in Siberia, prick their faces with small punctures, with a needle, in various shapes: then rub into them charcoal, so that the marks become indelible. This custom is still observed in several parts of America. The Indians on the back of Hudson's Bay, to this day, perform the operation exactly in the same manner, and puncture the skin into various figures; as the natives of New Zealand do at present, and as the ancient Britons did with the herb glastum, or woad; and the Virginians, on the first discovery of that country by the English.

"The Tungusi use canoes made of birch-bark, distended over ribs of wood, and nicely sewed together. The Canadian, and many other American nations, use no other sort of boats. The paddles of the Tungusi are broad at each end; those of the people near Cook's river, and of Oonalascha, are of the same form.

"In burying of the dead, many of the American nations, place the corpse at full length, after preparing it according to their customs: others place it in a sitting posture, and lay by it the most valuable cloathing, wampum, and other matters. The Tartars did the same: and both people agree in covering the whole with earth, so as to form a tumulus, barrow, or carnedd.

"Some of the American nations hang their dead in trees. Certain of the Tungusi observe a similar custom.

"We can draw some analogy from dress: conveniency in that article must have been consulted on both continents, and originally the materials must have been the same, the skins of birds and beasts. It is singular, that the conic bonnet of the Chinese should be found among the people of Nootka. I cannot give into the notion, that the Chinese contributed to the population of the New World: but we can readily admit, that a shipwreck might furnish those Americans with a pattern for that part of the dress.

"In respect to the features and form of the human body, almost every tribe found along the western coast has some similitude to the Tartar nations, and still retain the little eyes, small noses, high cheeks, and broad faces. They vary in size, from the lusty Calmucs to the little Nogaians. The internal Americans, such as the Five Indian nations, who are tall of body, robust in make, and of oblong faces, are derived from among the Tartars themselves. The fine race of Tschuti

to be the stock from which those Americans are derived. The Tichutski, again, from that fine race of Tartars the Kabardinski; or inhabitants of Kabarda.

"But about Prince William's Sound begins a race chiefly distinguished by their dress, their canoes, and their instruments of the chase, from the tribes to the south of them. Here commences the Esquimaux people, or the race known by that name in the high latitudes of the eastern side of the continent. They may be divided into two varieties. At this place they are of the largest size. As they advance northward they decrease in height, till they dwindle into the dwarfish tribes which occupy some of the coasts of the Ice Sea, and the maritime parts of Madison's Bay, of Greenland, and Terra de Labrador. The famous Japanese map places some islands seemingly within the Straits of Behring, on which is bestowed the title of *Ya Zee*, or the Kingdom of the Dwarfs. Does not this in some manner authenticate the chart, and give us reason to suppose that America was not unknown to the Japanese; and that they had 'as is mentioned by Kæmpfer and Charlevoix' made voyages of discovery, and according to the list, actually wintered on the continent? That they might have met with the Esquimaux is very probable; whom, in comparison of their size, they might easily distinguish by the name of *Laarshi*. The aspect of their low stature is very obvious; these dwell in a most severe climate, amidst penury of food, the former in one more favourable, abundant in provisions; circumstances that tend to prevent the degeneracy of the human frame. At the land of Oukitch, a dialect of the Esquimaux is in use, which was carried along the whole coast from thence northward."

The continent which stocked America with the human race poured in the brute creation through the same passage. Very few quadrupeds continued in the peninsula of Kamtschatka: Mr. Pennant enumerates only 25 which are inhabitants of land: all the rest perished in their migration, and fixed their residence in the New World. Seventeen of the Kamtschatkan quadrupeds are found in America: others are common only to Siberia or Tartary, having, for unknown causes, entirely evacuated Kamtschatka, and divided themselves between America and the parts of Asia above cited. Multitudes again have deserted the Old World even to an individual, and fixed their seats at distances most remote from the spot from which they took their departure; from mount Ararat, the resting place of the ark, in a central part of the Old World, and excellently adapted for the dispersion of the animal creation to all its parts. We need not be startled (says Mr. Pennant) at the vast journeys many of the quadrupeds took to arrive

multitudes of points beyond the human ability to
and yet are truths undeniable: the facts are indisputable,
notwithstanding the causes are concealed. In such cases, faith
must be called in to our relief. It would containly be the height
of folly to deny to that Being who broke open the great fountains
of the deep to effect the deluge—and afterwards, to compel the
dispersion of mankind to people the globe, directed the confusion
of languages—powers inferior in their nature to these. After
these wondrous proofs of Omnipotency, it will be absurd to deny
the possibility of infusing instinct into the brute creation. *Deus*
animas brutorum; “God himself is the soul of brutes?” His plea-
sure must have determined their will, and directed several species,
and even the whole genera, by impulse irresistible, to move by
slow progression to their destined regions. But for that, the Lama
and the Pacos might still have inhabited the heights of Armenia
and some more neighbouring Alps, instead of labouring to gain
the distant Peruvian Andes; the whole genus of armadillos, slow
of foot, would never have quitted the torrid zone of the Old
World for that of the New; and the whole tribe of monkeys
would have gamboled together in the forests of India, instead of
dividing their residence between the shades of Indostan and the
deep forests of the Brasils. Lions and tigers might have infested
the hot parts of the New World, as the first do the deserts of
Africa, and the last the provinces of Asia; or the pantherine ani-
mals of South America might have remained additional scourges

gress each generation grew hardened to the climate it had reached, and that after their arrival in America they would again be gradually accustomed to warmer and warmer climates, in their removal from north to south, as they had in the reverse, or from south to north. Part of the tigers still inhabit the eternal snows of Ararat, and multitudes of the very same species live, but with exalted rage, beneath the line, in the burning soil of Borneo Sumatra; but neither lions or tigers ever migrated into the New World. A few of the first are found in India and Persia, but they are found in numbers only in Africa. The tiger extends as far north as western Tartary, in lat. 40. 50 but never has reached Africa."

In fine, the conjectures of the learned respecting the vicissitudes of the Old and New, are now, by the discoveries of our great navigators, lost in conviction; and, in the place of imaginary hypotheses, the real place of migration is uncontrovertibly pointed out. Some (from a passage in Plato) have extended over the Atlantic from the straits of Gibraltar to the coast of North and South America, an island equal in size to the continents of Asia and Africa, over which had passed, as over a bridge, from the latter, men and animals; wool-headed negroes, and lions and tigers, none of which ever existed in the New World. A mighty sea arose, and in one day and night engulfed this stupendous tract, and with it every being which had not completed its migration into America. The whole negro race, and almost every quadruped, now inhabitants of Africa, perished in this critical day. Five only are to be found at present in America; and of these only one, the bear in South America: Not a single custom, common to the natives of Africa and America, to evince a common origin. Of the quadrupeds, the bear, stag, wolf, fox, and weasel, are the only animals which we can pronounce with certainty to be found on each continent. The stag, fox, and weasel, have made also no farther progress in Africa than the north; but on the same continent the wolf is spread over every part, yet is unknown in South America as are the fox and weasel. In Africa and South America the bear is very local, being met with only in the north of the first, and on the Andes in the last. Some cause unknown arrested its progress in Africa, and impelled the migration of a few into the Chilian Alps, and induced them to leave unoccupied the vast trail from North America, to the lofty Cordilleras.

Allusions have often been made to some remains on the continent of America, of a more polished and cultivated people, when compared with the tribes which possessed it on its first discovery by Europeans. Mr. Barton, in his *Observations on some parts of Natural History*, Part I. has collected the scattered hints of Kalm, Carver, and some others, and has added a plan of a regular work, which has

been discovered on the banks of the Muskingum, near its junction with the Ohio. These remains are principally stone-walls, large mounds of earth, and a combination of these mounds with the walls, suspected to have been fortifications. In some places the ditches and the fortrets are said to have been plainly seen; in others, furrows, as if the land had been ploughed.

The mounds of earth are of two kinds: they are artificial tumuli, designed as repositories for the dead: or they are of a greater size, for the purpose of defending the adjacent country, and with this view they are artificially constructed, or advantage is taken of the natural eminences, to raise them into a fortification.

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PRODUCTIONS. This vast country produces most of the metals, minerals, plants, fruits, trees, and wood, to be met with in the other parts of the world, and many of them in greater quantities and high perfection. The gold and silver of America supplied Europe with such immense quantities of those valuable metals, that they are become vastly more common; so that gold and silver of Europe now bears little proportion to the price set upon them before the discovery of America.

It also produces diamonds, pearls, emeralds, amethysts and other valuable stones, which, by being brought into Europe, have contributed likewise to lower their value. To these, which chiefly the production of Spanish America, may be added a number of other commodities, which, though of less price, of much greater use; and many of them make the ornament and wealth of the British empire in this part of the world. Of these are the plentiful supplies of cochineal, indigo, annatto, log-wood, brazil, fustic, pimento, lignum vitæ, rice, ginger, cocoa, or chocolate nut, sugar, cotton, tobacco, banillas, red-wood, the gums of Tolu, Peru, and Chili, that valuable article in medicine the Jesuit's bark, mechoacan, sassafras, sarsaparilla, cassia, turpentine, hides, furs, ambergrease, and a great variety of woods, reeds and plants; to which, before the Discovery of America, we were either strangers, or forced to buy at an extravagant rate from India and Africa, through the hands of the Venetians and Genoese, who then engrossed the trade of the eastern world.

On this continent there grows also a variety of excellent fruit as pine-apples, pomegranates, citrons, lemons, oranges, malic cherries, pears, apples, figs, grapes, great numbers of culinary medicinal, and other herbs, roots, and plants, with many productions which are nourished in as great perfection as in the native soil.

Having given a summary account of America in general; of its first discovery by Columbus, its extent, rivers, mountains, &c. the Aborigines, and of the first peopling this continent, we next turn our attention to the *Discovery and Settlement of North America*.

**A SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST
DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS
OF
NORTH AMERICA.**

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

NORTH AMERICA was discovered in the reign of Henry VII. a period when the Arts and Sciences had made very considerable progress in Europe. Many of the first adventurers were men of genius and learning, and were careful to preserve authentic records of such of their proceedings as would be interesting to posterity. These records afford ample documents for American historians. Perhaps no people on the globe can trace the history of their origin and progress with so much precision as the inhabitants of North America; particularly that part of them who inhabit the territory of the United States.

The fame which Columbus had acquired by his first discoveries on this western continent, spread through Europe and inspired many with the spirit of enterprize. As early as 1496.

four years only after the first discovery of America, John Cabot, a Venetian, obtained a commission from Henry VII. to discover unknown lands and annex them to the crown.

In the spring he sailed from England with two ships, carrying with him his three sons. In this voyage, which was intended for China, he fell in with the north side of Terra Labrador, and coasted northerly as far as the 67th degree of latitude.

1497.—The next year he made a second voyage to America with his son Sebastian, who afterwards proceeded in the discoveries which his father had begun. On the 24th of June he discovered Bonavista, on the north-east side of Newfoundland. Before his return he traversed the coast from Davis's Straits to Cape Florida.

1502.—Sebastian Cabot was this year at Newfoundland; and on his return carried three of the natives of that island to Henry VII.

1513.—In the spring of 1513, John Ponce sailed from Porto Rico northerly; discovered the continent in $30^{\circ} 8'$ north latitude. He landed in April, a season when the country around was covered with verdure, and in full bloom. This circumstance induced him to call the country *Florida*, which, for many years, was the common name for North and South America.

1516.—In 1516, Sir Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert explored the coast as far as Brazil in South America.

This vast extent of country, the coast whereof was thus explored, remained unclaimed and unsettled by any European power, (except by the Spaniards in South America) for almost a century from the time of its discovery.

1524.—It was not till the year 1524 that France attempted discoveries on the American coast. Stimulated by his enterprising neighbours, Francis I. who possessed a great and active mind, sent John Verrazano, a Florentine, to America, for the purpose of making discoveries. He traversed the coast from latitude 28° to 50° north. In a second voyage, some time after he was lost.

1525.—The next year Stephen Gomez, the first Spaniard who came upon the American coast for discovery, sailed from Groyn in Spain, to Cuba and Florida, thence northward to Cape Razo, in latitude 46° north, in search of a north-west passage to the East Indies.

1534.—In the spring of 1534, by the direction of Francis I. a fleet was fitted out at St. Malo's in France, with design to make discoveries in America. The command of this fleet was given to James Cartier. He arrived at Newfoundland in May of this year. Thence he sailed northerly; and on the day of the festival of St. Lawrence, he found himself in about latitude $48^{\circ} 30'$ north in the midst of a broad gulf, which he named St. Lawrence. He gave the same name to the river which empties into it. In this voyage, he sailed as far north as latitude 51° , expecting in vain to find a passage to China.

1535.—The next year he sailed up the river St. Lawrence 300 leagues to the great and swift *Fall*. He called the country New France; built a fort in which he spent the winter, and returned in the following spring to France.

1542.—In 1542, Francis la Roche, Lord of Robewell, was sent to Canada, by the French king, with three ships and 200 men, women and children. They wintered here in a fort which they had built, and returned in the spring. About the year 1550, a large number of adventurers sailed for Canada, but were never after heard of. In 1598, the king of France commissioned the Marquis de la Roche to conquer Canada, and other countries not possessed by any Christian prince. We do not learn however,

that la Roche ever attempted to execute his commission, or that any further attempts were made to settle Canada during this century.

1539.—On the 12th of May, 1539. Ferdinand de Soto, with 900 men, besides seamen, sailed from Cuba, having for his object the conquest of Florida. On the 30th of May, he arrived at Spirito Santo, from whence he travelled northward 450 leagues from the sea. Here he discovered a river a quarter of a mile 1542 . wide and 19 fathoms deep. on the bank of which he died 1543 and was buried, May 1542, aged 42 years. Alverdo his successor built seven brigantines, and the year following embarked upon the river. In 17 days he proceeded down the river 400 leagues, where he judged it to be 15 leagues wide. From the largeness of the river at that place of his embarkation, he concluded its source must have been at least 400 leagues above, so that the whole length of the river in his opinion must have been more than 800 leagues. As he passed down the River, he found it opened by two mouths into the gulph of Mexico. These circumstances led us to conclude, that this river, so early discovered, was the one which we now call the *Mississippi*.

Jan. 6, 1549. This year King Henry VII. granted a pension for life to Sebastian Cabot, in consideration of the important services he had rendered to the kingdom by his discoveries in America.

1562.—The admiral of France, Chatillon, early in this year sent out a fleet under the command of John Ribalt. He arrived at Cape Francis on the coast of Florida, near which, on the first of May, he discovered and entered a river which he called May river. It is more than probable that river is the same which we now call St. Mary's, which forms a part of the southern boundary of the United States. As he coasted northward he discovered eight other rivers, one of which he called Port Royal, and sailed up it several leagues. On one of the rivers he built a fort and called it *Charles*, in which he left a colony under the direction of Captain Albert. The severity of Albert's measures excited a mutiny, in which, to the ruin of the colony, he was slain. Two years after, Chatillon sent Rene Laudonier, with three ships, to Florida. In June he arrived at the River *May*, on which he built a fort, and, in honour to his King, Charles IX. he called it *Carolina*.

In August, this year, Capt. Ribalt arrived at Florida the second time, with a fleet of seven vessels to recruit the colony, which, two years before, he had left under the direction of the unfortunate Capt. Albert.

ing been one European family, at this time, in all the vastness of coast from Florida to Greenland.

1603.—Martin Pring and William Brown were this year by Sir Walter Raleigh, with two small vessels, to make discoveries in North Virginia. They came upon the coast, which was broken with a multitude of islands, in latitude $43^{\circ} 30'$ and they coasted southward to Cape Cod Bay; thence round Cape into a commodious harbour in latitude $41^{\circ} 25'$, where they went ashore and tarried seven weeks, during which time they loaded one of their vessels with salted fish, and returned to England.

Bartholomew Gilbert, in a Voyage to South Virginia, in search of the third colony which had been left there by Governor White in 1587, having touched at several of the West-India Islands, landed near Chesapeake Bay, where, in a skirmish with the Indians, he and four of his men were unfortunately slain. The rest, without any further search for the colony, returned to England.

France, being at this time in a state of tranquility in consequence of the edict of Nantz in favour of the Protestants, pushed by Henry IV. (April 1598) and of the peace with Philip king of Spain and Portugal, was induced to pursue her discoveries in America. Accordingly the king signed a patent in favour of De Mons. (1603) of all the country from the 40th to the 46

degrees of north latitude under the name of Acadia.
1604 The next year De Mons ranged the coast from St. Lawrence to Cape Sable, and so round to Cape Cod.

1605.—In May 1605, George's Island and Pentecost Harbour were discovered by Capt. George Weymouth. In May he entered a large river in latitude $43^{\circ} 20'$ (variation $11^{\circ} 15'$ west) which Mr. Prince, in his Chronology, supposes must have been Sagadahok; but from the latitude, it was more probably Piscataqua. Capt. Weymouth carried with him to England five of the natives.

1606.—In the Spring of this year, James I. by patent, divided Virginia into two colonies. The southern included all lands between the 34th and 41st degrees of north latitude. This was styled the first colony, under the name of South Virginia, and was granted to the London Company. The northern, called the second colony, and known by the general name of North Virginia, included all lands between the 38th and 45th degrees north latitude, and was granted to the Plymouth Company. Each of these colonies had a council of thirteen men to govern them. To prevent disputes about territory, the colonies were prohibited to plant within an hundred miles of each other. There appeared

to be an inconsistency in these grants, as the lands lying between the 38th and 41st degrees, are covered by both patents.

Both the London and Plymouth companies enterprized settlements within the limits of their respective grants. With what success will now be mentioned.

Mr. Piercy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, in the service of the London Company, went over with a colony to Virginia, and discovered Powhatan, now James River. In the mean time the Plymouth Company sent Capt. Henry Challons in a vessel of fifty-five tons to plant a colony in North Virginia; but in his voyage he was taken by a Spanish fleet and carried to Spain.

1607.—The London Company this spring, sent Capt. Christopher Newport with three vessels to South Virginia. On the 26th of April he entered Chesapeek Bay, and landed, and soon after gave to the most southern point, the name of *Cape Henry*, which it still retains. Having elected Mr. Edward Wingfield, president for the year, they next day landed all their men, and began a settlement on James river, at a place which they called James-Town. This is the first town that was settled by the English in North America. The June following Capt. Newport sailed for England, leaving with the president one hundred and four persons.

August 22.—In August died Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, the first projector of the settlement, and one of the council. The following winter James-Town was burnt.

During this time the Plymouth company fitted out two ships under the command of Admiral Rawley Gilbert. They sailed for North Virginia on the 3rd of May, with one hundred planters, and Capt. George Popham for their president. They arrived in August, and settled about nine or ten leagues to the southward of the mouth of Sagadahok river. A great part of the colony, however, disheartened by the severity of the winter, returned to England in December, leaving their president, Capt. Popham, with only forty-five men.

It was in the fall of this year that the famous Mr. Robinson, with part of his congregation, who afterwards settled at Plymouth in New-England, removed from the North of England to Holland, to avoid, the cruelties of persecution, and for the sake of enjoying "purity of worship and liberty of conscience."

This year a small company of merchants at Dieppe and St. Malo's, founded Quebec, or rather the colony which they sent, built a few huts there, which did not take the form of a town until the reign of Lewis XIV.

1608.—The Sagadahok colony suffered incredible hardships after the departure of their friends in December. In the depth of winter, which was extremely cold, their store-house caught fire and was consumed, with most of their provisions and lodgings. Their misfortunes were increased, soon after, by the death of their president. Rawley Gilbert was appointed to succeed him.

Lord Chief Justice Popham made every exertion to keep this colony alive by repeatedly sending them supplies. But the circumstance of his death, which happened this year, together with that of president Gilbert's being called to England to settle his affairs, broke up the colony, and they all returned with him to England.

The unfavourable reports which these first unfortunate adventurers propagated respecting the country, prevented any further attempts to settle North Virginia for several years after.

1609.—The London company, last year, sent Capt. Nelson, with two ships, and one hundred and twenty persons, to Jamestown; and this year Capt. John Smith, afterwards president, arrived on the coast of South Virginia, and by sailing up a number of the rivers, discovered the interior country. In September, Capt. Newport arrived with seventy persons, which increased the colony to two hundred souls.

Mr. Robinson and his congregation who had settled at Amsterdam, removed this year to Leyden, where they remained more than eleven years, till a part of them came over to New-England.

The council for South Virginia having reneged their old commission, requested and obtained a new one; in consequence of which they appointed Sir Thomas West, Lord de la War, general of the colony; Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant; Sir George Somers, admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, high marshal; Sir Ferdinand Warriner, general of the horse, and Capt. Newport, vice admiral.

June 8.—In June, Sir T. Gates, admiral Newport, and Sir George Somers, with seven ships and a ketch and pinnace, having five hundred souls on board, men, women, and children,

July 24. sailed from Falmouth for South Virginia. In crossing the Bahama Gulph, on the 24th of July, the fleet was overtaken by a violent storm and separated. Four days after Sir George Somers ran his vessel ashore on one of the Bermuda Islands, which, from this circumstance, have been called the Somers Islands. The people on board, one hundred and fifty in number, all got safe on shore, and there remained until the following May. The remainder of the fleet arrived at Virginia in August. The colony was now increased to five hundred men. Capt. Smith, then president, a little before the arrival of the fleet, had been very badly burnt by means of some powder, which had

accidentally caught fire. This unfortunate circumstance, together with the opposition he met with from those who had lately arrived, induced him to leave the colony and return to England, which he accordingly did on the last of September. Francis West, his successor in office, soon followed him, and George Piercy was elected president.

1610.—The year following, the South Virginia or London company sealed a patent to Lord De la War, constituting him Governor and Captain General of South Virginia. He soon after embarked for America with Capt. Argal and one hundred and fifty men, in three ships.

The unfortunate people, who, the year before, had been shipwrecked on the Bermudas Islands, had employed themselves during the winter and spring, under the direction of Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and admiral Newport, in building a sloop to transport themselves to the continent. They embarked for Virginia on the 16th of May, with about one hundred and fifty persons on board, leaving two of their men behind who chose to stay, and landed at James-Town on the 23d of the same month. Finding the colony, which at the time of Capt. Smith's departure, consisted of five hundred souls, now reduced to sixty, and those few in a distressed and wretched situation, they with one voice resolved to return to England; and for this purpose, on the 7th of June, the whole colony repaired on board their vessels, broke up their settlement, and sailed down the river on their way to their native country.

Fortunately, Lord De la War, who had embarked for James-Town the March before, met them the day after they sailed, and persuaded them to return with him to James-Town, where they arrived and landed the 10th of June. The government of the colony of right devolved upon Lord De la War. From this time we may date the effectual settlement of Virginia. Its history, from this period, will be given in its proper place.

As early as the year 1608, or 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, under a commission from the King his master, discovered Long Island, New-York, and the river which still bears his name, and afterwards sold the country, or rather his right, to the Dutch. Their writers, however, contend that Hudson was sent out by the East-India company in 1609, to discover a north-west passage to China; and that having first discovered Delaware Bay, he came and penetrated Hudson's river as far as latitude 43°. It is said however that there was a sale, and that the English objected to it, though for some time they neglected to oppose the Dutch settlement of the country.

1610.—In 1610, Hudson sailed again to this country, then called by the Dutch *Near Netherlands*, and four years after, the States-General granted a patent to sundry merchants for an exclusive trade on the North river, who the same year, 1614 (1614) built a fort on the west side near Albany. From this time we may date the settlement of New-York, the history of which will be annexed to a description of the State.

Conception Bay, on the Island of Newfoundland, was settled in the year 1610, by about forty planters under governor John Gay, to whom King James had given a patent of incorporation.

Champlain, a Frenchman, had begun a settlement at Quebec, 1608, St Croix, Mount Mantel, and Port Royal were settled about the same time. These settlements remained undisturbed till 1613, when the Virginians, hearing that the French had settled within their limits, sent Captain Argal to dislodge them. For this purpose he sailed to Sagadahok, took their forts at Mount Mantel, St. Croix, and Port Royal, with their vessels, ordnance, cattle, and provisions, and carried them to James-Town in Virginia. Quebec was left in possession of the French.

1614.—This year Capt. John Smith, with two ships and forty-five men and boys, made a voyage to North Virginia, to make experiments upon a gold and copper mine. His orders were, to fish and trade with the natives, if he should fail in his expectations with regard to the mine. To facilitate this business, he took with him *Tanum*, an Indian, perhaps one that Capt. Weymouth carried to England in 1605. In April he reached the Island Monahigan in latitude $43^{\circ} 30'$. Here Capt. Smith was directed to stay and keep possession, with ten men, for the purpose of making a trial of the whaling business, but being disappointed in this he built seven boats, in which thirty-seven men made a very successful fishing voyage. In the mean time the captain himself, with eight men only, in a small boat, coasted from Penobscot to Sagadahok, Acoeneco, Passataquack, Tragabizanda, now called Cape Ann, thence to Acomak, where he skirmished with some Indians; thence to Cape Cod where he set his Indian, *Tantum*, ashore and left him, and returned to Monahigan. In this voyage he found two French ships in the Bay of Massachusetts, who had come there six weeks before, and during that time, had been trading very advantageously with the Indians. It was conjectured that there was, at this time, three thousand Indians upon the Massachusetts Islands.

In July, Capt. Smith embarked for England in one of the vessels, leaving the other under the command of Capt. Thomas Hunt, to equip for a voyage to Spain. After Capt. Smith's departure, Hunt persistently allured twenty Indians one of whom

was Squanto, afterwards so serviceable to the English) to come on board his ship at Petuxit, and seven more at Nausit, and carried them to the Island of Malaga, where he sold them for twenty pounds each, to be slaves for life. This conduct, which fixes an indelible stigma upon the character of Hunt, excited in the breasts of the Indians such an inveterate hatred of the English, as that, for many years after, all commercial intercourse with them was rendered exceedingly dangerous.

Capt. Smith arrived at London the last of August, where he drew a map of the country, and called it New-England. From this time North-Virginia assumed the name of *New-England*, and the name *Virginia* was confined to the southern colony.

Between the years 1614 and 1620, several attempts were made by the Plymouth Company to settle New-England, but by various means they were all rendered ineffectual. During this time however, an advantageous trade was carried on with the natives.

1617.—In the year 1617, Mr. Robinson and his congregation influenced by several weighty reasons, meditated a removal to America. Various difficulties intervened to prevent the success of their designs, until the year 1620, when a part of Mr. Robinson's congregation came over and settled at Plymouth. At this time commenced the settlement of New-England.

The particulars relating to the first emigrations to this northern part of America: the progress of its settlement, &c. will be given in the history of New England, to which the reader is referred.

In order to preserve the chronological order in which the several colonies, not grown into independent States, were first settled, it will be necessary that I should just mention,

1621 that the next year after the settlement of Plymouth,

Captain John Mason, obtained of the Plymouth council a grant of a part of the present state of New-Hamp-

1623 shire. Two years after, under the authority of this grant, a small colony fixed down near the mouth of Piscataqua river. From this period we may date the settlement of New-Hampshire.

1627.—In 1627, a colony of Swedes and Fins came over and landed at Cape Henlopen; and afterwards purchased of the Indians the land from Cape Henlopen to the Falls of Delaware on both sides the river, which they called *New Sweden* *Strait*. On this river they built several forts, and made settlements.

1628. On the 19th of March, 1628, the council for New-England sold to Sir Henry Roswell, and five others, a large tract of land, lying round Massachusetts Bay. The June following, Capt. John Endicott, with his wife and company, came over and settled

DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS

at Naumkeag, now called Salem. This was the first settlement which was made in Massachusetts Bay. Plymouth, which is now included in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was settled eight years before, but at this time it was a separate colony under a distinct government, and continued so until the charter of Massachusetts was granted by William and Mary in 1691; by which Plymouth, the Province of Maine as well as the Province of New Hampshire were annexed to Massachusetts.

June 13, 1633.—In the reign of Charles the First, a Roman Catholic, applied for and obtained a tract of land upon Chesapeake Bay, about one hundred miles long, and one hundred and thirty broad. Soon in consequence of the rigour of the laws of England against Roman Catholics, Lord Baltimore, with a number of his brethren, came over and settled it, and in honour of his daughter Henrietta Maria, they called it Maryland.

The first grant of Connecticut was made by Robert Child, president of the council of Plymouth, in 1631. Say and Seal, to Lord Brook and others, in the same year. In consequence of several smaller grants made by the patentees to particular persons, Mr. Faneuil made a settlement at the mouth of Connecticut river in 1635, which he called Saybrook. Four years after a number of persons from Massachusetts Bay came and began settlements at Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor, on Connecticut. In 1636 commenced the English settlement of Connecticut.

Rhode Island was first settled in consequence of the persecution of Mr. Roger Williams, who was among the first who came over to Massachusetts, not agreeing with the other brethren in sentiment, was very unjustifiably expelled from the colony, and went with twelve others, his associates, and settled at Providence in 1635. From this began the colony, now state of Rhode-Island.

1664.—On the 20th of March, 1664, Charles the Second granted to the Duke of York, what is now called New-York, then a part of a large tract of country by the name of New-Netherland. Some parts of New-Jersey were settled by the Dutch as early as about 1615.

1662.—In the year 1662, Charles the Second granted to the Earl of Clarendon, and seven others, almost the whole territory of the three Southern states, North Carolina, Virginia and Georgia. Two years after he granted a charter, enlarging their boundaries. The power of government was vested in them by their charter, and they made a system of laws for the government of the colony.

tended colony. Notwithstanding these preparations, no
 1669 effectual settlement was made until the year 1669, (though one
 was attempted in 1667) when Governor Sayle came over
 with a colony, and fixed on a neck of land between Ashley and
 Cooper Rivers. Thus commenced the settlement of Carolina,
 which then included the whole territory between the 29th and
 36th 30' degrees, north latitude, together with the Bahama Islands,
 lying between latitude 22° and 27° north.

1681.—The Royal charter for Pennsylvania was granted to Wil-
 liam Penn on the 4th of March, 1681. The first colony
 1682 came over the next year, and settled under the proprietor,
 William Penn, who acted as governor from October 1682
 to August 1681. The first assembly in the province of Pennsyl-
 vania was held at Chester, on the 4th of December, 1682. Thus
 William Penn, a Quaker, justly celebrated as a great and good man,
 had the honour of laying the foundation of the present populous
 and very flourishing State of Pennsylvania.

The proprietary government in Carolina, was attended with so
 many inconveniences, and occasioned such violent dissensions
 among the settlers, that the Parliament of Great-Britain was indu-
 ced to take the province under their immediate care. The pro-
 prietors (except Lord Granville) accepted of £.22,500 sterling,
 from the crown for the property and jurisdiction. This
 1729 agreement was ratified by act of Parliament in 1729. A clause
 in this act reserved to Lord Granville his eighth share of
 the property, and arrears of quit-rents, which continued legally
 vested in his family till the revolution in 1776. Lord Granville's
 share made a part of the present state of North-Carolina. About
 the year 1729, the extensive territory belonging to the proprietors,
 was divided into North and South Carolina. They remained sepa-
 rate royal governments until they became independent states.

For the relief of poor indigent people of Great-Britain and Ire-
 land, and for the security of Carolina, a project was formed for
 planting a colony between the rivers Savannah and Altamaha.

Accordingly application being made to king George the
 1732 Second, he issued letters patent, bearing date June 9th, 1732,
 for legally carrying into execution the benevolent plan. In
 honor of the king, who greatly encouraged the plan, they called
 the new province Georgia. Twenty-one trustees were appointed
 to conduct the affairs relating to the settlement of the province.
 The November following, one hundred and fifteen persons,
 one of whom was General Oglethorpe, embarked for Georgia,
 where they arrived, and landed at Yamacraw. In exploring the
 country, they found an elevated pleasant spot of ground on the

bank of a navigable river, upon which they marked out a town, and from the Indian name of the river which passed by it, called it *Savannah*. From this period we may date the settlement of Georgia.

The country now called Kentucky, was well known to the Indian traders many years before its settlement. They gave a description of it to Lewis Evans, who published his first map 1752 of it, and he as the year 1752. James Methuën, with some others, explored this country in 1754. Col. Daniel Boone visited it in 1769.

1773.—Four years after Col. Boone and his family, with five other families, who were joined by forty men from Powell's valley, began the settlement of Kentucky*, which is now one of the most growing colonies, perhaps, in the world, and was erected into an independent state, by an act of Congress, December 6th, 1792, and received into the Union, June 20th, 1793.

The tract of country called Vermont, before the late war, was claimed by both New-York and New-Hampshire. When hostilities commenced between Great-Britain and her Colonies, the inhabitants considered themselves as free from all allegiance, as to civil government, and not within any legal jurisdiction, allocated and formed for themselves a separate civil government. Under this constitution, they have continued to exercise all the powers of an independent state. Vermont was not admitted into union with the other states till the 3d of March 1792, when she was admitted her political concerns being in conformity with the constitution of the United States. Vermont has since that time continued to exercise her powers of independence as a State. The first settlement in this state was made at Benning, in the year 1761.

The extensive tract of country lying north-west of the Ohio River, within the limits of the United States, was erected into a separate temporary government by an act of Congress 3d of March 1780, and July 1787.

James Smith gave a very full and accurate view of the geographical and political state of North America in the 1st chronological volume. The 2d was a recapitulation with a supplement the whole in 2 vols.

* It is not known how long the Indians continued to dwell at Savannah, and how long they continued to inhabit on the banks of the river for the purpose of trade, previous to their removal to the banks of the Mississippi. It is not known how long they continued to dwell at the mouth of the Indian nation, and how long they continued to dwell at the mouth of the Indian nation.

<i>Names of places.</i>	<i>When settled.</i>	<i>By whom.</i>
Quebec,	1608	By the French.
Virginia,	June 10, 1610	By Lord De la War.
Newfoundland,	June, 1610	By Governor John Guy.
New-York	about 1614	By the Dutch.
New-Jersey,		
Plymouth,	1620	{ By part of Mr. Robinson's congregation.
New-Hampshire,	1623	{ By a small English colony near the mouth of Piscataqua river.
Delaware.	1627	By the Swedes and Fins.
Pennsylvania		
Massachusetts Bay.	1628	By Capt. John Endicot & comp.
Maryland,	1633	{ By Lord Baltimore, with a colony of Roman Catholics.
Connecticut,	1635	{ By Mr. Fenwick, at Saybrook, near the mouth of Connecticut river.
Rhode-Island	1635	{ By Mr. Roger Williams and his persecuted brethren.
New-Jersey,	1654	{ Granted to the Duke of York by Charles II. and made a distinct government, and settled some time before this by the English.
South Carolina,	1669	By Governor Sayle.
Pennsylvania,	1682	{ By William Penn, with a colony of Quakers.
North-Carolina,	about 1728	{ Erected in a separate government, settled before by the English.
Georgia,	1732	By General Oglethorpe.
Kentucky,	1773	By Col. Daniel Boone.
Vermont,	about 1764	{ By emigrants from Connecticut and other parts of New England.
Territory N. W. } of Ohio river,	1787	{ By the Ohio and other companies.

The above dates are from the periods, when the first permanent settlements were made.

NORTH AMERICA.

BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

NORTH AMERICA comprehends all that part of the western continent which lies north of the Isthmus of Darien, extending north and south from about the 10th degree north latitude to the north pole; and east and west from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, between the 45th and 165th degrees west longitude from London. Beyond the 70th degree N. Lat. few discoveries have been made. In July 1770, Capt. Cook proceeded as far as lat. 71°, when he came to a solid body of ice extending from continent to continent.

BAYS, SOUNDS, STRAITS, AND ISLANDS.—Of these (except those in the United States, which we shall describe under that head) we know little more than their names. Baffin's Bay, lying between the 70th and 80th degrees N. Lat. is the largest and most northern, that has yet been discovered in North America. It opens into the Atlantic ocean through Baffin's and Davis's Straits, between Cape Chidley, on the Labrador coast, and Cape Farewell. It communicates with Hudson's Bay to the south, through a cluster of islands. In this capacious bay or gulph is James Island, the south point of which is called Cape Bedford, and the smaller islands of Weygite and Disko. Davis's Straits separate Greenland from the American continent, and are between Cape Wellingham, on James Island, and South Bay in Greenland, where they are about 10 leagues broad, and extend from the 67th to the 73rd degrees of latitude above Disko island. The most southern point of Greenland is called Cape Farewell.

Hudson's Bay took its name from Henry Hudson, who discovered it in 1610. It lies between 51 and 69 degrees of north latitude. The eastern boundary of the Bay is Terra de Labrador; the northern part has a straight coast, facing the bay, guarded with a line of isles innumerable. A vast bay, called the Archawinnipy Sea, lies within it, and opens into Hudson's Bay, by means of gulph Hazard, through which the Beluga whales pass in great numbers. The entrance of the bay, from the Atlantic ocean, after leaving, to the north, Cape Farewell and Davis's Straits, is between Resolution isles on the north, and Button's isles, on the Labrador coast, to the south, forming the eastern extremity of *Hudson's Straits*.

NORTH AMERICA.

The coasts are very high, rocky and rugged at top; in places precipitous, but sometimes exhibit extensive beaches. Islands of Salisbury, Nottingham, and Digges are very lofty and naked. The depth of water in the middle of the bay is 140 fathoms. From Cape Churchill to the south end of the bay are regular soundings; near the shore, shallow, with muddy or sandy bottom. To the northward of Churchill, the soundings are irregular, the bottom rocky, and in some parts the rocks appear above the surface at low water.

James's Bay lies at the bottom, or most southern part of Hudson's Bay, with which it communicates, and divides New Britain from South Wales. To the northwestward of Hudson's Bay is an extensive chain of lakes, among which is Lake Menichlich, lat. 61° , long. 105° W. North of this is Lake Doboun, to the northward of which lies the extensive country of the northern Indians. West of these lakes, between the latitudes of 60 and 66 degrees, after passing a large cluster of unnamed lakes, lies the lake or sea Arathapescow, whose southern shores are inhabited by the Arathapescow Indians. North of this, and near the Arctic circle, is Lake Edzante, around which live the Dog ribbed Indians. Further north is Buffalo lake, near which is Copper Mine river, in lat. 72° N. and long. 119° W. of Greenwich. The Copper Mine Indians inhabit this country.

Between Copper Mine river, which, according to Mr. Herne, empties into the Northern sea, where the tide rises 12 or 14 feet, and which in its whole course is encumbered with shoals and falls, and the north-west coast of America, is an extensive tract of unexplored country. As you descend from north to south on the western coast of America, just south of the Arctic circle, you come to Cape Prince of Wales, opposite East Cape on the eastern continent; and here the two continents approach nearest to each other. Proceeding southward you pass Norton Sound, Cape Stephen's, Shoal-water, Bristol Bay, Prince William's Sound, Cook's River, Admiralty Bay, and Port Mulgrave, Nootka Sound, &c. From Nootka Sound proceeding south, you pass the unexplored country of New Albion, thence to California, and New Mexico.

DIVISIONS OF NORTH AMERI

THE vast tract of country, bound-d west by the Pacific south and east by California, New Mexico, and Louisiar United States, Canada and the Atlantic Ocean, and exten far north as the country is habitable (a few scattered F French, and some other European settlements excepted) is i ed wholly by various nations and tribes of Indians. The l alio possels large tracts of country within the Spanish, Am and British dominions, Those parts of North America no bited by Indians, belong, if we include Greenland, to De Great-Britain, the American States, and Spain. Spain clai and West Florida, and all west of the Mississippi, and south northern boundaries of Louisiana, New Mexico and Cali Great Britain claims all the country inhabited by Europeans north and east of the United States. except Greenland, wh longs to Denmark. The remaining part is the territory Fifteen United States. The particular Provinces and Stat exhibited in the following table :

T A B L E.

<i>Belong- ing to</i>	<i>Countries, Provinces, and States</i>	<i>Number of Inhabitants.</i>	<i>Chief Towns.</i>
United States of America.	Vermont	85,539	Windfor. Rutland
	New-Hampshire	141,885	Portsmouth. Concord
	Massachusetts	387,787	Boston. Salem. Newbury P.
	District of Maine }	90,540	Portland, Hallowell
	Rhode Island	18,825	Newport. Providence
	Connecticut	237,041	New-Haven, Hartford
	New-York	340,127	New-York. Albany
	New-Jersey	184,139	Trenton. Burlington. Brunf
	Pennsylvania	434,273	Philadelphia. Lancaster
	Delaware	59,094	Dover. Wilmington, Newca
	Maryland	319,728	Annapolis. Baltimore
	Virginia	747,010	Richmond, Petersburg, No
	Kentucky	75,077	Lexington
	North Carolina	393,751	Newbern, Edenton. Halifax
	South Carolina	249,073	Charleston, Columbia
	Georgia	82,548	Savannah, Augusta
	Territory S. of Ohio	135,091	Abingdon
	Territory N. W. of Ohio		Marietta
British Provinces. &	New Britain	unknown	
	Upper Canada	20,000	Kingston. Detroit, Niagara
	Lower Canada }	130,000	Quebec. Montreal
	Cape Breton I }	1,000	Sidney. Louisburgh
	New-Brunswick }	35,000	Fredericktown
	Nova-Scotia }		Halifax
	St. John's Island in 1783	5,000	Charlottetown
Denm. Span. Provin.	Newfoundland Island	7,000	Piacentia, St. John's
	Greenland	10,000	New Herrnhut
Denm. Span.	East Florida		Augustine
	West Florida		Pensacola
	Louisiana		New Orleans
	New Mexico		St. Fee
	California		St. Juan
	Mexico, or New-Spain		Mexico

THE UNITED STATES.

SITUATION AND EXTENT.

Miles.		Degrees.
Length 1550	Between	31° and 46° North Latitude.
Breadth 1040		8° E. and 24° W. Long. from Philad.
		64° and 96° W. Long. from London.

BOUNDARIES.

BOUNDARY north and east by British America, or the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and New Brunswick; southeast, by the Atlantic Ocean; south, by east and west Florida; west, by the river Mississippi.

In the treaty of peace, concluded in 1783, the limits of the American United States are more particularly defined in the words following: "And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, It is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. From the north-west angle of Nova-Scotia, viz. That angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix River to the Highlands, along the said Highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-first degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on the said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of the said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of the said Lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that Lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of the said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of the said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence through the middle of the said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isle Royal and Philipeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of the said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence, on a due west course, to the River Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said River Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned, to the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator.

to the middle of the River Apalachicola, or Catshouche; then along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence strait to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean; and by a line to be drawn along the middle of the River St. Croix from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy, to its source: and from its source directly north, to the aforesaid Highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean, from those which fall into the River St. Lawrence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova-Scotia on the one part, and East-Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are, heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova-Scotia.

The following calculations were made from actual measurements of the best maps by THOMAS HEDCOCKS, geographer to the United States.

The territory of the United States, contains by computation
million of square miles, in which are 640,000,000 of acres

Deduct for water 51,000,000

Acres of land in the United States, 589,000,000

That part of the United States comprehended between the western boundary line of Pennsylvania on the east, the boundary line between Great Britain and the United States, extending from the river St. Croix to the north-west extremity of the Lake of the Woods on the north, the river Mississippi, to the mouth of the Ohio, on the west, and the river Ohio, on the south, to the aforesaid bounds of Pennsylvania, contains by computation about four hundred and eleven thousand square miles, in which are 263,040,000 acres

Deduct for water 43,040,000

To be disposed of by order of Congress }
when purchased of the Indians. } 220,000,000 of acres

The whole of this immense extent of unappropriated western territory, containing as above stated, 220,000,000 of acres, and several large tracts south of the Ohio*, have been by the cession

* Ceded by North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, with certain reservation for the Indians and other purposes, as will be mentioned hereafter.

of the original thirteen States, and by the treaty of peace, red to the federal government, and are pledged as a fund ing the debt of the United States. Of this territory the now possess a very large proportion. Mr. Jefferson, in ort to Congress, Nov. 8, 1791, describes the boundary ween us and the Indians, as follows: "Beginning at the of the Cayahogana, which falls into the southernmost part Erie, and running up the river to the portage, between d the Tuscaroro or N. E. branch of Muskingum: then he said branch to the forks, at the crossing place above .wrence; then westwardly, towards the portage of the fiami, to the main branch of that river, then down the to the fork of that river, next below the old fort, which en by the French in 1752; thence due west to the river anse, a branch of the Wabash, and down that river to the . So far the line is precisely determined, and cleared of ns of the Indians. The tract comprehending the whole within the above described line, the Wabash, the Ohio, and tern limits of Pennsylvania, contains about 55,000 square How far on the western side of the Wabash, the southern y of the Indians has been defined, we know not. It is derstood, in general, that their title to the lower country, t that river and the Illinois, was formerly extinguished by ch, while in their possession.

of the number of acres of water, north and westward of the river Ohio, within the territory of the United States.

	Acres.
Superior, - - - - -	21,952,780
of the Woods - - - - -	1,133,800
lain, &c. - - - - -	165,200
ake, - - - - -	551,000
Michigan, - - - - -	10,368,000
an, - - - - -	1,216,000
luron, - - - - -	5,009,920
t. Clair, - - - - -	89,500
rie, western part, - - - - -	2,252,800
small lakes and rivers, - - - - -	301,000
	<hr/>
	43,040,6

ous parts of Pennsylvania, and the midland countries of New-York. Were these and the proposed canal between Ashley and Cooper's river in South Carolina, the canals in the northern parts of the State of New-York, and those of Massachusetts and New Hampshire all opened, North America would thereby be converted into a cluster of large and fertile islands, communicating with each other with ease and little expence, and in many instances without the uncertainty or danger of the sea.

There is nothing in other parts of the globe which resembles the prodigious chain of lakes in this part of the World. They may properly be termed inland seas of fresh water; and even some of the second or third class in magnitude, are of larger circuit than the greatest lake in the eastern continent. Some of the most northern lakes belonging to the United States, have never been surveyed, or even visited by the white people; of course we have no description of them which can be relied on as accurate. Others have been partially surveyed, and their relative situation determined.—The best account of them which we have been able to procure is as follows:

THE LAKE OF THE WOODS, the most northern in the United States, is so called from the large quantities of wood growing on its banks; such as oaks, pines, firs, spruce, &c. This lake lies nearly east of the south end of Lake Winnepeck, and is supposed to be the source, or conductor, of one branch of the river Bourbon, if there be such a river. Its length from east to west is said to be about seventy miles, and in some places it is forty miles wide. The Kildintioe Indians encamp on its borders to fish and hunt. This lake is the communication between the Lakes Winnepeck and Bourbon, and Lake Superior.

RIVER OR LAKE LAKE OF THE LAKE OF THE WOODS, and is said to be nearly an hundred miles long, and in no part more than twenty miles wide.

Eastward of this lake, lie several small ones, which extend in a string to the great carrying place, and from thence into Lake Superior. Between these little lakes are several carrying places, which render the trade to the north-west difficult, and exceedingly tedious, as it takes two years to make one voyage from Michilimackinac to these parts.

LAKE SUPERIOR, formerly termed the Upper Lake, from its northern situation, is so called from its magnitude, it being the largest on the continent. It may justly be termed the Cup of America, and is supposed to be the largest body of fresh water on the globe. According to the French charts it is fifteen hundred miles in circumference. A great part of the coast is bound-

rocks and uneven ground. The water is pure and transparent and appears, generally, throughout the lake, to lie upon a bed of huge rocks. It has been remarked, in regard to the waters of this lake, with how much truth I pretend not to say, that though their surface, during the heat of summer, is impregnated with no small degree of warmth, yet on letting down a cup to the depth of about a fathom, the water drawn from thence is cool and refreshing.

The situation of this lake, from the most accurate observations which have yet been made, lies between forty-six and fifty degrees of north latitude, and between nine and eighteen degrees west longitude, from the meridian of Philadelphia.

There are many islands in this lake, two of them have enough of land enough if proper for cultivation, to form a considerable province especially Isle Royal, which is not less than an hundred miles long, and in many places forty broad. The natives suppose these islands are the residence of the Great Spirit.

Two very large rivers empty themselves into this lake, on the north and north-east side; one is called the Nipigon, which leads to a tribe of the Chipeways, who inhabit the borders of a lake of the same name, and the other is the Michipicooton river, the source of which is towards James's Bay, from whence there is but a short portage to another river, which empties itself into the bay.

Not far from the Nipigon is a small river, that just before it enters the lake, has a perpendicular fall from the top of a mountain, of more than one hundred feet. It is very narrow, and appears at a distance like a white garter suspended in the air. There are upwards of thirty other rivers, which empty themselves into this lake, some of which are of a considerable size. On the south side of it is a remarkable point or cape of about sixty miles in length, called Point Chegomagan. About a hundred miles west of this cape, a considerable river falls into the lake, the head of which is composed of a great assemblage of small streams. This river is remarkable for the abundance of virgin copper that is found on and near its banks. Many small islands, particularly on the eastern shores, abound with copper ore, lying in beds, with the appearance of copperas. This metal might easily be made a very advantageous article of commerce. This lake abounds with fish, particularly trout and burgeon; the former weigh from twelve to fifty pounds, and are caught almost any time of the year in great plenty. Storms affect this lake as much as they do the Atlantic Ocean; the waves run as high, and navigation is equally dangerous. It discharges its waters from the south-east corner through the Straits of St. Marie, which

about forty miles long. Near the upper end of these straits is a rapid, which though it is impossible for canoes to ascend, yet, when conducted by careful pilots, may be descended without danger.

Though Lake Superior is supplied by near forty rivers, many of which are large, yet it does not appear that one tenth part of the waters which are conveyed into it by these rivers, is discharged by the above-mentioned strait. Such a superabundance of water can be disposed of only by evaporation*. The entrance into this lake from the straits of St. Marie, affords one of the most pleasing prospects in the world. On the left may be seen many beautiful little islands, that extend a considerable way before you; and on the right an agreeable succession of small points of land, that project a little way into the water, and contribute with the islands to render this delightful basin calm, and secure from those tempestuous winds, by which the adjoining lake is frequently troubled.

LAKE HURON, into which you enter through the straits of St. Marie is next in magnitude to Lake Superior. It lies between $43^{\circ} 30'$ and $46^{\circ} 30'$ of north latitude, and between six and eight degrees west longitude. Its circumference is about one thousand miles. On the north side of this lake is an island one hundred miles in length, and no more than eight miles broad. It is called Monataulin, signifying a place of spirits, and is considered as sacred by the Indians. On the southwest part of this lake is Saganaum Bay, about eighty miles in length, and about eighteen or

* That such a superabundance of water should be disposed of by evaporation is no singular circumstance. There are some seas in which there is a pretty just balance between the waters received from rivers, brooks, &c. and the waste by evaporation. Of this the Caspian Sea, in Asia, affords an instance; which, though it receives several large rivers, has no outlet. There are others, to speak in borrowed language, whose expence exceeds their income; and these would soon become bankrupt, were it not for the supplies which they constantly receive from larger collections of water, with which they are connected; such are the Black and Mediterranean Seas; into the former of which there is a constant current from the Mediterranean, through the Bosphorus of Thrace; and into the latter from the Atlantic, through the Straits of Gibraltar. Others again derive more from their tributary streams than they lose by evaporation. These give rise to large rivers. Of this kind are the Danube in Africa, the Winipileogee in New-Hampshire, Lake Superior, and other waters in North America; and the quantity they discharge, is only the difference between the influx and the evaporation. It is observable, that on the shores the evaporation is much greater than at a distance from them on the ocean. The remarkable cluster of lakes in the middle of North America, of which Lake Superior is one, was doubtless designed by a divine Providence, to furnish the interior parts of the country with that supply of vapours, without which, like the interior parts of Africa, they must have been a mere desert. It may be thought equally surprizing that there should be any water discharged from them, as that the quantity should bear so small a proportion to what they receive.







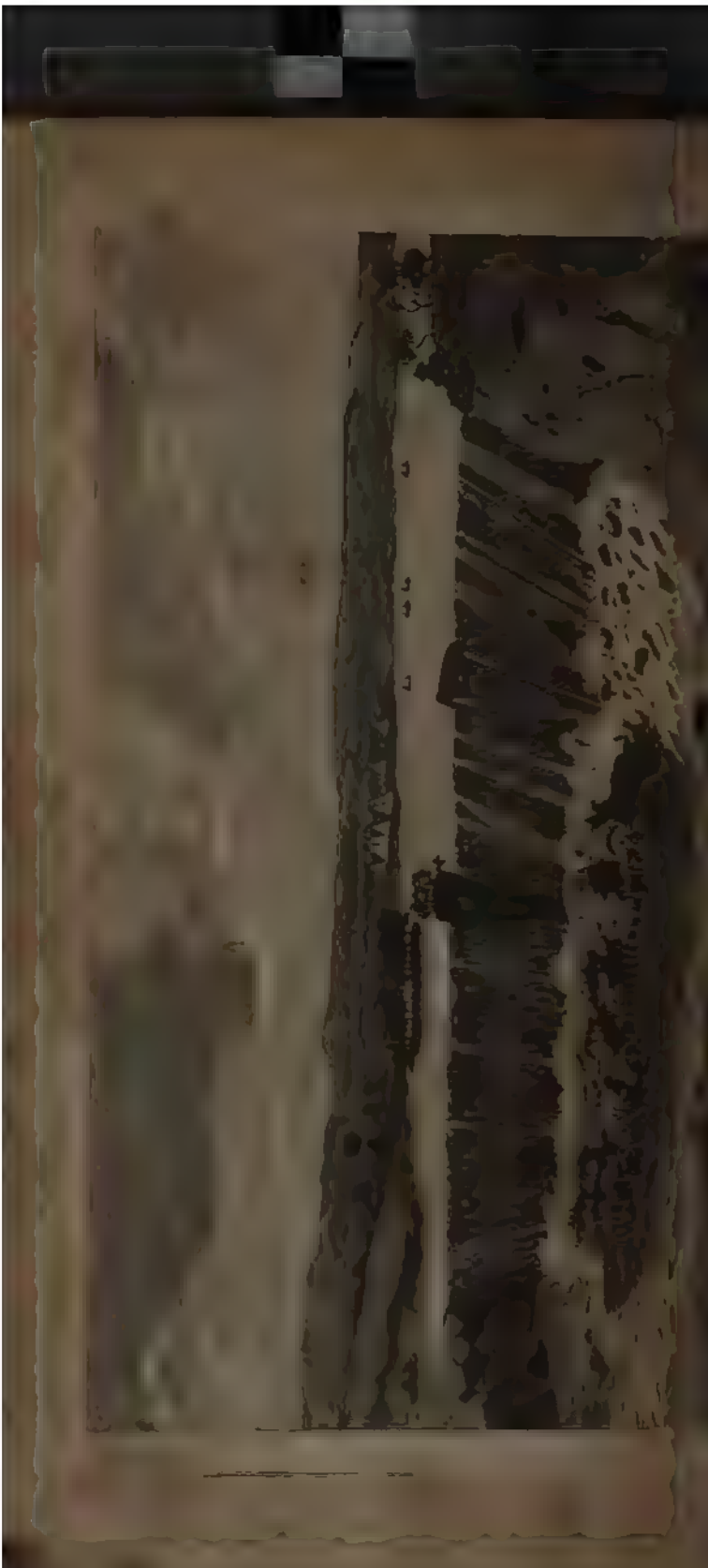
OF THE UNITED STATES.

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LAKE ERIE, is situated between forty-one and forty-three degrees of north latitude, and between $79^{\circ} 10'$ and 82° degrees west longitude. It is nearly three hundred miles long, from east to west, and about forty in its broadest part. A point of land projects from the north side into this lake, several miles towards the south-east, called Long Point. The islands and banks towards the west end of the lake are so infested with rattlesnakes, as to render it dangerous to land on them. The lake is covered nearly all over with the large pond lily; the leaves of which lie on the surface of the water so thick, as to cover perfectly for many acres together; on these, in the summer season, live numbers of water-snakes basking in the sun. Of the venomous serpents which infest this lake, the huffing snake is the most remarkable. It is about eighteen inches long, small eyes, &c. &c. When you approach it, it flattens itself in a moment, and its spots, which are of various colours, become visibly brighter through a haze; at the same time it blows from its mouth, with great force, a subtle wind, said to be of a nauseous smell; and if drawn in with the breath of the unwary traveller, will infallibly bring on a disease, which in a few months must prove mortal. No remedy has yet been found to counteract its baneful influence. This lake is of a more dangerous navigation than any of the ones seen, account of the craggy rocks which project into the water, and upon a lateral reflection, many miles together from the north to the south, leading to shelter from storms.

Presque Isle is on the south-east shore of this lake, about 100 miles. From this to Fort Le Boeuf on the west shore, is a portage of fifty-one miles and a half. About twenty miles north of this is another portage of nine miles and a quarter, from the mouth of the Tonawago Creek, emptying into Lake Erie, and the mouth of the Lake, a water of Allegany river.

Fort Erie stands on the northern shore of Lake Erie, upon the west bank of Niagara river, in Upper Canada. This lake, at its north-east end, communicates with lake Ontario by the Niagara river, which runs from south to north, about thirty miles, following its windings, embracing in its course Grand Island, and receiving Tonawago Creek, from the north. About twenty miles from this river are the celebrated falls of Niagara, the head of which is one of the greatest natural curiosities in the world. The waters which supply the river Niagara, rise near two hundred miles to the north-west; and passing through the lakes of Huron, Erie, and St. Clair, meeting in their course the waters of the Detroit, at length, with astonishing great accumulation, descend in a precipice of one hundred and twenty feet, forming a most tremendous strong rapid, that extends to the distance of about a mile, and is





OF THE UNITED STATES.

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LAKE ERIE, is situated between forty-one and forty-three degrees of north latitude, and between $79^{\circ} 50'$ and $82^{\circ} 10'$ degrees of longitude. It is nearly three hundred miles long, from east to west, and about forty in its broadest part. A point of land projects from the north side into this lake, five or six miles to the south-east, called Long Point. The north and both the east and west end of the lake are so infested with rattlesnakes, that it is dangerous to land on them. The lake is covered from the bottom of the islands with the large pond lily; the leaves of which float on the surface of the water so thick, as to cover up the water for many acres together; on these, in the summer season, grow a great number of water-frogs looking in the night like toads. Of the various snakes which infest this lake, the bushy snake is the most common. It is about eighteen inches long, thick eight lines. When you approach it, it flattens itself in a moment, and then it is covered with spots of various colours, become visibly brighter than before; at the same time it blows from its mouth, with great force, a stinking vapour, said to be of a nauseous smell; and if drawn in with the breath of the unwary traveller, will infallibly bring on a violent fever, which in a few months must prove mortal. No snake has yet been found to counteract its baneful influence. This lake is not a dangerous navigation the whole of the year, on account of the craggy rocks which project out of the water, and the violent reduction, many miles together from the shore, to a narrow channel, which affords no shelter from storms.

Presque Isle is on the south-east shore of this lake, about 100 miles from this to Fort Erie, and about 100 miles from the mouth of the Niagara river. This is another passage of nine miles and a half, and is called Tonawanda Creek, carrying into Lake Erie the waters of the Niagara river, a water of Allegany river.

Fort Erie stands on the north-west shore of this lake, on the west bank of Niagara river in Upper Canada, about 100 miles from the north-east end, corresponding to the lake that is called the Niagara river, which runs from south to north, but is very narrow, and in its windings, embracing in its course the great falls, and receiving Tonawanda Creek, from the south, and the waters of this river are the celebrated falls of Niagara, and the great one of the greatest natural curiosities in the world, which supply the river Niagara the most powerful current in the north-west and give it the strength of the lake.

Huron, and Erie, flowing into the Niagara river, and at length, with attention, through a narrow channel, the caprice of one hundred and fifty years, and a strong rapid, that is called the falls of Niagara.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

below, fall near as much more: the river then loses itself in Ontario. The noise of these falls, in a clear day and fair weather, may be heard between forty and fifty miles. When the water strikes the bottom, its spray rises a great height in the air, forming a thick cloud of vapours, on which the sun when shining, paints a beautiful rainbow. Fort Niagara is situated on the east side of Niagara river, at its entrance into Lake Ontario. This fort, and that at Detroit, contrary to the treaty of 1763, yet in possession of the British Government.

LAKE ONTARIO, is situated between forty-three and forty-four degrees north latitude, and between one and five west longitude. Its form is nearly oval. Its greatest length is from south-west to north-east, and in circumference about six hundred miles. It abounds with fish of an excellent flavour, among which are the Oswego bass, weighing three or four pounds. It receives the waters of the Chenésee river from the south, and of Onondaga at Fort Oswego, from the south-east, by which it communicates through Lake Oneida and Wood Creek, with Mohawk river. On the north-east, this lake discharges itself through the river Cataraqui, which at Montreal, takes the name of St. Lawrence, into the Atlantic Ocean.

About eight miles from the west end of Lake Ontario, is a curious cavern, which the Messissaugas Indians call *Manito'ah wa wam*, or *house of the Devil*. The mountains which border on the lake, at this place, break off abruptly, and form a precipice two hundred feet perpendicular descent; at the bottom of which the cavern begins. The first opening is large enough for three men conveniently to walk abreast. It continues of this height for seventy yards in a horizontal direction. Then it falls almost perpendicularly fifty yards, which may be descended by irregular steps from one to four feet distant from each other. It then continues forty yards horizontally, at the end of which is another perpendicular descent, down which there are no steps. The darkness here is intense. In spring and autumn, there are, once in about a week, explosions from this cavern, which shake the ground sixteen miles round.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN, is next in size to Lake Ontario, and lies nearly east from it, forming a part of the dividing line between the state of New-York, and the state of Vermont. It took its name from a French governor, whose name was Champlain, who was drowned in it. It was before called Corlaer's Lake. It is about eighty miles in length from north to south, and in its broadest part, fourteen. It is well stored with fish, and the game on its borders and on the banks of its rivers, is good. Crown Point and Ticonderoga are situated on the banks of this lake near the southern part of it.

LAKE GEORGE, lies to the southward of Champlain, and is a most clear, beautiful collection of water, about thirty-six miles long, and from one to seven miles wide. It embosoms more than two hundred islands, some say three hundred and sixty-five; very few of which are any thing more than barren rock, covered with heath, and a few cedar, spruce, and hemlock trees, and shrubs, that harbour abundance of rattle-snakes. On each side it is skirted by prodigious mountains, from which large quantities of red cedar are every year carried to New-York for ship-timber. The lake is full of fishes, and some of the best kind; among which are the black Oswego bass and large speckled trouts. The water of this lake is about one hundred feet above the level of Lake Champlain. The portage between the two lakes is one mile and a half; but with a small expence might be reduced to sixty yards; and with one or two locks might be made navigable through for bateaux. This lake, in the French charts, is called Lake St. Sacrament; and it is said that the Roman Catholics, in former times, were at the pains to procure this water for sacramental uses in all their Churches in Canada: hence probably it derived its name.

The **MISSISSIPPI RIVER**, is the great reservoir of the waters of the Ohio and Illinois, and their numerous branches from the east; and of the Missouri and other rivers from the west. These mighty streams united, are borne down with increasing impetuosity, through vast forests and meadows, and discharged into the Gulph of Mexico. The great length and uncommon depth of this river, and the excessive muddiness and salubrious quality of its waters, after its junction with the Missouri, are very singular*. The direction of the channel is so crooked, that from New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance which does not exceed four hundred and sixty miles in a strait line, is about eight hundred and fifty-six by water. It may be shortened at least two hundred and fifty miles, by cutting across eight or ten necks of land, some of which are not thirty yards wide. Charlevoix relates that in the year 1722, at Point Coupée, or Cut Point, the river made a great turn, and some Canadians, by deepening the channel of a small brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuosity of the stream was so violent, and the soil so rich and loose a quality, that, in a short time, the point was entirely cut through,

* In a half pint tumbler of this water has been found a sediment of one inch. It is, notwithstanding, extremely wholesome and well tasted, and very cool in the hottest seasons of the year; the rowers, who are there employed, drink of it when they are in the strongest perspiration, and never receive any bad effects from it. The inhabitants of New Orleans use no other water than that of this river, which, by being kept in jars, becomes perfectly clear.

and travellers fixed fourteen leagues of their voyage. The old bed has no water in it, the times of the periodical overflowings only excepted. The new channel has been since founded with a line of thirty fathoms, without finding a bottom. Several other points, of great extent, have in like manner, been since cut off, and the river diverted into new channels.

In the spring floods the Mississippi is very high, and the current so strong, that it is with difficulty it can be ascended: but this disadvantage is in part compensated by eddies or counter-currents, which are found in the bends close to the banks of the river, which runs with nearly equal velocity against the stream, and assist the ascending boats. The current at this season descends at the rate of about five miles an hour. In autumn, when the waters are low, it does not run faster than two miles, but it is rapid in such parts of the river as have clusters of islands, shoals, and land-banks. The circumference of many of these shoals being several miles, the voyage is longer, and in some parts more dangerous than in the spring. The merchandize necessary for the commerce of the upper settlements on or near the Mississippi, is conveyed in the spring and autumn in bateaux, rowed by eight or twenty men, and carrying about forty tons. From New Orleans to the Illinois, the voyage is commonly performed in eight or ten weeks. A prodigious number of rivers, some of which are of great extent, intersect this noble river. Its depth increases as you ascend it. Its waters, after overflowing its banks below the river Iberville on the east, and the river Rouge on the west, never return within them again, there being many outlets or streams, by which they are conducted into the bay of Mexico, more especially on the west side of the Mississippi, dividing the country into numerous islands. These singularities distinguish it from every other known river in the world. Below the Iberville, the land begins to be very low on both sides of the river across the country, and gradually declines as it approaches nearer to the sea. The island of New Orleans, and the land opposite, are to all appearance of no long date; for in digging ever so little below the surface, you find water and great quantities of trees. The many beaches and breakers, as well inlets, which have arisen out of the channel within the last half century, at the several mouths of the river, are convincing proofs that this peninsula was wholly formed in the same manner. And it is certain that when La Salle sailed down the Mississippi to the sea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at present.

The nearer you approach to the sea, this truth becomes more striking. The bars that cross most of these small channels opened by the current, have been multiplied by means of the trees

carried down with the streams; one of which stopped by its roots or branches in a shallow part, is sufficient to obstruct the passage of thousands more, and to fix them at the same place. Astonishing collections of trees are daily seen in passing between the Balize and the Missouri. No human force being sufficient for removing them, the mud carried down by the river serves to bind and cement them together. They are gradually covered, and every inundation not only extends their length and breadth, but adds another layer to their height. In less than ten years time, canes, shrubs, and aquatic timber grow on them, and form points and islands, which forcibly shift the bed of the river.

Nothing can be asserted with certainty, respecting the length of this river. Its source is not known, but supposed to be upwards of three thousand miles from the sea, as the river runs. We only know, that from St. Anthony's falls, in lat. 45° , it glides with a pleasant, clear current, and receives many large and very extensive tributary streams before its junction with the Missouri, without greatly increasing the breadth of the Mississippi, though they do its depth and rapidity. The muddy waters of the Missouri discolour the lower part of the river, till it empties itself into the bay of Mexico. The Missouri is a longer, broader, and deeper river than the Mississippi, and affords a more extensive navigation: it is, in fact, the principal river, contributing more to the common stream than does the Mississippi. It has been ascended by French traders about twelve or thirteen hundred miles, and from the depth of water, and breadth of the river at that distance, it appeared to be navigable many miles farther.

From the Missouri river, to nearly opposite the Ohio, the western bank of the Mississippi, is, some few places excepted, higher than the eastern. From Mine au fer, to the Iberville, the eastern bank is higher than the western, on which there is not a single discernible rising or eminence for the distance of seven hundred and fifty miles. From the Iberville to the sea there are no eminences on either side, though the eastern bank appears rather the highest of the two, as far as the English turn. Thence the banks gradually diminish in height to the mouths of the river, where they are not more than two or three feet higher than the common surface of the water.

The slime which the annual floods of the river Mississippi casts on the surface of the adjacent shores, may be compared with that of the Nile, which does in a similar manner, and for many centuries past has insured the fertility of Egypt. When its banks shall have been cultivated as the excellent soil of its

soil and temperature of the climate deserve, its population equal that of any other part of the world. The wisdom and power of America, may, at some future period, depend upon the Mississippi. This also refers to the number of its mouths, all issuing into a sea compared to the Mediterranean, which is bounded on the south by the two continents of Europe and Africa. The Mexican Bay is by North and South America. The mouths of this river might be easily stopped up, by means of floating trees with which the river, during the floods, is covered. The whole force of the channel being then only opening then left would probably grow deep, and be removed.

Whoever for a moment will cast his eye over a map of the town of New Orleans, and the immense country around it, will view its advantageous situation, must be convinced that its place near it, must, in process of time, become one of the great marts in the world.

The falls of St. Anthony, in about latitude 45° , receive their name from Father Lewis Hennipin, a French missionary travelled into these parts about the year one thousand six hundred and eighty, and was the first European ever seen by the Indians. The whole river, which is more than two hundred and fifty feet wide, falls perpendicularly about thirty feet, and forms a pleasing cataract. The rapids below, in the space of about a hundred yards, render the descent considerably greater when viewed at a distance, they appear to be much higher than they really are. In the middle of the falls is a small island forty feet broad, and somewhat longer, on which grow cragged hemlock and spruce trees; and about half way across this island and the eastern shore is a rock, lying at the foot of the fall, in an oblique position, five or six feet broad, and twenty or forty long. These falls are peculiarly situated, as they are approachable without the least obstruction from any hill or precipice, which cannot be said of any other continental fall, perhaps, in the world. The country around is extremely beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain where there is no relief, but composed of many gentle ascents, which in spring and summer are covered with verdure, and interspersed with little groves, that give a pleasing variety to the prospect. A little distance below the falls, is a small island of about an acre and an half, on which grow a great number of oak trees, most all the branches of which, able to bear the weight, are in season of the year, loaded with eagles nests. T

instinctive wisdom has taught them to choose this place, as it is secure, on account of the rapids above from the attacks either of man or beast.

From the best accounts that can be obtained from the Indians, we learn that the four most capital rivers on the continent of North America, viz. the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the river Bourbon, and the Oregon, or the river of the West, have their sources in the same neighbourhood. The waters of the three former, are said to be within thirty miles of each other; the latter is rather farther west.

This shews that these parts are the highest lands in North America; and it is an instance not to be paralleled in the other three quarters of the globe, that four rivers of such magnitude should take their rise together, and each, after running separate courses, discharge their waters into different oceans, at the distance of more than two thousand miles from their sources. For in their passage from this spot to the bay of St. Lawrence, east; to the bay of Mexico, south; to Hudson's Bay, north; and to the bay at the straits of Annian, west; where the river Oregon is supposed to empty itself, each of them traverses upwards of two thousand miles.

The Ohio is the most beautiful river on earth: its current gentle, waters clear, and bottom smooth and unbroken by rocks and rapids, a single instance only excepted. It is one quarter of a mile wide at Fort Pitt: five hundred yards at the mouth of the Great Kanaway: twelve hundred yards at Louisville; and the rapids, half a mile, in some few places below Louisville: but its general breadth does not exceed six hundred yards. In some places its width is not four hundred, and in one place particularly, far below the rapids, it is less than three hundred. Its breadth in no one place exceeds twelve hundred yards, and at its junction with the Mississippi, neither river is more than nine hundred yards wide.

Its length, as measured according to its meanders by Captain Hutchins, is as follows:

	Miles.		Miles.
1 From Fort Pitt		9 Muskingum	25 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 To Log's Town	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 Little Kanaway	12 $\frac{1}{4}$
3 Big Beaver Creek	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	11 Hockhocking	16
4 Little Beaver Creek	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 Great Kanaway	82 $\frac{1}{2}$
5 Yellow Creek	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	13 Grandot	43 $\frac{1}{4}$
6 Two Creeks	21 $\frac{1}{4}$	14 Sandy Creek	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
7 Long Reach	53 $\frac{1}{4}$	15 Sioto	28 $\frac{1}{4}$
8 End Long Reach	16 $\frac{1}{2}$		

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26 To Little Miami	126 ½	23 Buffalo Ri
27 Licking Creek	8	24 Wabash
28 Great Miami	26 ½	25 Big Cave
29 Big Bones	82 ½	26 Shawano
Kentucky	44 ½	27 Cherokee
Rapids	77 ½	28 Massat
Low Country	155 ½	29 Mississippi

In common winter and spring floods, it affords the fast water to Louisville, twenty-five or thirty feet to rapids, forty miles above the mouth of the Great Kanawha, and is sufficiently at all times for light batteaux and canoes. The rapids are in latitude 38° 3'. The inundations begin about the 1st of March, and subside in July, and frequently happen in other months, so that boats which hundred barrels of flour, from the Monongahela, or above Pittsburg, have seldom long to wait for watering these floods a first rate man of war may be carried to New Orleans, if the sudden turns of the strength of its current will admit a safe steering; opinion of Col. Morgan, who has had all the means of that a vessel properly built for the sea, to draw 12 when loaded, and carrying from twelve to sixteen barrels of flour, may be more easily, cheaply, and safely from Pittsburg to the sea, than those now in use; this matter only requires one man of capacity and enterprize to do it. He observes that a vessel intended to be rigged as a barge, or ship, should be double decked, take deck, and be rowed to the Iberville, below which it goes on to New Orleans, with twenty men, so as to afford and ten in the night.—Such a vessel, without the aid of wind, would float to New Orleans, from Pittsburg, in twenty-four hours. If this be so, what agreeable prospect is presented to those who have fixed their residence in this country.

The rapids at Louisville descend about ten feet in one mile and a half. The bed of the river there is a fold cut by an island into two branches, the southern one two hundred yards wide, but impassable in winter months in the year. The bed of the northern branch is cut into channels by the constant course of the water, and the pebble stones carried on with it, so as to keep the greater part of the year. Yet

at the southern arm may be the most easily opened for constant navigation. The rise of the waters in these rapids does not exceed twenty or twenty-five feet. The Americans have a fort, situated at the head of the falls. The ground on the south side rises very gradually.

At Fort Pitt the river Ohio loses its name, branching into the Monongahela and Allegany.

The Monongahela is four hundred yards wide at its mouth. From thence is twelve or fifteen miles to the mouth of Yohogany, where it is three hundred yards wide. Thence to Redstone by water is fifty miles, by land thirty. Then to the mouth of Cheat river by water forty miles, by land twenty-eight, the width continuing at three hundred yards, and the navigation good for small boats. Thence the width is about two hundred yards to the eastern fork, fifty miles higher, and the navigation frequently interrupted by rapids; which however with a swell of two or three feet, become very passable for boats. It then admits light boats, except in dry seasons, sixty-five miles further to the head of Tygart's valley, presenting only some small rapids and falls of one or two feet perpendicular, and lessening in its width to twenty yards. The western fork is navigable in the winter ten or fifteen miles towards the northern of the Little Kanaway, and will support a good waggon road to it. The Yohogany is the principal branch of this river. It passes through the Laurel mountain, about thirty miles from its mouth; is so far, from three hundred to one hundred and fifty yards wide, and the navigation much interrupted in dry weather by rapids and shoals. In its passage through the mountain it makes very great falls, admitting no navigation for ten miles to the Turkey foot. Thence to the great Tygart, about twenty miles, it is again navigable, except in dry seasons, and at this place is two hundred yards wide. The four-fifths of this river are divided from those of the Potomac by the Alleghany mountains. From the falls, where it intersects the Laurel mountain, to Fort Cumberland, the head of the navigation on the Potomac, is forty miles of very mountainous road. Will's Creek, at the mouth of which was Fort Cumberland, is thirty or forty yards wide, but affords no navigation as yet. Cheat river, another considerable branch of the Monongahela, is two hundred yards wide at its mouth, and one hundred yards at the Dunkard's settlement, fifty miles higher. It is navigable for boats, except in dry seasons. The boundary between Virginia and Pennsylvania crosses it about three or four miles above its mouth.

The Allegany river, with a slight swell, affords navigation for light batteaux to Venango, at the mouth of French creek, where it is two hundred yards wide; and it is practised even to Le Boeuf.

from whence there is a portage of fifteen miles and a lake at Presque Isle on Lake Erie.

The country watered by the Mississippi and its eastern branches, constitutes five-eighths of the United States; two of which eighths are occupied by the Ohio and its waters; the rest of the streams, which run into the Gulf of Mexico, the Atlantic, or St. Lawrence, water the remaining three-eighths.

Before we quit the subject of the western waters, we will give a view of their principal connections with the Atlantic. There are four, the Hudson's river, the Potomak, St. Lawrence, and the Mississippi. Down the last will pass all the heavy commodities. But the navigation through the Gulf of Mexico is so dangerous and that up the Mississippi so difficult and tedious, that it is not thought probable that European merchandize will not be carried through that channel. It is most likely that flour, timber, and other heavy articles will be floated on rafts, which will themselves be an article for sale as well as their loading. The navigators returning by land, as at present. There will therefore be a competition between the Hudson, the Potomak, and the St. Lawrence rivers for the residue of the commerce of all the country westward of Lake Erie, on the waters of the lakes, the Ohio, and upper parts of Mississippi. To go to New-York from any part of the trade which comes from the lakes or their waters must first be brought into Lake Erie. Between Lake Superior and Lake Huron are the rapids of St. Marie, which will permit small boats to pass, but not larger vessels. Lakes Huron and Michigan afford communication with Lake Erie, by vessels of eight feet draft. That part of the trade which comes from the waters of the Mississippi must pass from them through some portage into the waters of Lake Erie. The portage from the Illinois river into a water of Michigan is of one mile only. From the Wabash, Miami, Muskingum, and Allegheny are portages into the waters of Lake Erie, of from five to fifteen miles. When the commodities are brought into the lakes, have passed through Lake Erie, there is between that and Ontario an interruption by the falls of Niagara, where the portage is eight miles; and between Ontario and the Hudson's river a portage of the falls of Onondago, a little above Oswego, is a quarter of a mile; from Wood creek to the Mohawk river is a mile; at the little falls of the Mohawk river half a mile, from Schenectady to Albany fifteen miles. Besides the increase of expence occasioned by frequent change of carriage, there is an increased risk of pillage produced by committing merchandize to a greater number of hands successively. The Potomak offers the following circumstance. For the trade of the lakes and the waters westward of Lake Erie, when it shall have en-

that like, it must coast along its southern shore, on account of the number and excellence of its harbours, the northern, though the finest, having few harbours, and these unsafe. Having reached Cayahoga, to proceed on to New-York it will have eight hundred and twenty-five miles, and five portages: whereas it is but four hundred and twenty-five miles to Alexandria, its emporium on the Potomak, if it turns into the Cayahoga, and passes through that, Big Beaver, Ohio, Yahogany, or Monongalia and Cheat, and Potomak, and there are but two portages; the first of which between Cayahoga and Beaver may be removed by uniting the sources of these waters, which are lakes in the neighbourhood of each other, and in a champaign country; the other from the waters of Ohio to the Potomak will be from fifteen to forty miles, according to the trouble which shall be taken to approach the two navigations. For the trade of the Ohio, or that which shall come into it from its own waters or the Mississippi, it is nearer through the Potomak to Alexandria than to New-York, by five hundred and eighty miles, and it is interrupted by one portage only. There is another circumstance of difference too, The lakes themselves never freeze, but the communications between them freeze, and the Hudson's river is itself shut up by the ice three months in the year: whereas the channel to the Chesapeek leads directly into a warmer climate. The southern parts of it very rarely freeze at all, and whenever the northern do, it is so near the sources of the rivers, that the frequent floods to which they are there liable break up the ice immediately, so that vessels may pass through the whole winter, subject only to accidental and short delays. Add to all this, that in case of a war with their neighbours of Canada, or the Indians, the route to New-York becomes a frontier through almost its whole length, and all commerce through it, ceases from that moment. But the channel to New-York is already known in practice; whereas the upper waters of the Ohio and the Potomak, and the great falls of the latter, are yet to be cleared of their great obstructions.

The route by St. Lawrence is well known to be attended with many advantages, and some disadvantages. But there is a fifth route, which the enlightened and enterprising Pennsylvanians contemplate, which, if effected, will be the easiest, cheapest, and shortest passage from the lakes, and the Ohio river; by means of the Susquehannah, and a canal from thence to Philadelphia. The first part of this plan, viz. the canal between Susquehannah and the Schuylkill rivers, is now actually in execution. Should they accomplish their whole scheme, and they appear confident of it, Philadelphia in all probability will become, in some future time, the greatest city that has ever yet existed.

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Particular descriptions of the other rivers in the United States are reserved to be given in the geographical account of the States through which they respectively flow. One general observation respecting the rivers, will, however, be naturally introduced here, and that is, that the entrances into almost all the rivers, inlets and bays, from New-Hampshire to Georgia, are from south-east to north-west.

B A Y S.

The coast of the United States is indented with numerous bays, some of which are equal in size to any in the known world. Beginning at the north easterly part of the continent, and proceeding south-westerly, you first find the bay or gulph of St. Lawrence, which receives the waters of the river of the same name. Next are Chedabucto and Chebucto Bays, in Nova-Scotia, the latter distinguished by the loss of a French fleet in a former war between France and Great-Britain. The bay of Fundy, between Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick, is remarkable for its tides, which rise to the height of fifty or sixty feet, and flow so rapidly as to overtake animals which feed upon the shore. Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Broad and Calco Bays, lie along the coast of the district of Maine. Massachusetts-Bay spreads eastward of Boston, and is comprehended between Cape Ann on the north, and Cape Cod on the south. The points of Boston harbour are Nahant and Alderton points. Passing by Narraganset and other bays in the State of Rhode-Island, you enter Long-Island Sound, between Montauk-point and the Maine. This Sound, as it is called, is a kind of inland sea, from three to twenty-five miles broad, and about one hundred and forty miles long, extending the whole length of the island, and dividing it from Connecticut. It communicates with the ocean at both ends of Long-Island, and affords a very safe and convenient inland navigation.

The celebrated strait, called *Hell-Gate*, is near the west end of this sound, about eight miles eastward of New-York city, and is remarkable for its whirlpools, which make a tremendous roaring at certain times of tide. These whirlpools are occasioned by the narrowness and crookedness of the pass, and a bed of rocks which extend quite across it; and not by the meeting of the tides from east to west, as has been conjectured, because they meet at Frog-point, several miles above. A skilful pilot may with safety conduct a ship of any burden through this strait with the tide, or a still water with a fair wind*.

* The following ingenious geological remarks of Dr. Mitchell's, on certain parts of the State of New-York, deserve a place in this description:

Delaware Bay is sixty miles long, from the Cape to the entrance of the river Delaware to Bombay-hook; and so wide in some parts, as that a ship, in the middle of it, cannot be seen from the land. It opens into the Atlantic north-west and south-east, between Cape Henlopen on the right, and Cape May on the left. These Capes are eighteen or twenty miles apart.

The Chesapeake is one of the largest bays in the known world. Its entrance is nearly E. N. E. and S. S. W. between Cape Charles, lat. $37^{\circ} 12'$, and Cape Henry, lat. 37° , in Virginia; it is twelve miles wide, and extends two hundred and seventy miles to the northward, dividing Virginia and Maryland. It is from seven to eighteen miles broad, and generally as much as nine fathoms deep; affording many commodious harbours, and a safe and easy navigation. It receives the waters of the Susquehannah, Potomak, Rappahannok, York and James river, which are all large and navigable.

"From the survey of the fossils in these parts of the American coast one becomes convinced, that the principal share of them is GRANITICAL, composed of the same sorts of materials with the highest Alps, Pyrenees, Caucasus, and Andes, and like them destitute of metals and petrifications.

The occurrence of no horizontal strata, and the frequency of vertical layers, lead us further to suppose that these are not secondary collections of minerals, but are certainly in a state of primeval arrangement.

The Steatites, Amianthus, Shoerl, Feldspath, Mica, Garnet, Jaspur, Shifus, Asbestos, and Quartz, must all be considered as primitive fossils, and by no means of an alluvial nature.

What inference remains now to be drawn from this statement of facts, but that the fashionable opinion of considering these maritime parts of our country as flats, have up from the deeps by the sea, or brought down from the heights by the rivers, stands unsupported by reason, and contradicted by experience?

A more probable opinion is, that Long Island, and the adjacent continent, were in former days contiguous, or only separated by a small river, and that the strait which now divides them, was formed by successive inroads of the sea from the eastward and westward in the course of ages. This conjecture is supported by the facts which follow, *to wit*: 1. The fossil bodies on both shores have a near resemblance. 2. The rocks and islands lying between are formed of similar materials. 3. In several places, particularly at White-Stone and Hell-Gate, the distance from land to land is very small. 4. Wherever the shore is not composed of solid rock, there the water continues to make great encroachments, and to cause the high banks to tumble down, not only here, but at Moncton, Newton, and elsewhere, at this very day. 5. The rocky piles in the Sound, called Execution, and Stepping-Stones, and those named Hurtleberry Island, Pea Island, Heart Island, and many more that lie up and down, are strong circumstances in favour of this opinion, for from several of them all the earthy matter, as far as the highest tides can reach, has long since been carried away, and from the rest, the sand and gravel continue to be removed by daily attrition; as is the case with the Brothers, Ryker's, Blackwell's, and other islands. 6. There is a tradition among that race of men, who, previous to the Europeans, possessed this tract of country, that at some distant period, in former times, their ancestors could step from rock to rock, and cross this arm of the sea on foot at Hell-Gate."

FACE OF THE COUNTRY.

The tract of country belonging to the United States, is ly variegated with plains and mountains, hills and vallies. parts are rocky, particularly New-England, the north New-York, and New-Jersey, and a broad space, including several ridges of the long range of mountains which run westward through Pennsylvania, Virginia, North-Carolina, part of Georgia, dividing the waters which flow into the Mi from those which fall into the Mississippi. In the parts, of the Allegany mountains, in the southern states, the country, veral hundred miles in length, and sixty or seventy, and times more in breadth, is level and intirely free of stone. been a question, asked by the curious, whether the ext tract of low, flat country, which fronts the several states fr New-York, and extends back to the hills, has obtained present form and situation ever since the floods; or whether been made by the particles of earth which have been v down from the adjacent mountains, and by the accumul soil from the decay of vegetable substances; or by earth out of the bay of Mexico by the gulf stream, and lodged c coast; or by the recess of the ocean, occasioned by a cha some other part of the earth. Several phenomena deserve deration in forming an opinion on this question.

1. It is a fact, well known to every person of observatio has lived in, or travelled through the southern states, that shells and other substances which are peculiar to the sea sho almost invariably found by digging eighteen or twenty feet the surface of the earth. A gentleman of veracity has all that in sinking a well many miles from the sea, he found, depth of twenty feet, every appearance of a salt marsh; marsh grass, marsh mud, and brackish water. In all this flat try until you come to the hilly land, wherever you dig you find the water, at a certain depth, fresh and tolerably but if you exceed that depth two or three feet, you cor saltish or brackish water that is scarcely drinkable, and th dug up, resembles, in appearance and smell, that which is on the edges of the salt marshes.

2. On and near the margin of the rivers are frequently nd hills, which appear to have been drifted into ridges see of water. At the bottom of some of the banks in the seen or twenty feet below the surface of the earth, are out from the solid ground, logs, branches, and leaves of and the whole bank, from bottom to top, appears strake of logs, leaves and sand. These appearances are seen rivers, from eighty to one hundred miles from th

where, when the rivers are low, the banks are from fifteen to twenty feet high. As you proceed down the rivers towards the sea, the banks decrease in height, but still are formed of layers of sand, leaves and logs, some of which are entirely found, and appear to have been suddenly covered to a considerable depth.

3. It has been observed, that the rivers in the southern States frequently vary their channels; that the swamps and low grounds are constantly filling up; and that the land in many places annually infringes upon the ocean. It is an authenticated fact, that not longer ago than 1771, at Cape Look-out on the coast of North-Carolina, in about latitude $34^{\circ} 50'$, there was an excellent harbour, capacious enough to receive an hundred sail of shipping at a time, in a good depth of water: it is now entirely filled up, and is solid ground. Instances of this kind are frequent along the coast.

It is observable, likewise, that there is a gradual descent of about eight hundred feet, by measurement, from the foot of the mountains to the sea board. This descent continues, as is demonstrated by soundings, far into the sea.

4. It is worthy of observation, that the soil on the banks of the rivers is proportionably coarse or fine according to its distance from the mountains. When you first leave the mountains, and for a considerable distance, it is observable, that the soil is coarse, with a large mixture of sand and thinning heavy particles. As you proceed toward the sea, the soil is less coarse, and so on; in proportion as you advance, the soil is finer and finer, until, finally, is deposited a soil so fine, that it consolidates into perfect clay; but a clay of a peculiar quality, for a great part of it, has intermixed with it reddish streaks and veins, like a species of *ochre*; brought probably from the *red-lands* which lie up towards the mountains. This clay, when dug up and exposed to the weather, will dissolve into a fine mould, without the least mixture of sand or any gritty substance whatever. Now we know that running waters, when turbid, will deposit, first, the coarsest and heaviest particles, mediately, those of the several intermediate degrees of fineness, and ultimately, those which are the most light and subtle; and such in fact is the general quality of the soil on the banks of the southern rivers.

5. It is a well-known fact, that on the banks of Savannah river, about ninety miles from the sea in a direct line, and one hundred and fifty or two hundred, as the river runs, there is a very remarkable collection of oyster shells of an uncommon size. They are in a north-east and south-west direction, nearly parallel to the sea coast, in three distinct ridges, which together occupy a space of seven miles in breadth. The ridges commence at Sava-

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MOUNTAINS.

The tract of country east of Hudson's river, comprehending part of the State of New-York, the four New England States, and Vermont, is rough, hilly, and in some parts mountainous. These mountains will be more particularly described under New England. In all parts of the world, and particularly on this western continent, it is observable, that as you depart from the ocean, or from a river, the land gradually rises; and the height of land, in common, is about equally distant from the water on either side. The Andes, in South America, form the height of land between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The high lands between the district of Maine and the province of Lower Canada, divide the rivers which fall into the St. Lawrence, north, and into the Atlantic, south. The Green Mountains, in Vermont, divide the waters which flow easterly into Connecticut river, from those which fall westerly into Lake Champlain, Lake George, and Hudson's River.

Between the Atlantic, the Mississippi, and the lakes, runs a long range of mountains, made up of a great number of ridges. These mountains extend north-easterly and south-westerly, nearly parallel to the sea coast, about nine hundred miles in length, and from sixty to one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles in breadth. Mr. Evans observes, with respect to that part of these mountains which he travelled over, viz. in the back part of Pennsylvania, that scarcely one acre in ten is capable of culture. This, however, is not the case in all parts of this range. Numerous tracts of fine arable and grazing land intervene between the ridges. The different ridges which compose this immense range of mountains, have different names in different states.

As you advance from the Atlantic, the first ridge in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North-Carolina, is the Blue Ridge, or South Mountain, which is from one hundred and thirty to two hundred miles from the sea. Between this and the North Mountain spreads a large fertile vale; next lies the Allegany ridge; next beyond is the Long Ridge, called the Laurel Mountains, in a spur of which, about latitude 36° , is a spring of water fifty feet deep, cold, and it is said, to be as blue as indigo. From these ridges proceed innumerable nameless branches or spurs. The many mountains run through the northern parts of New York and Pennsylvania. All these ridges, except the Allegany, are crossed by rivers, which appear to have forced their passage through solid rocks.

The principal ridge is the Allegany, which has been designated the *back-bone* of the United States. The general

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name for these mountains, taken collectively, seems not yet to have been determined. Mr. Evans calls them the *Endless Mountains*; others have called them the Appalachian Mountains, from a tribe of Indians who live on a river which proceeds from this mountain called the Appalichicola. But the most common name is *Allegheny Mountains*, so called, either from the principal ridge of the range, or from their running nearly parallel to the Allegheny or Ohio river; which, from its head waters, till it enters the Mississippi, is known and called by the name of Allegheny River, by the Seneca and other tribes of the Six Nations, who once inhabited it. These mountains are not confusedly scathed and broken, rising here and there into high peaks, overtopping each other, but stretch along in uniform ridges, scarcely half a mile high. They spread as you proceed south, and some of them terminate in high perpendicular bluffs. Others gradually subside into a level country, giving rise to the rivers which run southward into the Gulf of Mexico.

They afford many curious phenomena, from which naturalists have deduced many theories of the earth. Some of them have been whimsical enough; Mr. Evans supposes that the most obvious of the theories which have been formed of the earth is, that it was originally made out of the ruins of another. "Bones and shells which escaped the fate of softer animal substances, we find mixed with the old materials, and elegantly preserved in the loose stones and rocky bases of the highest of these hills." With deference, however, to Mr. Evans's opinion, these appearances have been much more rationally accounted for by supposing the reality of the flood, of which Moses has given us an account. Mr. Evans thinks this too great a miracle to obtain belief. But whether is it a greater miracle for the Creator to alter a globe of earth by a deluge, when made, or to create a new from the ruins of another? The former certainly is not less credible than the latter. "These mountains," says our author, "existed in their present elevated height before the deluge, & not so bare of soil as now." How Mr. Evans came to be so circumstantially acquainted with these pretended facts, is difficult to determine, unless we suppose him to have been an Antediluvian and to have surveyed them accurately before the convulsions of the deluge; and until we can be fully assured of this, we may be excused in not assenting to his opinion, and in adhering to the old philosophy of Moses and his advocates. We have every reason to believe that the primitive state of the earth was totally overthrown by the first convulsion of nature at the time of the deluge; that the fountains of the great deep were indeed broken up.

and that the various *strata* of the earth were disordered, and thrown into every possible degree of confusion and disorder. Hence those vast piles of mountains which lift their craggy cliffs to the clouds, were probably thrown together from the floating ruins of the earth: and this conjecture is remarkably confirmed by the vast number of fossils and other marine *exuviae* which are found imbedded on the tops of mountains, in the interior parts of continents remote from the sea, in all parts of the world hitherto explored. The various circumstances attending these marine bodies leave us to conclude, that they were actually generated, lived and died in the very beds wherein they are found, and therefore these beds must have originally been at the bottom of the ocean, though now in many instances elevated several miles above its surface. Hence it appears that mountains and continents were not primary productions of nature, but of a very distant period of time from the creation of the world; a time long enough for the *strata* to have acquired their greatest degree of cohesion and hardness; and for the testaceous matter of marine shells to become changed to a stony substance; for in the fissures of the lime-stone and other strata, fragments of the same shell have been frequently found adhering to each side of the cleft, in the very state in which they were originally broken; so that if the several parts were brought together, they would apparently tally with each other exactly. A very considerable time therefore must have elapsed between the chaotic state of the earth and the deluge, which agrees with the account of Moses, who makes it a little upwards of sixteen hundred years. These observations are intended to shew, in one instance out of many others, the agreement between revelation and reason, between the account which Moses gives us of the creation and deluge, and the present appearances of nature.

SOIL. AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

In the United States are to be found every species of soil that the earth affords. In one part of them or another, they produce all the various kinds of fruits, grain, pulse, and hortuline plants and roots, which are found in Europe, and have been thence transplanted to America, and besides these, a great variety of native vegetable productions.

The natural history of the American States, particularly of New-England, is yet in its infancy. Several ingenious foreigners, skilled in botany, have visited the southern, and some of the middle states, and Canada; and these states have also had ingenious botanists of their own, who have made considerable progress in describing the productions of those parts of America which they

the first, the New England states, and the second, the middle and southern states. The first volume, which contains the history of the New England states, is now published, and the second volume, which contains the history of the middle and southern states, is now in the press. The first volume, which contains the history of the New England states, is now published, and the second volume, which contains the history of the middle and southern states, is now in the press. The first volume, which contains the history of the New England states, is now published, and the second volume, which contains the history of the middle and southern states, is now in the press.

The authors of the second volume are likewise far being well acquainted, by my own notice, as a work, per for the purpose. But are mostly interested with the prod of the state of the world, in the three works of the second. The second volume is intended to give an and connected account of them. To remedy this inconvenience, and to release the reader from the reproach of not having authentic and interesting accounts of the natural history, Dr. who has already examined nearly all the vegetables of New land, intends, as soon as his leisure will admit, to publish a cal work, of considerable magnitude, confined principally productions of the New-England states. Dr. Barton, of Philadelphia, I am informed, is collecting materials for a work of lar nature, to comprehend the middle and southern states; both together will form a complete natural history of the can states. As far as possible to take advantage of these, as of other works of a similar kind, the natural history of getables, animals, birds, reptiles, insects, fishes, &c. pec the American continent, will be separately considered in volume of this work; to which the reader is referred.

POPULATION.

According to the census, taken by order of Congress, in the number of inhabitants in the United States of America three millions nine hundred and thirty thousand, nearly. number, none of the inhabitants of the territory N. W. of ver Ohio, are included. These added, would undoubtedly increased the number to three millions nine hundred an thousand, at the period the census was taken. The increase on supposition that the inhabitants of the United States once in twenty years, has been about four hundred thousand that now, 1794, they are increased to four millions three hundred and fifty thousand. To these must be added, the vast inf habitants into the States, from the different countries c with their natural increase; which taken at a modern will make the number at least five millions of souls

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American republic is composed of almost all nations, languages, characters, and religions, which Europe can furnish; the part, however, are descended from the English; and all perhaps with propriety, be distinguishingly denominated Americans.

It has generally been considered as a fact, that, of the human race more males than females are born into the world. The proportion commonly fixed on, is as thirteen to twelve. Hence an argument has been derived against Polygamy. The larger number of males has been believed to be a wise appointment of Providence, to balance the destruction of the males in war, by sea, or other occupations more hazardous to life than the domestic employment of the female sex. The following table, formed from the census of the United States, in which the males and females are numbered in different columns, furnishes a new proof of the truth of the common opinion, as it respects the United States.

T A B L E.

	Males.	Females.	Excess.	Sex.
United States	44,763	40,505	4,258	Males.
Massachusetts	70,937	70,160	777	do.
State of Maine				
districts	182,742	190,582	7,840	Females.
Rhode Island	31,818	32,652	834	do.
Connecticut	114,926	117,448	2,522	do.
New York	161,822	152,320	9,502	Males.
New Jersey	86,667	83,227	3,440	do.
Pennsylvania	217,736	206,963	10,773	do.
Delaware	23,926	22,384	1,542	do.
Maryland	107,254	101,395	5,859	do.
District of Columbia	227,071	215,046	12,025	do.
Virginia	32,211	28,922	3,289	do.
North Carolina	147,494	140,710	6,784	do.
South Carolina	73,298	66,880	6,418	do.
Georgia	27,147	25,739	1,408	do.
State of Ohio	16,548	15,365	1,183	do.

It is remarkable, that the excess in all the States is on the side of the males, except in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

Dr. Bruce, in his Travels, affirms, that in that tract of country from the Isthmus of Suez to the Straits of Babelmandel, which contains the three Arabias, the proportion is full four women to one man.

In some of the census, in which are noted all other free persons and slaves, females are not distinguished, and are therefore not regarded in this table.

And females are not distinguished in the district of Maine, in the late census.

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character. This assertion drew from Mr. Jefferson the reply :

When we shall have existed as a people as long as the Greeks, when they produced a Homer, the Romans a Virgil, the French a Racine and Voltaire, the English a Shakespeare and Milton, should this reproach be still true, we will inquire from what causes it has proceeded, that the other countries of all quarters of the earth, shall not have inscribed any name on the roll of poets. In war we have produced a Washington, whose memory will be adored while liberty shall have votive names; his name will triumph over time, and will, in future ages, find its just station among the most celebrated worthies of the world, when that wretched philosophy shall be forgotten, which would range him among the degeneracies of nature. In physics we have produced a Franklin, than whom no one of the present age has made more important discoveries, nor has enriched philosophy with more, or more ingenious solutions of the phenomena of nature. We have supported Mr. Rittenhouse second to no one now living: that in genius he must be the first, because he is the first. As an artist, he has exhibited as great proofs of natural genius as the world has ever produced.—He has not only made a world; but he has, by imitation, approached the Creator more than any man who has lived from the creation to this day. As in philosophy and war, so in government, so in painting, in the plastic art, we might shew that though but a child of yesterday, has already given hopes of genius, as well of the nobler kinds, which arouse the passions of man, which call him into action, which substantiate his opinions, and conduct him to happiness, as of the subordinate, which serve to amuse him only. We therefore suppose, that this is as unjust as it is unkind; and that, of the geniuses born in the present age, America contributes its full share. Comparing it with those countries, where genius is most cultivated, where are the most excellent models for art, and scaffold-boards for the attainment of science, as France and England, for instance, we calculate thus: the United States contain three millions of inhabitants, France twenty millions, and the British islands produce a Washington, a Franklin, a Rittenhouse. America should have half a dozen in each of these lines, and Britain half that number equally eminent. It may be true, we have not yet seen her; we are but just becoming acquainted with her, and our acquaintance so far gives us high ideas of the genius of her inhabitants. It would be injuring too many of them to name only a Voltaire, a Buffon, the constellation of Encyclope-

duce the Abbé Raynal, himself, &c. &c. We therefore have reason to believe she can produce her full quota of genius."

The two late important revolutions in America, which have been scarcely exceeded since the memory of man, I mean that of the declaration and establishment of independence, and that of the adoption of a new form of government without bloodshed, have called to historic fame many noble and distinguished characters who might otherwise have slept in oblivion.

But while we exhibit the fair side of the character of the FEDERAL AMERICANS, we would not be thought blind to their faults.

"If there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot, signing resolutions of independency with one hand, and with the other brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves."

Much has been written to shew the injustice and iniquity of enslaving the Africans; so much, as to render it unnecessary here to say any thing on that part of the subject. We cannot, however, forbear introducing a few observations respecting the influence of slavery upon policy, morals, and manners. From calculations on the subject, it has been found, that the expense of maintaining a slave, especially if the purchase money be retained, is much greater than that of maintaining a free man; but, however, is disputed by many; but suppose the expense in both cases be equal, it is certain that the labour of the free man, influenced by the powerful motive of gain, is at least twice as profitable to the employer as that of the slave. Besides, slavery is the bane of morality. It renders labour among the white people only unfashionable, but disagreeable. Industry is the offspring of necessity rather than of choice. Slavery precludes the necessity, and independence, which strikes at the root of all moral and political happiness, is the unhappy consequence. These observations, without adding any thing upon the injustice of the practice, shew that slavery is impolitic.

Its influence on manners and morals is equally pernicious. The negro wretches, in many instances, are names to their mistresses children. The infant babe, as soon as it is born, is delivered to a black nurse, and perhaps seldom or never tastes a drop of its mother's milk. The children, by being brought up, and constantly associating with the negroes, too often imbuë their looks, and various manners and morals, and contract a *negroish* kind of accent and dialect, which they often carry with them through life.

To these I shall add the observations of a native* of a state which contains a greater number of slaves than any of the others. Although his observations upon the influence of slavery were in-

* Mr. Jefferson.

tended for a particular state, they will apply equally well to all places where this pernicious practice in any considerable degree prevails.

“There must doubtless,” he observes, “be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of a passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one, that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a hole to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms these into despots, and these into enemies; destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be another in preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another; in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute, as far as depends on his individual endeavour, to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep for ever: that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural inference!—The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. But it is impossi-

ble to be temperate and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history, natural and political. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed of in the order of events, to be with the consent of their masters, rather than by their extirpation."

Under the Federal government, from the measures already adopted, we have reason to believe that all slaves in the United States, will in time be emancipated, in a manner most consistent with their own happiness, and the true interest of their proprietors. Whether this will be effected by transporting them back to Africa; or by colonizing them in some part of the American territory, and extending to them their alliance and protection, or they shall have acquired strength sufficient for their own defence, or by incorporation with the whites; or in some other way, remains to be determined.

In the middle and northern states, there are comparatively few slaves; and of course there is less difficulty in giving them their freedom. In Massachusetts alone, and we mention it for its distinguished honor, there are none. Societies for manumission of slaves have been instituted in Philadelphia, New York, and other places, and laws have been enacted, and measures taken, in the New-England States, to accomplish the same purpose. The Friends, commonly called Quakers, have evinced the propriety of their name, by their goodness in conducting, and their vigorous exertions in executing this truly humane and benevolent design.

The English Language is universally spoken in the United States, and in it business is transacted, and the records are kept. It is spoken with great purity, and pronounced with propriety in New England, by persons of education; and, excepting some corruptions in pronunciation, by all ranks of people. In the middle and southern States, where they have had a great influx of foreigners, the language, in many instances, is corrupted especially in pronunciation. Attempts are making to introduce an uniformity of pronunciation throughout the States, which for political as well as other reasons, it is hoped will meet the approbation and encouragement of all literary and influential characters.

Intermingled with the Americans, are the Dutch, Scotch, Irish, French, Germans, Swedes, and Jews; all these, except

Scotch and Irish, retain in a greater or less degree, their native language, in which they perform their public worship, converse and transact their business with each other.

The time, however, is anticipated, when all improper distinctions shall be abolished; and when the language, manners, customs, political and religious sentiments of the mixed mass of people who inhabit the United States, shall become so assimilated, as that all nominal distinction shall be lost in the general and honourable name of AMERICANS.

GOVERNMENT.

UNTIL the fourth of July, 1776, the present United States were British colonies. On that memorable day, the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, made a solemn declaration, in which they assigned their reasons for withdrawing their allegiance from the King of Great Britain. Appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, they did, in the name and by the authority of the good people of the colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies were, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and Great Britain, was, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they had full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things, which Independent States may of right do. For the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, the delegates then in Congress, fifty-five in number, mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour.

At the same time they published articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States, in which they took the title of "The United States of America," and agreed, that each State should retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, not expressly delegated to Congress by the confederation. By these articles, the Thirteen United States severally entered into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, and bound themselves to assist each other, against all force, offered to, or attacks that might be made upon all, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or any other pretence whatever,

But for the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, it was determined, that Delegates should be annually appointed, in such manner as the Legislature of every State should direct, to meet in Congress the first Monday of November of every year; with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year. No State was to be represented in Congress by less than two, or more than seven members: and no person could be a delegate for more than three years, in any term of six years. Every person, being a delegate, capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or any other person, should receive any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind, was to be ineligible for that office. In determining questions in Congress, each State was to have one vote. Every State was bound to abide by the determinations of Congress in all questions which were submitted to them for their consideration. The articles of confederation were to be invariably observed by every State, and the Union to be perpetual; nor was any alteration at any time afterwards to be made in any of the articles, unless such alterations were agreed to in Congress, and afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State. The articles of confederation were ratified by Congress, July, 1778.

These articles of confederation being found inadequate to the purposes of a federal government, for reasons hereafter mentioned, delegates were chosen in each of the United States, to consider and fix upon the necessary amendments. They accordingly met in convention at Philadelphia, in the summer of 1787, and agreed to propose the following constitution for the consideration of their constituents:

CONSTITUTION.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish, this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. 1. ALL legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECT. II. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes, shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, included those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New-Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New-Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North-Carolina five, South-Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any state, the executive authority thereof, shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. III. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive power thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried the chief justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted, without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

SECT. IV. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECT. V. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, or to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECT. VI. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Senator or representative shall during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECT. VII. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to re-consider it. If, after such re-consideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, in which it shall likewise be re-considered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days, Sundays excepted, after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except in a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-voiced by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, subject to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of

SECT. VIII. The Congress shall have power,

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the seal and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district, not exceeding ten miles square, as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States; and to exercise authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other useful buildings.—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECT. IX. The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on each importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census, or enumeration, herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.—No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States.—And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, honor, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

ART. X. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any duty on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net tonnage of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent

law any duty of commerce

another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, or be actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Sec. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the number of senators and representatives to which the State is entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall write on the list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign, certify and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list, the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there shall remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which shall be the same throughout the United States.

no person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any

President shall be elected.

President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a salary, which shall neither be increased or diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation :

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm,) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States."

Art. II. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officers in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all officers of the United States, whose appointments are not here-

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

He shall from time to time give to the Congress of the State of the union, and recommend to them such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be fully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the States.

SECT. 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts, as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECT. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the crime shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as Congress may by law have directed.

SECT. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, except on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECT. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECT. 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECT. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this union, but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECT. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive, when the legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall so determine, it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments: in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided, that no amendment may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses of the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all Executive and Judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution, between the States so ratifying the same.

DONE in Convention, By the unanimous consent of the States present, on the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Signed also by all the Delegates which were present from twelve States. WILLIAM JACKSON

OF THE UNITED STATES.

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In CONVENTION. Monday, September 17, 1787.

P R E S E N T.

The States of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

RESOLVED, That the preceding constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification: and that each Convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the United States, in Congress assembled.

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that as soon as the conventions of nine States shall have ratified this constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution. That after such publication, the electors should be appointed, and the senators and representatives elected: that the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the president, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed, and directed, as the constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled: that the senators and representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the senators should appoint a president of the senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for president: and that after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the president, should, without delay, proceed to execute this constitution.

By the unanimous order of the Convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President
WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

In CONVENTION, September 17, 1787.

S I R,

WE have now the honour to submit to the consideration of the United States in Congress assembled, that constitution which appeared to us the most advisable.

The friends of our country have long power of making war, peace, and treaties, and regulating commerce, and the judicial authorities, should be fully and

general government of the union; but the improving such extensive trust to one body of men increases the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable, in the federal government, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty, yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Entering into society must give up a share of liberty to purchase the magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on the object to be attained, as on the circumstances, and it is difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved. On the present occasion this difficulty was increased by the diversity among the federal States as to their situation, extent, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of the American people, the consolidation of our union, in which alone we see our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our native independence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply felt by the members of our minds, led each State in the convention to be contented with points of inferior magnitude, than might have been expected; and thus the constitution, which we now enjoy, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual concession which is peculiarly the peculiarity of our political condition, rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not perhaps to be expected: but each will doubtless be satisfied that had her interests been alone consulted, the result might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious. That it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably be expected, we hope and believe: that it may promote the welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure to us our peace and happiness, which is our most ardent wish.

With great respect, we have the honour to be, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient, and humble servants,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

By unanimous order of the Convention.

His Excellency the President of the Congress.

The conventions of a number of the States, at the time of their adopting the constitution expressed a desire to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, and declared that declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added, in order to extend the ground of public confidence in the government, and best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution, it

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said constitution: viz.

ART. I. After the first enumeration required by the first article of the constitution, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred representatives, nor less than one representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of representatives shall amount to two hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred representatives, nor more than one representative for every fifty thousand persons.

ART. II. No law varying the compensation for the services of the senators and representatives shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened.

ART. III. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ART. IV. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ART. V. No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ART. VI. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ART. VII. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or sea or in the militia when in actual service, in time of war or danger; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ART. VIII. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial Jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance in counsel for his defence.

ART. IX. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ART. X. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ART. XI. The enumeration in the constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ART. XII. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

The following States have ratified all the foregoing articles of amendment to the constitution of the United States, viz. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, New-York, Virginia, and Vermont. New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania reject the second article; and Delaware rejects the first article. No official returns, to our knowledge, have been made from the other States.

Against this constitution, thus ratified, organized and established, objections may no doubt be urged, and defects pointed out: it may be said that it contains no declaration of rights, and that the laws of the general government being paramount to the laws and constitutions of the several States, the declarations of rights in the several state constitutions are no security—nor are the people secured even in the enjoyment of the benefits of the common law.

Owing to the small number of members in the house of representatives, there is not the substance, but the shadow only of representation, which can never produce proper information in the legislature, or inspire confidence in the people—the laws will therefore be generally made by men little concerned in, and unacquainted with, their effects and consequences.

The senate have the power of altering all money bills, and originating appropriation of money, although they are not the immediate representatives of the people, or amenable to them.

and their other great powers, viz. their power in the appointment of Ambassadors, and all public officers, in making treaties, and trying all impeachments; their influence upon, and connection with, the supreme executive. From these circumstances, their duration of office and their being a constant existing body, almost continually sitting, joined with their being one complete branch of the Legislature, will destroy any and every balance in the government, and enable them to accomplish what usurpation they please upon the rights and liberties of the people.

The Judiciary of the United States is so constituted and extended as to absorb and destroy the Judiciaries of the several States, thereby rendering law *tedious, intricate, and expensive*, and justice in consequence *unattainable* by a great part of the community, as in, thus enabling the rich, to oppress the poor.

The President of the United States has no constitutional Council—a thing unknown in any safe and regular Government—he will therefore be unsupported by proper information and advice, and will generally be directed by minions and favourites, or he will become a tool to the Senate; or a Council of State will grow out of the principal officers of the great departments, the worst and most dangerous of all ingredients for such a Council in a free country; for they may be induced to join in any dangerous or oppressive measures to shelter themselves, and prevent an inquiry into their own misconduct in office; whereas, had a constitutional Council been formed, as was said to have been proposed, of six Members, viz. two from the Eastern, two from the Middle, and two from the Southern States, to be appointed by vote of the States in the House of Representatives, with the same duration and rotation of office as the Senate, the executive would always have had safe and proper information and advice; the President of such a Council might have acted as Vice President of the United States, *pro tempore*, upon any vacancy or disability of the Chief Magistrate, and the long-continued sessions of the Senate would in a great measure, have been prevented. From this fatal defect of a constitutional Council, has arisen the improper power of the Senate in the appointment of public officers, and the alarming dependence and connection between that branch of the legislature and the executive. Hence also sprung that unnecessary and dangerous office of the Vice President, who, for want of other employment, is made President of the Senate, thereby dangerously blending the legislative and executive powers; besides always giving to some one of the States an unnecessary and unjust pre-eminence over the others.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION

The President of the United States has the unrestrained power of granting pardon for treasons, which may be sometimes exercised to screen from punishment, those whom he had secretly instigated to commit the crime, and thereby prevent the discovery of his own guilt.

By declaring all treaties supreme laws of the land, the executive and senate have, in many cases, an exclusive power of legislation, which might have been avoided by proper distinctions with respect to treaties, and requiring the assent of the House of Representatives, where it could be done with safety.

Under their own construction of the general clause at the end of the enumerated powers, the Congress may grant monopolies in trade and commerce—constitute new crimes—inflit unusual and severe punishments, and extend their power as far as they shall think proper—so that the State Legislatures have no security for the powers now presumed to remain to them, or the people for their rights.

There is no declaration for preserving the liberty of the press, the trial by jury in civil causes, nor against the danger of standing armies in time of peace.

We admit these objections in part to be just, and view them as unanswerable: but we consider them as deducting but little from the beauty and order of the whole system; they may all be corrected by the application of the same principles on which the Constitution is founded, and if all circumstances are considered we shall, perhaps, rather be astonished that its defects are so few and of so little importance.

To form a good system of government, for a single city or state, however limited as to territory, or inconsiderable as to numbers, has been thought to require the strongest efforts of human genius. With what conscious diffidence, then, must the members of the convention have revolved in their minds, the immense undertaking which was before them. Their views could not be confined to a small or a single community, but were expanded to a great number of states; several of which contain an extent of territory, and resources of population, equal to those of some of the most respectable kingdoms on this side of the Atlantic. Nor were even these the only objects to be comprehended within their deliberations. Numerous states yet unformed: Myriads of the human race, who will inhabit regions hitherto uncultivated, were to be affected by the result of their proceedings. It was necessary, therefore, to form their calculations, on a scale commensurate to so large a portion of the globe.

Thus a very important difficulty arose from comparing the extent of the country to be governed, with the kind of govern-



and which it would be proper to establish in it. It has been an opinion, countenanced by high authority, "that the natural property of small states is to be governed as a republic; of middling ones, to be subject to a monarch; and of large empires, to be swayed by a despotic prince; and that the consequence is, that, in order to preserve the principles of the established government, the state must be supported in the extent it has acquired; and that the spirit of the state will alter in proportion as it extends or contracts its limits.*" This opinion seems to be supported rather than contradicted, by the history of the governments in the old world. Here then the difficulty appeared in full view. On one hand, the United States containing an immense extent of territory, according to the foregoing opinion, a despotic government was best adapted to that extent. On the other hand, it was well known, that, however the citizens of the United States might, with pleasure submit to the legitimate restraints of a republican constitution, they would reject with indignation, the fetters of despotism. What then was to be done? The idea of a confederate republic presented itself. A kind of constitution which has been thought to have "all the internal advantages of a republican, together with the external force of a monarchical government."

Its description is, "a convention, by which several states agree to become members of a larger one, which they intend to establish. It is a kind of assemblage of societies, that constitute a new one, capable of increasing by means of farther association." The expanding quality of such a government is peculiarly fitted for the United States, the greatest part of whose territory is yet uncultivated.

But while this form of government enabled them to surmount the difficulty last mentioned, it conducted them to another. It left them almost without precedent or guide; and consequently without the benefit of that instruction, which, in many cases may be derived from the constitution, history and experience of other nations. Several associations have frequently been called by the name of confederate states, which have not, in propriety of language, deserved it. The Swiss Cantons are connected only by treaties. The United Netherlands are indeed an assemblage of societies; but this assemblage constitutes no new one; and therefore, it does not correspond with the full definition of a confederate republic. The Germanic body is composed of such disproportionate and discordant materials, and its structure is so in-

* Montesquieu, b. 8. c. 10.

† Montesquieu, b. 9. c. 1

tricate and complex, that little useful knowledge could be drawn from it. Ancient history discloses, and barely discloses to our view, some confederate republics—the Achaean league—the Lacedaemonian confederacy, and the Amphictyonic council. But the few records concerning their constitutions are so few and general, and their histories are so unmarked and defective, that no satisfactory information can be collected from them concerning many particular circumstances; from an accurate discernment and comparison of which alone, legitimate and practical inferences can be made from one constitution to another. Besides, the situation and dimensions of those confederacies, and the state of society, manners and habits in them, were so different from those of the United States, that the most correct descriptions could have supplied but a very small fund of applicable remarks. Thus, in forming this system, they were deprived of many advantages which the history and experience of other ages and other countries would, in other cases, have afforded them.

We may add, in this place, that the science of government itself, seems yet to be almost in its state of infancy. Governments, in general, have been the result of force, of fraud, and of accident. After a period of six thousand years has elapsed, since the creation, the United States exhibit to the world, the first instance, as far as we can learn, of a nation, unattacked by external force, unconquered by domestic insurrections, assembling voluntarily, deliberating fully, and deciding calmly, concerning that system of government, under which they would wish that they and their posterity should live. The ancients, so enlightened on other subjects, were very uninformed with regard to this. They seem scarcely to have had any idea of any other kind of government, than the three simple forms, designed by the epithets, monarchical, aristocratical and democratical. Much and pleasing ingenuity has been exerted, in modern times, in drawing entertaining parallels between some of the ancient constitutions and some of the modern governments that have since existed in Europe. But on strict examination, the instances of resemblance will be found to be few and weak; to be suggested by the improvements, which, in subsequent ages, have been made in government, and not to be drawn immediately from the ancient constitutions themselves, as they were intended and understood by those who framed them. One thing is very certain, that the doctrine of representation in government was altogether unknown to the ancients. The knowledge and practice of which, is essential to every system, that can possess the qualities of freedom, wisdom and energy.

Representation is the chain of communication between the people, and those, to whom they have committed the exercise of the powers of government. This chain may consist of one or more links: but in all cases it should be sufficiently strong and durable.

To be left without guide or precedent was not the only difficulty, in which the convention were involved, by proposing to their constituents a plan of a confederate republic. They found themselves embarrassed with another, of peculiar delicacy and importance; I mean that of drawing a proper line between the national government, and the governments of the several states. It was easy to discover a proper and satisfactory principle on the subject. Whatever object of government is confined in its operation and effects within the bounds of a particular state, should be considered as belonging to the government of that state; whatever object of government extends, in its operation or effects, beyond the bounds of a particular state, should be considered as belonging to the government of the United States; but though this principle is sound and satisfactory, its application to particular cases would be accompanied with much difficulty; because in its application, room must be allowed for great discretionary latitude of construction of the principle. In order to lessen, or remove the difficulty, arising from discretionary construction on this subject, an enumeration of particular instances, in which the application of the principle ought to take place, has been attempted, with much industry and care. It is only in mathematical science that a line can be described with mathematical precision. But upon the strictest investigation, the enumeration will be found to be safe and unexceptionable; and accurate too in as great a degree of accuracy can be expected, in a subject of this nature.

After all, it was necessary, that, on a subject so peculiarly delicate as this, much prudence, much candour, much moderation and much liberality, should be exercised and displayed, both by the federal government and by the governments of the several states. It is to be hoped, that these virtues will continue to be exercised and displayed, when we consider, that the powers of the federal government and those of the state governments are drawn from sources equally pure. If a difference can be discovered between them, it is in favor of the federal government, because that government is founded on the representation of the whole union; whereas the government of any particular state is founded only on the representation of a part, inconsiderable when compared with the whole. It is not more reasonable to suppose, that the councils of the whole will embrace the interest of every part,

than that the counsels of any part will embrace the interest of the whole?

Having enumerated some of the difficulties, which the convention were obliged to encounter in the course of their proceedings, let us view the end, which they proposed to accomplish.

In forming this system, it was proper to give minute attention to the interest of all the parts; but there was a duty of still greater import—to feel and to shew a predominating regard to the prior interests of the whole. If this great principle prevailed, the plan before us would never have made its appearance.

The aim of the convention, was to form a system of government efficient on the more extensive scale of the States. In this, and in every other instance, the work should be judged with the same spirit, with which it was performed: principle of duty as well as candour demands this.

It has been remarked, that civil government is necessary to the perfection of society: We remark that civil liberty is necessary to the perfection of civil government. Civil liberty is liberty itself, divested only of that part, which, placed in government, produces more good and happiness to the community than if it had remained in the individual. Hence it follows that civil liberty, while it resigns a part of natural liberty, retains the free and generous exercise of all the human faculties, so far as it is compatible with the public welfare.

In considering and developing the nature and end of the system before us, it is necessary to mention another kind of liberty, which may be distinguished by the appellation of *federal* liberty. When a single government is instituted, the individuals, of which it is composed, surrender to it a part of their natural independence, which they before enjoyed as men. When a confederate republic is instituted, the communities, of which it is composed, surrender to it a part of their political independence, which they before enjoyed as States. The principles, which directed, in the former case, what part of the natural liberty of the man ought to be given up, and what part ought to be retained, will give similar directions in the latter case. The states should resign, to the national government, that part, and that part only, of their political liberty, which placed in that government, will produce more good to the whole, than if it had remained in the states. While they resign this part of their political liberty, they retain the free and generous exercise of all their other faculties as states, so far as it is compatible with the welfare of the general and superintending confederacy.

the *states* as well as *citizens* are represented in the constitution before us, and form the objects on which that constitution is posed to operate, it was necessary to notice and define *federal* well as *civil* liberty.

We now see the great end which they proposed to accomplish. was to frame, for their constituents, one federal and national constitution—a constitution, that would produce the advantages good, and prevent the inconveniences of bad government—a constitution, whose beneficence and energy would pervade the whole union ; and bind and embrace the interests of every part a constitution, that would ensure peace, freedom and happiness, the states and people of America.

We are now naturally led to examine the means, by which they posed to accomplish this end. But previously to our entering on it, it will not be improper to state some general and leading principles of government, which will receive particular application in the course of our investigations.

There necessarily exists in every government, a power from which there is no appeal ; and which, for that reason, may be termed supreme, absolute and uncontrollable. Where does this power reside ? To this question, writers on different governments will give different answers. According to Blackstone, in this country, this power is lodged in the British parliament, and the parliament may alter the form of government ; and its power is absolute without control. The idea of a constitution, limiting and restraining the operations of legislative authority, seems not to have been accurately understood in this kingdom. There are, least no traces of practice, conformable to such a principle.

To controul the power and conduct of the legislature by an over-ruling constitution, was an improvement in the science and office of government, reserved to the American states.

Perhaps some politician, who has not considered, with sufficient accuracy, their political systems, would answer, that in their governments, the supreme power was vested in the constitutions. This opinion approaches a step nearer to the truth ; but does not reach it. The truth is, that, in the American governments, the supreme, absolute and uncontrollable power *remains* in the people. In their constitutions are superior to their legislatures ; so the people are superior to their constitutions. Indeed the superiority, in this last instance, is much greater ; for the people possess, over their constitutions, controul in *act*, as well as in right.

The consequence is, that the people may change the constitutions whenever, and however they please. This is a right, of which no positive institution can ever deprive them.

These important truths, are far from being mere speculations. To their operation, we are to ascribe the scene, hitherto unparalleled, which America now exhibits to the world—a gentle, peaceful, & voluntary and a deliberate transition from one constitution of government to another. In other parts of the world the idea of revolutions in government is, by a mysterious and dissoluble association, connected with the idea of wars, and all calamities attendant on wars. But happy experience teaches to view such revolutions in a very different light—to consider them only as progressive steps in improving the knowledge of government, and increasing the happiness of society and mankind.

With silent pleasure and admiration we view the force and prevalence, of this sentiment throughout the United States, that the supreme power resides in the people, and that they never part with it. It may be called the *Panacea* in politics. There can be no disorder in the community but may here receive radical cure. If the error be in the legislature, it may be cured by the constitution: If in the constitution, it may be corrected by the people. There is a remedy, therefore, for every distemper of government, if the people are not wanting to themselves. If the people are wanting to themselves, there is no remedy: From their power, there is no appeal: To their error, there is no larger principle of correction.

The leading principle in politics, and that which pervades American constitutions, is, that the supreme power resides in the people, their constitution opens with a solemn and praiseworthy recognition of this principle, "WE, THE PEOPLE of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, &c. do ORDAIN and ESTABLISH this constitution for the United States of America." It is announced in their name and in every political existence from their authority—they ordain and establish. What is the necessary consequence?—those who ordain and establish, have the power, if they think proper, to repeal and amend.—A proper attention to this principle may restrain the hands of those, who contend for the necessity of a bill of rights.

Its establishment, I apprehend, has more force, than a voluntary renunciation of the subject—it renders this truth evident, that the people have a right to do what they please, with regard to the government.

If there, even in a single government, if the powers of the people and of the same establishment, as is expressed in the constitution, a bill of rights—by no means a necessary measure in a government possessed of enumerated powers, such a bill would be not only unnecessary, but preposterous and dangerous.

Where come this notion, that in the United States there is no security without a bill of rights? Have the citizens of South Carolina no security for their liberties? they have no bill of rights. Are the citizens on the eastern side of the Delaware less free, or less secured in their liberties, than those on the western side? The State of New-Jersey has no bill of rights.—The State of New-York has no bill of rights.—The states of Connecticut and Rhode-Island have no bill of rights. I know not whether I have exactly enumerated the States who have thought it unnecessary to add a bill of rights to their constitutions: but this enumeration will serve to shew by experience, as well as principle, that even in single governments, a bill of rights is not an essential or necessary measure.—But in a government, consisting of enumerated powers, such as is adopted by the United States, a bill of rights would not only be unnecessary, but, in my humble judgment, highly imprudent. In all societies, there are many powers and rights, which cannot be particularly enumerated. A bill of rights annexed to a constitution, is an enumeration of the powers reserved. If we attempt an enumeration, every thing that is not enumerated is presumed to be given. The consequence is, that an imperfect enumeration would throw all implied power into the scale of the government; and the rights of the people would be rendered incomplete. On the other hand, an imperfect enumeration of the powers of government, reserves all implied power to the people; and by that means the constitution becomes incomplete; but of the two, it is much safer to run the risk on the side of the constitution; for an omission in the enumeration of the powers of government, is neither so dangerous nor important, as an omission in the enumeration of the rights of the people.

In this constitution, the citizens of the United States appear reserving a part of their original power, in what manner and in what proportion they think fit. They never part with the whole; and they retain the right of re-calling what they part with. When therefore, they possess the fee-simple of authority, why should they have recourse to the minute and subordinate remedies, which can be necessary only to those, who pass the fee, and reserve only what charge?

To every suggestion concerning a bill of rights, the citizens of the United States may always say, WE RESERVE THE RIGHT TO DO WHAT WE PLEASE.

This observation naturally leads to a more particular consideration of the government before us. In order to give permanency, stability and security to any government, it is of essential importance, that its legislature should be restrained; that there should

not only be, what we call a *passive*, but an *active* power over, for of all kinds of despotism, this is the most dreadful, and the most difficult to be corrected.

It is therefore proper to have efficient restraints upon the legislative body. These restraints arise from different sources: In the American constitution they are produced in a very considerable degree, by a division of the power in the legislative body itself. Under this system, they may arise likewise from the interference of those officers, who are introduced into the executive and judicial departments. They may spring also from another source; the election by the people; and finally, under this constitution, they may proceed from the great and last resort—from the PEOPLE themselves.

In order to secure the president from any dependence upon the legislature, as to his salary, it is provided, that he shall, at certain times, receive for his services, a compensation that shall neither be increased nor diminished, during the period for which he shall have been elected, and that he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them individually.

To secure to the judges independence, it is ordered that they shall receive for their services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. The Congress may be restrained, by the election of its constituent parts. If a legislature should make a law contrary to the constitution, or oppressive to the people, they have in it their power, every second year, in one branch, and every sixth year in the other, to displace the men, who act thus inconsistent with their duty; and if this is not sufficient, they have still a farther power; they may assume into their own hands, the alteration of the constitution itself—they may revoke the lease, when the conditions are broken by the tenant.

There is still a further restraint upon the legislature—the qualified negative of the president. This will be attended with very important advantages, for the security and happiness of the people of the United States. The president will not be a stranger to the country, to its laws, or its wishes. He will, under this constitution, be placed in office as the president of the whole union, and be chosen in such a manner, that he may justly be styled THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE; being elected by the different parts of the United States, he will consider himself as not particularly interested for any one of them, but will watch over the whole with paternal care and affection. This will be his natural conduct, to recommend himself to those who placed him in that high chair, and it is a very important advantage, that such a man must have every law presented to him, before it can become binding upon the

United States. He will have before him the fullest information of their situation, he will avail himself not only of records and official communications, foreign and domestic, but he will have also the advice of the executive officers in the different departments of the general government.

If in consequence of this information and advice, he exercise the authority given to him, the effect will not be lost—he returns his objections, together with the bill, and unless two thirds of both branches of the legislature are *now* found to approve it, it does not become a law. But even if his objections do not prevent its passing into a law, they will not be useless; they will be kept together with the law, and, in the archives of congress, will be valuable and practical materials, to form the minds of posterity for legislation—if it is found that the law operates inconveniently, or oppressively, the people may discover in the president's objections, the source of that inconvenience or oppression. Further, when objections shall have been made, it is provided, in order to secure the greatest degree of caution and responsibility, that the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons, voting for and against the bill, shall be entered in the journal of each house respectively. Thus much with regard to the Constitution itself, the distribution of the legislative authority, and the restraints under which it is exercised.

On the whole, though there are some parts of the constitution which we cannot approve; and which, no doubt, by the powers vested in congress, and the legislatures of the different states, for that purpose, will in due time be altered or corrected, as prudence shall dictate; yet there is much, that entitles it to the respect of every friend to the freedom and happiness of mankind:—the people retain the supreme power, and exercise it by representation:—the legislative, executive and judicial powers, are kept independent and distinct from each other:—the executive power, is so settled as to secure VIGOUR and ENERGY with ACTUAL RESPONSIBILITY, in the person of the President, who so far from being above the laws, is amenable to them, in his private character, of a citizen. The line is drawn with accuracy between the powers of the general government, and the government of the particular states, so that no distrust can arise to disturb the harmony of their union while the powers of both DERIVED BY REPRESENTATION FROM THE PEOPLE, must effectually prevent any disagreement or discontent from taking place.—Thus a principle of democracy being carried into every part of the constitution, and representation, and direct taxation, going hand in hand, the prosperity of the country and the stability of its government, will keep pace with each other,

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

take leave of this subject, better than in the energetic language of Dr. Ramsley, with whose sentiments we wish whose wishes we unite, of the United States! you have a well-balanced constitution established by general consent, which is an improvement upon forms of government heretofore established. It secures freedom and independence of a popular assembly, with the wants and wishes of the people, but without doing those mischiefs which result from uncontrolled power in one assembly. The end and object of it is public safety, if you are not happy, it will be your own fault. No man can plead an hereditary right to sport with your property and liberties. Your laws and your law givers must all protect yourselves. You have the experience of nearly six thousand years, to point out the rocks on which former republics have been washed to pieces. Learn wisdom from their misfortune. Cultivate justice both public and private. No government will endure, which does not protect the rights of its subjects. Unless such efficient regulations are adopted, as will secure property as well as liberty, one revolution will follow another. Anarchy, monarchy, or despotism, will be the consequence. By just laws and the faithful execution of them, public and private credit will be restored, and the restoration of credit will be a mine of wealth to this young country. It will make a fund for agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, which will soon enable the United States to claim an exalted rank among the nations of the earth. Such are the resources of your country, and so trifling are your debts, compared with your resources, that proper systems, wisely planned and faithfully executed, will soon fill your extensive territory with inhabitants, and give you the command of such ample capitals, as will enable you to run the career of national greatness, with advantages equal to the oldest kingdoms of Europe. What they have been slowly growing to, in the course of near two thousand years, you may hope to equal within one century, if you continue under one government, built on the solid foundations of public justice, and public virtue, there is no point of national greatness to which you may not aspire with a well-founded hope of speedily attaining it. Cherish and support a reverence for government, and cultivate an union between the East and South, the Atlantic and the Mississippi. Let the greatest good of the greatest number, be the pole star of your public and private deliberations. Shun wars, they beget debt, add to the common vices of mankind, and produce others, which are almost peculiar to themselves. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, are your proper business. Seek not to enlarge your territory by conquests; it is already sufficiently extensive. You have ample scope

the employment of your most active minds, in promoting your domestic happiness. Maintain your own rights, and let all others remain in quiet possession of theirs. Avoid discord, faction, envy, and the other vices which have been the bane of commonwealths. Cherish and reward the philosophers, the statesmen, and the patriots, who devote their talents and time, at the expence of their private interests, to the toils of enlightening and directing their fellow citizens, and thereby rescue citizens and rulers of republics from the common, and too often merited, charge of ingratitude. Practice industry, frugality, temperance, moderation, and the whole lovely train of republican virtues. Banish from your borders the liquid fire of the West-Indies, which, while it entails poverty and disease, prevents industry, and foment private quarrels. Venerate the plough, the hoe, and all the implements of agriculture. Honour the men, who with their own hands maintain their families, and raise up children who are inured to toil, and capable of defending their country. Reckon the necessity of labour not among the curses, but the blessings of life. Your towns will probably ere long be engulphed in luxury and effeminacy. If your liberties and future prospects depended on them, your career of prosperity would probably be short; but a great majority of your country, must, and will be yeomanry, who have no other dependence than on Almighty God for his usual blessing on their daily labour. From the great excess of the number of such independent farmers in these States, over and above all other classes of inhabitants, the long continuance of your liberties may be reasonably presumed."

Let the hapless African sleep undisturbed on his native shore, give over wishing for the extermination of the ancient proprietors of this land. Universal justice is universal interest. The enlarged happiness of one people, by no means requires the radiation or destruction of another. It would be more glorious to civilise one tribe of savages, than to exterminate or expel a score. This is territory enough for them and for you. Instead of invading their rights, promote their happiness, and give them no room to curse the folly of their fathers, who suffered your's to sit upon a soil which the common Parent of us both had previously ceded to them: but above all, be particularly careful that your descendents do not degenerate into savages. Diffuse the use of education, and particularly of religious instruction, through your remotest settlements. To this end, support and strengthen the hands of your public teachers. Let your voluntary contributions confute the dishonourable position, that religion can be supported but by compulsory establishments. Remember there can be no political happiness without liberty; and

can be no liberty without morality: and that there can be no morality without religion."

"It is now your turn to figure on the face of the earth, the annals of the world. You possess a country which in a century will probably contain fifty millions of inhabitants, have, with a great expence of blood and treasure, rescued yourselves and your posterity from the dominion of Europe. the good work you have begun, by forming such arrangements and institutions, as bid fair for ensuring, to the present and future generations, the blessings for which you have successfully laboured."

"May the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, who has raised you to independence, and given you a place among the nations of the earth, make the American Revolution an era in the history of the world, remarkable for the progressive increase of human happiness!"

Having considered the Constitution in its theory, it now remains to contemplate it as reduced to practice: or rather the government arising out of it: and here the United States present to our view a picture very different, from any we behold in the various monarchies of Europe.

In the United States we see the people raised to their dignity and importance, resorting to first principles, asserting their own independence and forming a government for themselves: and eleven years experience had convinced them of its insufficiency to secure the important ends for which they designed it, we behold them laying it aside, and discarding the contemptible maxims that would render innovation formidable, raising a new and more perfect system in its place, publishing it in their own name, and giving it energy and effect, by their own willing submission to the laws and regulations it enjoins—here then we contemplate a government springing from its right source; originating with the people, and executed under the guidance of a constitution freely agreeable to their sovereign will. On the contrary, if we can examine the Constitutions, or what are so called, in Europe, we shall find that they have had their origin in governments, formed by conquest and usurpation: and that what appears to be order they have a term'd, what portion the people possess in property, or what provision they make for the security of their liberty, have all been gradually procured by the people, struggling against the tyranny and oppression of the feudal system. Such was the origin of our Magna Charta, Habeas Corpus Act, Bill of Rights, and such has been the origin of the small portion of liberty, which the other European nations possess. In America we must look for the first and best example, of a

OF THE UNITED STATES.

ing down in peace, causing a defective government without a groan, and erecting another in its stead more congenial with its wishes.

The goodness of a government, must be estimated by the people at large have in it, the benefits they and the small portion of individual liberty and property surrendered for its support. If we apply this criterion to the American empire, we shall find the strong claim to our approbation, the whole of it may be considered as in the hands of the people. Its benefits may be fairly concluded from the rising improvements of the United States; and the small property surrendered for its support will appear evident from the following estimates laid before the House.

EXPENDITURE.

Estimate of the Expenditure for the CIVIL LIST of the United States, together with the Incidental and Contingent Expenses of the several Departments and Offices, for the Year 1794.

PRESIDENTS.

	Dols.	Dols.
For compensation to the President of the United States	25,000	
Ditto to the Vice-President	5,000	
		30,000

JUDGES.

Compensation to the Chief Justice	4,000	
Ditto, to five associate Judges, at 3,500 dollars per annum each	17,500	
Ditto, to the Judges of the following districts, viz.		
Maine	1,000	
New Hampshire	1,000	
Vermont	800	
Massachusetts	1,200	
Rhode Island	800	
Connecticut	1,000	
New York	1,500	
New Jersey	1,000	
Pennsylvania	1,600	
Delaware,	800	
Maryland	1,500	
Virginia	1,800	
Carolina	1,000	
Carolina	1,500	
Carolina	1,800	
Carolina	1,500	
Carolina	1,900	
		43,200

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AND THEIR OFFICERS.*Compensation to the Members of Congress, estimating the attendance
whole for six months.*

Speaker of the House of Representatives at twelve dollars per day	-	-	2,190
One hundred and thirty-four members, at six dollars per day	-	-	146,730
Travelling expences to and from the seat of government	-	-	25,000
Secretary of the Senate for one year's salary	1,500		
Additional allowance estimated for six months, at two dollars per day		365	
			1,865

Principal clerk to the Secretary of the Senate, for 365 days, at three dollars per day	-	-	1,095
Two engrossing clerks to ditto, at two dollars per day each, for 365 days	-	-	1,460
Chaplain to the Senate, estimated for six months, at 500 dols. per annum	-	-	250
Door-keeper to the Senate, one year's salary			500
Assistant door-keeper, do. do.	-	-	450
Clerk to the House of Representatives, one year's salary			1,500
Additional allowance, estimated for six months, at two dollars per day		365	
			1,865

Principal clerk in the office of the clerk of the House of Representatives, for 365 days at 3 dols. per day	-	-	1,095
Two engrossing clerks at two dollars per day each, for 365 days	-	-	1,460
Chaplain to the House of Representatives, estimated for six months, at 500 dols. per annum			250
Serjeant at Arms for the same time, at 4 dols. per day			730
Door-keeper to the House of Representatives, one year's salary	-	-	500
Assistant door-keeper do. do.	-	-	450
			1,865

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TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

	Dols.	Dols.
Secretary of the Treasury	3,500	
Two principal clerks at 800 dollars each	1,600	
Five clerks at 500 dollars each	2,500	
Messenger and office-keeper	250	
		7,850
Comptroller of the Treasury	2,600	
Principal clerk	800	
Thirteen clerks at 500 dollars each	6,500	
Messenger and office-keeper	250	
		10,200
Treasurer	2,400	
Principal clerk	600	
Two clerks at 500 dollars each	1,000	
Messenger and office-keeper.	100	
		4,100
Auditor of the Treasury	2,400	
Principal clerk	800	
Fourteen clerks at 500 dollars each	7,000	
Salary of the messenger	250	
		10,450
Commissioner of the revenue	2,400	
Principal and six other clerks, on the business of the revenue, light houses, general returns, and statements, &c.	3,500	
Messenger and office keeper	250	
		6,150
Register of the treasury	2,000	
Three clerks on the impost, tonnage, and excise accounts	1,500	
Two ditto, on the books and records relative to the receipt and expenditures of public monies	1,000	
Two ditto, on the duties assigned to the register, by the acts concerning the registering and recording, enrolling and licensing ships or vessels	1,000	
Three ditto, for drawing out, checking, and issuing, and taking receipts for certificates of the domestic and assumed debts	1,500	
Three ditto, on the books of the general and particular loan offices, comprehending the interest, accounts, and claimed dividends, at the several loan offices	1,500	

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

	Dols.	Dols.
the books and records which relate		
to the creditors, on the several descriptions		
of stock and transfers	3,000	
on the books and records of register-		
including the payment of its interest	1,000	
to complete the arrangement of the		
entries in books prepared for their		
in numerical order	500	
the books of the late government	1,000	
One writing clerk	500	
Two office-keepers incident to the several offices		
of record, at 250 dollars per annum each	500	
		15,000
		53,750

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

The Secretary of State	3,500
Chief Clerk	800
Four clerks, at 500 dollars each	2,000
Clerk for foreign languages	250
Office-keeper and messenger	250
	6,800

MINT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Director of the Mint	2,000
Affayer	1,500
Chief coiner	1,500
Engraver	1,500
* Three clerks, at 500 dollars each	1,500
The Director estimates ten or twelve workmen at	
65 dollars per week	3,385
	11,285

* The director observes, that three clerks are estimated to provide against a contingency; but of the three estimated for last year, only one had been employed and that at 400 dollars per annum, excepting three months last winter, for which one other was paid at the rate of 500 dollars per annum.

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Dols.

Dols.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR.

The Secretary of the Department	-	3,000	
Principal clerk	-	800	
Six clerks, at 500 dollars each	-	3,000	
Messenger and office-keeper	-	250	
		<hr/>	7,050
Accountant of the war department	-	1,200	
Seven clerks, at 500 dollars each	-	3,500	
		<hr/>	4,700
			<hr/>
			11,750

LAND OFFICERS.

For New Hampshire	-	600	
Massachusetts	-	1,500	
Rhode Island	-	600	
Connecticut	-	1,000	
New-York	-	1,500	
New-Jersey	-	700	
Pennsylvania	-	1,500	
Delaware	-	600	
Maryland	-	1,000	
Virginia	-	1,500	
North Carolina	-	1,000	
South Carolina	-	1,000	
Georgia	-	700	
		<hr/>	13,250

GOVERNMENT OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

District North West of the River Ohio.

Governor, for his salary as such, and for discharging the duties of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Northern Department	-	2,000	
The Secretary of the said district	-	750	
Three Judges at 800 dols. each	-	2,400	
Stationary, office-rent, &c.	-	350	
		<hr/>	5,500

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Dols.

District South West of the River Ohio.

for his salary as such, and for dis-		
charging the duties of Superintendent of In-		
Indian Affairs, Southern Department	2,000	
of the said district	750	
edges at 800 dols. each	2,400	
office-rent, &c.	350	

PENSIONS GRANTED BY THE LATE GOVERNMENT

Isaac Van Voert, John Paulding, and David Williams, each a pension of 200 dollars per annum pursuant to an act of Congress of 23d Nov. 1780	600
Dominique l'Eglise, per act of Congress of 8th August, 1792	120
Joseph Traverse per ditto	120
Youngest children of the late major-general Warren, per act of the 1st July, 1780	450
Samuel M'Kenzie, Joseph Brussels, and John Jordan, per act of 10th Sep. 1783, entitled to a pension of 40 dollars each per annum	120
Eliz. Bergen, per act of 21st August, 1781	53 33
Joseph De Beaulieu, per act of 5th August 1782	100
Richard Gridley, per acts of 17th Nov. 1775, and 26th Feb. 1781	444 40
Lieut. Col. Toufard, per act of 27th Oct. 1788	360

GRANT TO BARON STEUBEN, &c.

His annual allowance per act of Congress	2,500
Annual allowance to the widow and orphan children of Col. John Harding, per act of 27th February 1793	450
Annual allowance to the orphan children of Major Alexander Trueman, per same act	300
Annual allowance for the education of Hugh Mercer, son of the late major-general Mercer, per act dated 2d March, 1793	400

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	Dols.	Cts.
FOR THE INCIDENTAL AND CONTINGENT EXPENCES RELATIVE TO THE CIVIL LIST ESTABLISHMENT*.		
Secretary of the Senate, his estimate	3,000	
Clerk of the House of Representatives, his do.	7,000	
	<hr/>	10,000

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Secretary of the Treasury, per estimate	500	
Comptroller of the Treasury, per do.	800	
Treasurer, per do.	400	
Commissioner of the Revenue, per do.	800	
Auditor of the Treasury, per do.	500	
Register of the Treasury (including books for the public stocks) per do.	2,000	
Rent of the Treasury	650	
Ditto, of a house taken for a part of the office of the Register	240	
Ditto, of a house for the office of the Commissioner of the Revenue, and for part of the office of the Comptroller, and part of the office of the Auditor	266	66
Rent of a house for the office of the Auditor, and a small store for public papers	440	
Wood for the department (Treasurers excepted) candles, &c.	1,200	
	<hr/>	7,296 66

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Including the expence which will attend the publication of the laws of the first session of the third Congress, and for printing an edition of the same to be distributed according to law	<hr/>	2,061 67
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MINT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Director estimates for the several expences of the mint, including the pay of a refiner, when employed, for gold, silver, and copper, and for the completion of the melting furnaces	<hr/>	2,700
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* Under this head are comprehended fire-wood and stationary, together with printing work, and all the contingent expences of the two houses of Congress, rent and office expences of the three several departments, viz, Treasury, State and War, and also for the Mint of the United States.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,

	Dols.	Cts.
War, per statement	800	
to the war department	400	
	1,200	
	23,258	33
Total Dollars	397,201	6

An additional Estimate, for making good deficiencies for the support of the Civil List establishment, for the fund appropriated for the payments of certain officers of the courts, Jurors and Witnesses, for the support of the Light-houses, and for other purposes.

	Dols.	Cts.
To make good deficiencies for the support of the Civil List for the year 1793.		
Extra clerk-hire, in the office of the Secretary of State, in preparing documents for Congress	600	
For an index to the laws of the 2d Congress	200	
	800	
The Secretary at War, his estimates to make good so much short, estimated, for contingent expenses for the year 1793,	305	76
Additional compensation from 1st Oct. 1793, to 31st December following, to certain public officers, by act passed the second of March, 1793*.		
Auditor of the Treasury, at 500 dols. per ann.	125	300
Commissioners of the Revenue, ditto	125	
Comptroller of the Treasury, at 500 dols. per annum	62	50
Register of the Treasury, ditto	62	50
	375	
	1,380	76

* By the said act, this additional compensation commenced the first of 1793, the two quarters preceding the first Oct. 1793, were paid out of the 5,169 dollars, granted in the appropriation of 1,529,044 76-100 dollars purpose of discharging claims admitted in due course of settlement of duty.

OF THE UNITED STATES.

Expenses of Commissioners of Loans for Clerk-hire and
from 1st March 1793, to 31st December 1793

The accounts of many of the said commissioners
submitted to the treasury, under an idea that legis-
lation will be made for defraying the said expences, the
amount, extracted from their said accounts, so far as
has been rendered, will shew the amount thereof at each
year, viz,

Dols. Cts.
NEW-HAMPSHIRE, Estimate 697 1

MASSACHUSETTS,
Amount rendered in the month of March 326 12
do from 1st April to 30 June - 816 97
do from 1st July to 30th Sept. - 865 85
do from 1st October to 1st December,
the same as the preceding quarter - 865 85
2,874 79

RHODE-ISLAND,
Amount rendered from 1st March to 31st do. 68 83
do from 1st April to 30th June - 190 74
do from 1st July to 31st Dec. - 381 48
641 5

CONNECTICUT.
Amount rendered from 1st March to 30th
June - 408 94
do from 1st July to 30th Sept. - 256 52
do from 1st Oct. to 31st Dec. - 256 52
921 98

NEW-YORK.
Amount rendered from 1st March to 31st
March - 515
do from 1st April to 30th June - 1,430 38
do from 1st July to 30th Sept. - 1,303 81
do from 1st Oct. to 31st Dec. - 1,303 81
4,553

NEW-JERSEY.
Amount rendered from 1st March to 31st
March - 26
do to 30th June - 8
do to 30th Sept. - 54 52
do to 31st Dec. - 54 52
221 4

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

PENNSYLVANIA.

	Dols	Cts.
rendered from 1st March to 31st do.	154	16
do from 1st April to 31st Dec.	1,317	44
	<hr/>	1,541 60

DELAWARE.

rendered from 1st March to 31st do.	25	
do from 1st April to 31st Dec.	225	
	<hr/>	250

MARYLAND.

Account rendered from 1st to 31st March	110	50
do from 1st April to 31st Dec.	991	50
	<hr/>	1,102

VIRGINIA.

Account rendered from 1st to 31st March	227	16
do. from 1st April to 30th June	741	19
do. from 1st July to 30th September	649	5
Estimate from 1st Oct. to 31st Dec.	649	5
	<hr/>	2,266 45

NORTH-CAROLINA.

Estimate from 1st March to 31st Dec. 1793	800
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SOUTH-CAROLINA.

Account rendered from 1st to 31st March	127	47
do. from 1st April to 30th June	377	50
do. from 1st July to 30th September	380	43
Estimate from 1st Oct. to 31st December	380	43
	<hr/>	1,265 83

GEORGIA.

Estimate from 1st March to 31st Dec. 1793	240
For clerk-hire and stationary of the several state commissioners of loans, from 1st Janu- ary, 1794, to the 31st of Decem. follow- ing, estimated on a reference to the claims exhibited and referred to in the above statement, at	<hr/>
	11,622 25

CLERKS of COURTS, JURIES, WITNESSES, &c.
The fund arising from fines, forfeitures and pe-
nalties, having last year proved insufficient for
the discharge of the accounts of clerks, &c. to

OF THE UNITED STATES.

which they were appointed, a sum for the present year is estimated, in order to provide against a similar contingency, of	I ,000
For the maintenance and support of light-houses, beacons, public piers and steakage of channels, bars and shoals, and for occasional improvements in the construction of lanterns, and of the lamps and materials used therein	20,000
To make good a deficiency in the estimate for 1792, for the same objects	4,000
	<hr/> 24,000
For the expences towards the safe-keeping and prosecuting of persons committed for offences against the United States	4,000
For the purchase of hydrometers for the use of the officers of the Customs and Inspectors of Revenue for the year 1794	1,500
	<hr/> 5,500

FOR THE COINAGE OF COPPER AT THE MINT OF THE UNITED STATES.

To replace so much advanced at the Bank of the United States, for the purpose of an importation of copper, under the superintendency of the Director of the Mint	10,000
To pay for copper purchased in the year 1793	7,350
For the purchase of ditto 1794	7,350
	<hr/> 24,700

Amount of Pension due to the Widow and Orphan children of Col. John Harding,

For their allowance from 1st of July 1792, to the 31st of Dec. 1793, per act of Congress, dated Feb. 27, 1793, at 450 dollars per annum	675
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Amount of Pension due to the Orphan children of Major Alexander Truman

For the allowance from 1st July, 1792, to the 31st Dec. 1793, per act of Congress, dated 27th Feb. 1793, at 300 dollars per annum	450
demnification of the estimate of the	<hr/> 1,125

general Green, for certain bonds
due by him, during the late war,
recipies of the act of Congress for
dated 27th April, 1792

K K

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

nce stated by the Auditor of the Treas-
 be due to said estate, in which is in-
 interest due on bonds from their dates,
 April 1793 - - - - -
 For the expences incident to the stating
 the public accounts for the year
 1793, in compliance with the order of the
 use of Representatives, of 30th Dec. 1791
 For the discharge of such demands against the
 United States, not otherwise provided for, as
 shall have been ascertained and admitted in
 due course of settlement at the treasury, and
 which are of a nature according to the usage
 thereof to require payment in specie - - - 64

Total 1

Estimate of the Expences of the War Department, for the y

AMOUNT OF PAY.

General Staff	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The first sub-legion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
second sub-legion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
third sub-legion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
fourth sub-legion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Subsistence	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Forage	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Cloathing	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Equipments for the Cavalry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Horses for the Cavalry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bounty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hospital department	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

For the salaries of store-keepers at the different Arse-
 nals - - - - -
 Rents - - - - -
 Labourers, &c. - - - - -
 The expences of new carriages for 230 pieces of brass
 field artillery, at the different arsenals of the United
 States, averaged at 140 dollars each - - -

OF THE UNITED STATES.

	Dols.	C
The expences of new carriages for 134 iron cannon, gunnison carriages, averaged at 50 dollars each	6,700	
The expence of 20 mortar beds, at 40 dols. each	800	
Repairs of 14,000 arms at two dollars each	28,000	
Clearing of 12,000 do. at 25 cents, in the different arsenals	3,000	
Repairs of fortifications at West Point	10,000	
The expence of casting 50 brass field pieces out of the useless mortars	2,500	
One hundred tons of lead, at 8. 2-3 dols. per hundred	17,333	34
Seventy-five tons of gun-powder, at 20 dols. per hundred	30,000	
One thousand rifled muskets, at 12 dols. each	12,000	
Equipments for cavalry	8,250	
Five thousand knapsacks, at 50 cents each	5,000	
Ten thousand cartridge boxes, at one dollar each	10,000	
Two thousand tents, at 10 dollars each	20,000	
One hundred horseman's tents, at 20 dollars each	2,000	
Twenty officers marquees, at 150 dollars each	3,000	
For a magazine and buildings proper to constitute a magazine and arsenal above Albany, in the state of New York	5,000	
For the purchase of ground for ditto	1,000	
For the same objects in a suitable position above the hills of Delaware	6,000	
Defensive protection of the frontiers	130,000	
For defraying the expences of the Indian department	50,000	
Quarter Masters department	150,000	
Contingencies of War department	30,000	
Invalid Pensioners	80,239	55

Total. Dollars 1,457,833 69

Circumstances having rendered it necessary to attend to the defence of the frontiers, as well as the fortifications of the principal ports of the United States, a considerable addition must be made to this estimate for the present year.

TOTAL EXPENDITURE.

On the 6th of these estimates relating to the civil list, disburse for the support of government during the year 1794, including the incidental and expences of the several departments and

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	Dols.
Second relating to certain deficiencies in appropriations for the support of government, provision in aid of the fund heretofore established for the compensation of certain officers of the courts, jurors, witnesses, &c. to the maintenance of light-houses, beacons, buoys and public piers, and to certain other purposes therein specified—	147,1
The third relating to the department of war, comprehending the probable expenditure of that department for the year 1794, including certain extraordinary for buildings, repairs, arms and military stores, amounting to 202,783 dollars and 34 cents, and a sum of 80,239 dollars and 55 cents, for pensions to invalids,	1,457,1
Total amount	2,002,1

FINANCES.

The funds, out of which appropriations may be made for the foregoing purposes, are—1st. The sum of 600,000 dollars reserved annually for the support of government, out of the duties on imports and tonnage, by the act making provision for the support of the United States, and which will accrue in the year 1794. The surplus of revenue and income beyond the appropriations heretofore charged thereupon, to the end of the same year. The statement herewith submitted, shews a surplus to the year 1793, of 75,334,212 dollars, and 82 cents, which it is believed will be raised upon.

Statement of the Revenue of the United States, and Appropriations thereon to the end of the year 1793.

REVENUE.

	Dols.
Proceeds of the duties on imports and tonnage, and on licenses, penalties and forfeitures, from the commencement of the present government to the 31st of December 1791	6,534,
Proceeds of duties on spirits distilled within the United States, for half a year, ending the 31st of Dec. 1791, agreeable to accounts settled at the treasury	142,1

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Dols. Cts.

Proceeds of duties on imports and tonnage, and of fines, penalties, and forfeitures for the year 1792, agreeable to accounts settled at the treasury	4,615,559
Proceeds of duties on spirits distilled within the United States in the year 1792, agreeable to accounts settled at the treasury 294,344 35, to which add the difference between the said sum, and the amount estimated for 1792, for accounts remain- to be settled 105,655 dollars and 65 cents	400,000
Proceeds of duties on imports and tonnage, and of fines, penalties and forfeitures for the year 1793, estimated nearly the same as for the year 1792	4,617,510
Proceeds of duties on spirits distilled within the United States, in the year 1793, estimated at the same as for the year 1792	400,000
Cash received into the treasury to the end of the 1791, from fines, penalties and forfeitures, and for balances	11,335 98
Cash received into the treasury to the end of the year 1792, for arms and accoutrements sold, fines and penalties, balance of accounts settled, and on account of the dividend declared by the bank of the United States, to June 30, 1792	21,860 87
Cash received into the treasury during the year 1793, on account of patents, 630 dollars of cents and half cents coined at the mint, 1,154 3-100 dol- lars, balances due under the government 8,448, 58-100 dollars; and on account of dividends declared by the bank of the United States, from the 1st of July, 1792, to the 30th of June, 1793, 38,500 dollars	48,732 61
Estimated product of the dividend to be declared from the 1st of July to the 31st of Dec. 1793, be- yond the interest payable to the bank on the loan of two millions	10,000
	<hr/> 16,801,112 1

APPROPRIATIONS.

Dates of Acts.	Dols.
1789, Aug. 20. For treaties with the Indians	
Sept. 29. For the service of the year 179	
1790, Mar. 26. For the support of governm	
the year 1790	

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

	Dols.	Cts
1. For intercourse with foreign nations, for the years 1790, 1791, and 1792	120,000	
For satisfying the claims of John M'Cord - - -	1,309	7
22. For treaties with certain Indian tribes	20,000	
Aug. 4. For interest on the debts, foreign and domestic, for the year 1791, esti- mated at - - -	2,060,861	4
For ditto ditto 1792 - - -	2,849,194	7
For ditto ditto 1793 - - -	2,849,194	7
For the establishment of cutters	10,000	
10. For finishing the light-house on Portland-head - - -	1,500	
For the relief of disabled soldiers and seamen, and certain other persons	548	3
12. For sundry objects - - -	233,219	5
For the reduction of the public debt, being surplus of revenue to the end of the year 1790	1,374,656	-
1791, Feb. 11. For the support of government du- ring the year 1791, and for other purposes - - -	740,232	4
March 3. For a recognition of the treaty with Morocco - - -	20,000	
For compensations to the officers of the judicial courts, jurors, and wit- nesses, and for other purposes; be- ing net proceeds of fines, penalties and forfeitures to the end of the year 1791 - - -	4,055	3
For raising and adding another regi- ment to the military establish- ment, and for making farther pro- vision for the protection of the frontiers - - -	312,686	20
Dec. 31. For the support of government for the year 1792 - - -	1,059,222	81
1792, April 2. For finishing the light-house on Baldhead - - -	4,000	
For the mint establishment - - -	7,000	
13. For compensating the corporation of trustees of the public grammar school and academy of Wilmington	2,533	64

OF THE UNITED STATES.

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Dols. Cts.

May 2.	For the protection of the frontiers, and other purposes - - -	673,500	
	For interest at 400,000 dollars receiv- ed on account of a loan from the bank of the United States of 523,500 dollars, to Dec. 31, 1793	28,753	41
8.	For fundry objects - - -	84,497	90
	For compensating the services of the late Col. George Gibson -	1,000	
	For an advance on account of the claim of John Brown Cutting - -	2,000	
1793, Feb. 9.	For intercourse with foreign nations for the year 1793 - - -	40,000	
28.	For the service of the year 1793	1,589,044	72
	For interest on a loan of 800,000 dol- lars from the bank of the United States, to 31st Dec. 1793 -	18,333	
	For defraying the expence of clerks of courts, jurors and witnesses, be- ing the net proceeds of fines, pe- nalties and forfeitures, to the end of the year 1792 - - -	301	46
March 2.	For treaties with the Indian tribes north west of the river Ohio	100,000	
	For the relief of Elijah Bostwick	145	42
	For defraying certain specific de- mands - - - -	59,107	41
		<hr/>	
		14,266,899	41
Balance being the estimated surplus of revenue to the end of the year 1793, collected and to be collected, beyond the appropriations charged thereon		2,534,212	82
		<hr/>	
		Dols.	16,801,112 23

The product of the duties on imports and tonnage, for the pre-
sent year, is estimated, according to the ascertained amount, in the
preceding year. This estimate is justified by the abstract her
also submitted, exhibiting the product for the two first
the present year, as founded on returns received
being 2,568,870 dollars and 22 cents, The pro

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

arters is not computed as high as that of the the circumstances and information render it probable; less, and that the drawbacks payable within the more considerable than those payable within the . The ascertained product of 1792, the rates of e same, is deemed the safest guide. Some savings um appropriated for different purposes may render ated surplus more considerable than is stated: but the extent of these savings cannot be deemed very great, their amount (these purposes not being yet fully satisfied) can not be pronounced. If the product of the year 1794, should equal that of the present year, the fund will be more than sufficient for the appropriation proposed to be charged upon it. If this cannot entirely be counted upon, it is hoped that a reliance may be entertained of its proving at least adequate.

Abstract of the New Amount of Duties on Imports and Tonnage, which have accrued in the United States during the first and second Quarters of the Year 1793.

STATES.	1 st Qr. Ending 31 st March 1793.		2 ^d Qr. ending 30 th June		Total amount.	
	Dols.	Cents	Dols.	Cents.	Dols.	Cents
N. Hampshire	-	-	26.393	26	26.393	26
Massachusetts	7.823	52 3-4	340.621	5 3-4	348.444	58 1-4
Rhode Island	1.665	52	67,078	93	68.744	45
Connecticut	26,394	47	70,507	84	96,902	31
Vermont	-	-	-	-	-	-
New York	122,419	49	532,542	45	654,961	94
New Jersey	924	31	1,879	4	2,803	35
Pennsylvania	157,523	93	586,000	-	743,523	93
Delaware	129	7	2,319	71	2,448	78
Maryland	49,512	54 3-4	161,987	28 3-4	211,499	83 1-4
Virginia	40,993	15	104,182	62 1-2	145,175	77 1-2
Kentucky	-	-	-	-	-	-
N. Carolina	25,371	75 3-4	16,696	93	42,068	68 3-4
S. Carolina	91,040	54	106,547	64	197,588	18
Georgia	27,923	23	2,367	67	30,290	90
Deduct N Hamp	551,721	54 1-4	2,019,124	44	2,570,845	98 1-4
Vermont	1,893	42 1-2	-	-	-	-
	-	-	82	33	1,975	75 1-2
Net amount.	549,828	11 3-4	2,019,042	11	2,568,870	22 3-4

But there is a provision also to be made for the payment of interest on the balances found by the commissioners for settling ac-

counts between the United and individual States, in favour of certain States. The annual sum of interest upon those balances, is 1,028,973 - dollars and 8 cents, computed according to the proportions by which interest is adjusted on the assumed debt. If Congress shall think proper to make the requisite provision out of the duties on imports and tonnage, it will be necessary to its efficacy, that a priority be secured to it: an object which will require attention in making the appropriations above contemplated. It is considered, that there will be still no hazard of deficiency; and if there should be any, it would seem most proper, that it should fall on the appropriation for the current service, to be supplied, till further provision can be made, by a loan.

A provision for paying, during the year 1794, interest on such part of the domestic debt, as may remain unsubscribed, will come under a like consideration.

It appears proper, likewise, to notice, that no provision has yet been made, for paying the yearly interest, on the two million loan had of the bank of the United States. The bank has hitherto discounted the amount of that interest out of its dividends on the stock belonging to the United States, but for want of an approbation the business cannot receive a regular adjustment at the treasury. An appropriation of so much of the dividends as may be necessary towards the payment of the interest will obviate the difficulty.—The second instalment of that loan has been comprised in the foregoing view; because it is imagined that Congress may judge it expedient to provide for its payment out of the foreign fund, as they did with regard to the first instalment. The statement herewith also communicated, exhibits the present situation of that fund, shewing a balance unexpended of five hundred and seventy-seven thousand, two hundred and eighty-four dollars, and fifty-six cents, liable to the observation at the bottom thereof.

STATE OF MONIES transferred to the United States, out of the proceeds of Foreign Loans.

	Dr.
To this sum paid to France for the use of	
St Domingo - - - - - Dols.	726,020
Payment to France of 3 millions of livres, pursuant to an agreement with M. Ternat - - - - -	544,500
Also for miscellaneous purposes paid to M. Ternat - - - - -	49,400
Instalment due to France, September 3d, 1793, 1,500,000 livres - - -	270,250
No. V. L 1	

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Instalment due to France November 5th,

1793, 1,000,000 livres.

On which there has been paid Dols. 178,879 35

Balance to be paid - - 2,620 65

181,504

Payment made to foreign officers - -

Dols. 66,089 77

Reserved to be paid - - 185,227 13

191,311

This sum expended in purchases of the public debt, viz.

1793, Feb. 4, Dols. 50,000

Ditto 19, 234,901 89

Sept. 2, 5,000

334,90

Instalment to the bank of the United States

200,00

Balance subject to further disposition

577,28

Dols. 3,077,17

By this sum drawn by the treasurer on the commissioners in Amsterdam.

Cr.

Florins 5,649,621 8—2,305,769 13

From which deduct the amount of bills sold to the bank of the United States, afterwards surrendered

495,000 — 200,000

5,154,621 2-8 — 1,105,76

By this sum applied in Europe to the payment of interest, for which provision was made out of domestic funds, and thereby virtually drawn to the United States, viz.

Interest from the 1st of Feb. 1791, to the 1st of Dec. 1793, paid and to

be paid, Florins	2,940,790	13	
From which deduct			
this sum remitted			
from hence	536,565	4	
	<hr/>		
Florins	2,404,225	9*	at 36 4-11
			971,404 22
			<hr/>
			Dols. 3,077,173 35
			<hr/>

But in judging of the expediency of making the provision intimated, it is necessary to take into consideration, that on the first of June 1794, a second instalment of 1,000,000 of florins, of the capital of the Dutch debt, became payable; for which, by the last advices, it appeared problematical, owing to the situation of the affairs of Europe, whether provision could be made by a further loan. This circumstance is an obstacle, to the immediate application of the residue of the foreign fund according to its destination—that being the only resource yet provided, out of which the instalment of the Dutch debt can be paid, if a farther loan cannot be procured in time. More decisive information on the point may every day be expected.

In the mean time, no inconvenience can ensue from applying a portion of that residue to the payment of the instalment of the two million loan—the degree in which it will intrench upon the means in possession for satisfying the ensuing instalment of the Dutch debt, being easily susceptible of a substitute. And there will be time enough for providing one, if a loan should not be obtained.

By an arrangement made with the bank, the interest of the first instalment ceased the last of December 1792, though the payment could not legally be consummated till July following.

A provision for payment on the second instalment at the end of the present year will continue this desirable course, and work a public saving; though, owing to the long credits given for the duties, anticipations of their proceeds, by temporary loans, may be necessary to the being prepared for the exigences of the current service.

Thus the present eligible situation of the United States, compared to that of Great Britain, or Europe at large, as it respects taxes or contributions, for the payment of all public charges, appears manifest.

* The precise account of sums thus paid for interest, cannot be definitively pronounced till the completion of the settlement of foreign accounts, now going on at the treasury.

In the United States, the average proportion of his earnings, which each citizen pays per annum, for the support of the civil, military, and naval establishments, and for the discharge of the interest of the public debts of his country, &c. is about one dollar and a quarter. In Great Britain, the taxes of these objects, on an average, amount to above two guineas per annum to each person. Hence it appears, that in the United States they enjoy the blessings of a free government and mild laws, of personal liberty, and protection of property, for nearly one tenth part of the sum which is paid in England for the purchase of similar benefits, too generally without the attainment of them. The American citizen likewise has the prospect of the taxes, which he pays, small as they are, being lessened, while the subjects of all the old European governments can have no expectation but of their burdens being increased.

SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

THIS Society, instituted immediately on the close of the war, in 1783, has made so much noise both in Europe and America, and has derived such dignity and importance from the characters who compose it, that it is thought proper to insert the institution at large, for the information of the uninformed, and for the gratification of the respectable members of the Cincinnati, who wish to have their friendly and charitable intentions fully understood by all classes of their fellow citizens.

It originated with General Knox, who, with the good intention of reconciling the minds of his military brethren to the private life on which they were soon to enter, projected the plan. Knox imparted his proposals to certain officers. They were afterward communicated to the several regiments of the respective lines, and an officer from each was appointed, who, with the generals, should take the same into consideration at a meeting to be held on the 10th of May, at which Baron Stuben, the senior officer present, presided. At the next meeting on the 13th, the plan, having been revised, was accepted. The substance of it was—"The officers of the American army do hereby, in the most solemn manner, associate, constitute, and combine themselves, into one *Society of Friends*, to endure as long as they shall endure, or ANY OF THEIR ELDEST MALE POSTERITY; and in failure thereof, THE COLLATERAL BRANCHES, WHO MAY BE JUDGED WORTHY OF BECOMING ITS SUPPORTERS AND MEMBERS.—The officers of the American Army, having generally been taken from the citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, LUCIUS QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS, and

being resolved to follow his example, by returning to their citizenship, they think they may with propriety denominate themselves The Society of the Cincinnati. The following principles shall be immutable—an incessant attention to preserve inviolate the exalted rights and liberties of human nature, for which they have fought and bled—An unalterable determination to promote and cherish between the respective states, union and national honour—To render permanent, cordial affection, and the spirit of brotherly kindness among the officers—and to extend acts of beneficence toward those officers and their families, who may unfortunately be under the necessity of receiving it. The general society will, for the sake of frequent communications, be divided into state societies; and those again into such districts as shall be directed by the state societies. The state societies shall meet on the fourth of July annually, and the general society on the first Monday in May annually, so long as they shall deem it necessary, and afterward at least once in every three years. The state societies to have a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and assistant-treasurer. The meeting of the general society shall consist of its officers, and a representation from each state society, in number not exceeding five, whose expences shall be borne by their respective state societies. In the general meeting, the president, vice-president, secretary, assistant-secretary, treasurer, and assistant-treasurers-general, shall be chosen to serve until the next meeting. Those officers who are foreigners, are to be considered as members in the societies of any of the states in which they may happen to be. As there are and will at all times be men in the respective states eminent for their abilities and patriotism, whose views may be directed to the same laudable objects with those of the Cincinnati, it shall be a rule to admit such characters, as honorary members of the society for their own lives only: provided that the number of the honorary members do not exceed a ratio of one to four of the officers and their descendants. The society shall have an *order*, by which its members shall be known and distinguished, which shall be a medal of gold of a proper size to receive the proposed emblems, and to be suspended by a deep blue ribbon, two inches wide, edged with white, descriptive of the union of America and France.”

The society at the said meeting directed, that the president-general should transmit, as soon as might be, to each of the following characters, a medal containing the order of the society, viz, the chevalier de la Luzerne, the Sieur Gerard, the count d'Estaing, the count de Grasse, the count de Barras, the chevalier d'Estouches, the count de Rochambeau, and the generals and colonels in the army; and should acquaint them, that “the society

do themselves the honor to consider them as members. They also resolved, that the members of the several state societies should assemble as soon as might be for the choice of their officers: "that general Heath, baron Steuben, and general Knox, be a committee to wait on the commander in chief, with a copy of the institution, and request him to honor the society by placing his name at the head of it." They likewise desired general Heath, to transmit copies of the institution with the proceedings thereon to the commanding officer of the southern army, the senior officer in each state, from Pennsylvania to Georgia inclusive, and to the commanding officer of the Rhode-Island line, requesting them to take such measures as may appear to them necessary for expediting the establishment of their state societies. Circular letters were accordingly written; and the plan of the Cincinnati carried into execution, without the least opposition being given to it by any one state, or body of men in any.

A pamphlet was at length published, signed CASSIUS, dated Charleston, October 10, 1783, entitled, Considerations on the Society or order of Cincinnati; with this motto, "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion." It was thought to have been written by Ædinus Burke, Esq. one of the chief justices of South Carolina; and is well executed. The author undertook to prove that the Cincinnati erected two distinct orders among the Americans—1st, a race of hereditary nobles, founded on the military, together with the powerful families, and first-rate leading men in the state, whose view it would ever be, to rule; and 2dly, The people or plebians, whose only view was, not to be oppressed; but whose fate it would be to suffer oppression under the institution. Remarking upon the reason for the members being called the Cincinnati, he exclaims—"As they were taken from the citizens, why in the name of God not be contented to return to citizenship, without usurping an hereditary order? or with what propriety can they denominate themselves from Cincinnati, with an ambition to rank as to aim at nothing less, than *Ottum cum Dignitate*, ret cement and a peerage? Did that virtuous Roman, having subdued the enemies of his country, and returned home to tend his vineyards and plant his cabbages, confer an hereditary order of peerage on himself and his fellow soldiers? I answer No; it was more than he dared to do. When near the end he says,—With regard to myself, I will be candid to own, that although I am morally certain the institution will entail upon us the evils I have mentioned, yet I have not the most distant idea that it will come to a dissolution. The first class, or leading gentry in the state [of South Carolina] and who will always hold the government, will find their interest in supporting a distinction that

It gratify their ambition, by removing them far above their fellow citizens. The middling order of our gentry, and substantial landholders, may see its tendency; but they can take no step to oppose it, having little to do with government. And the lower class, with the city populace, will never reason on it till they feel the smart, and then they will have neither the power nor capacity for a reformation."

The alarm became general, the extreme jealousy of the new republics, suspected danger from the union of the leaders of their late army, and especially from a part of the institution which held out to their posterity the honor of being admitted members of the same society. To obviate all grounds of jealousy and fear, the general meeting of the society recommended an alteration of their institution to the state societies, which had been adopted. By this recommendation it was proposed to expunge EVERY THING THAT WAS HEREDITARY, and to retain little else than their original name, and a social charitable institution for perpetuating their personal friendship, and relieving the wants of their indigent brethren.

The INSTITUTION of the SOCIETY, as altered and amended at their first General Meeting at PHILADELPHIA, May, 1784.

"IT having pleased the supreme governor of the universe to give success to the arms of our country, and to establish the United States free and independent: Therefore, gratefully to commemorate this event—to inculcate to the latest ages the duty of laying down in peace, arms assumed for public defence, by forming an institution which recognizes that most important principle—to continue the mutual friendships which commenced under the pressure of common danger, and to effectuate the acts of beneficence, dictated by the spirit of brotherly kindness, towards those officers and their families, who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving them; the officers of the American army do hereby constitute themselves into *A society of Friends*: and, possessing the highest veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, *Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus*, denominate themselves THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

SECT. I. 'The persons who constitute this society, are all the commissioned and brevet officers of the army and navy of the United States, who have served three years, and who left the service with reputation; all officers who were in actual service at the conclusion of the war; all the principal staff-officers of the continental army; and the officers who have been deranged by

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the several resolutions of Congress, upon the different parts of the army.

SECT. II. 'There are also admitted into this society late and present ministers of his most christian majesty of the United States; all the generals and colonels of regiments, legions of the land forces; all the admirals and captains of navy, ranking as colonels, who have co-operated with the of the United States in their exertions for liberty; and such persons as have been admitted by the respective state-meetings.

SECT. III. 'The society shall have a president, vice-president, secretary, and assistant secretary.

SECT. IV. 'There shall be a meeting of the society, once in three years, on the first Monday in May, at such place the president shall appoint.

'The said meeting shall consist of the aforesaid officers. The expences shall be equally borne by the state funds, and contribution from each state.

'The business of this general meeting shall be—to regulate the distribution of surplus funds; to appoint officers for the next term—and to conform the bye-laws of state meetings to the several objects of the institution.

SECT. V. 'The society shall be divided into state-meetings. Each meeting shall have a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, respectively to be chosen by a majority of the members annually.

SECT. VI. 'The state meetings shall be on the anniversary of independence. They shall concert such measures as conduce to the benevolent purposes of the society; and the several state meetings shall, at suitable periods, make application to their respective legislatures for grants of charters.

SECT. VII. 'Any member removing from one state to another, is to be considered, in all respects, as belonging to the meeting of the state in which he shall actually reside.

SECT. VIII. 'The state-meeting shall judge of the qualification of its members, admonish, and, if necessary, expel any who may conduct himself unworthily.

SECT. IX. 'The secretary of each state-meeting shall transmit the names of the members resident in each state, and transmit a copy thereof to the secretary of the society.

SECT. X. 'In order to form funds for the relief of unfortunate members, their widows and orphans, each officer shall contribute to the treasurer of the state-meeting, one month's salary.

SECT. XI. 'No donation shall be received but from the members of the United States.

SECT. XII. 'The funds of each state-meeting shall be loaned to the state, by permission of the legislature, and the interest only, annually be applied for the purposes of the society; and if, in process of time, difficulties should occur in executing the intentions of this society, the legislatures of the several states shall be entitled to make such equitable disposition as may be most correspondent with the original design of the constitution.

SECT. XIII. 'The subjects of his most Christian majesty, members of this society, may hold meetings at their pleasure, and form regulations for their police, conformable to the objects of the institution, and to the spirit of their government.

SECT. XIV. 'The society shall have an order; which shall be an eagle of gold, suspended by a deep blue ribbon, edged with white, descriptive of the union of America and France, bearing on its breast the emblems described, as follows.

'The principal figure to be CINCINNATUS, three senators presenting him with a sword and other military ensigns; On a field in the back ground his wife standing at the door of the cottage; near it a plough, and other instruments of husbandry. Round the whole, *omnia reliquit servare rempublicam*. On the reverse, the sun rising, a city with open gates, and vessels entering the port; Fame crowning *Cincinnatus* with a wreath, inscribed, *virtutis præmium*. Below, hands joining, supporting a heart, with the motto, *est perpetua*. Round the whole, *Societas Cincinnatorum, instituta A. D. 1783.*'

AGRICULTURE.

THE three important objects of attention in the United States are agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. The richness of the soil, which amply rewards the industrious husbandman: the temperature of the climate, which admits of steady labour; the cheapness of land, which tempts the foreigner from his native home, lead us to consider agriculture as the present great leading interest of that country. This furnishes outward cargoes, not only for all their own ships, but for those also which foreign nations send to their ports; or in other words, it pays for all their importations; it supplies a great part of the clothing of the inhabitants, and food for them and their cattle. What is consumed at home, including the materials, for manufacturing, is four or five times the value of what is exported.

The number of people employed in agriculture, is at least three parts in four of the inhabitants of the United States; some say

more. It follows of course that they form the body of the militia, who are the bulwark of the nation. The value of their property occupied by agriculture, is many times greater than the property employed in every other way. The settlement of waste lands, the subdivision of farms, and the numerous improvements in husbandry, annually increase the pre-eminence of the agricultural interest. The resources they derive from it, are at all times certain and indispensably necessary: besides, the rural life promotes health, by its active nature; and morality, by keeping the people from the luxuries and vices of the populous town. In short, agriculture is the spring of their commerce, and the parent of manufactures.

COMMERCE.

THE vast extent of sea-coast, which spreads before the confederated States; the number of excellent harbours and sea-port towns they possess: the numerous creeks and immense bays, which indent the coast: and the rivers, lakes, and canals, which penetrate the whole country; added to its agricultural advantages and improvements, give this part of America superior advantages for trade. Their commerce, including their exports, imports, shipping, manufactures, and fisheries, may properly be considered as forming one interest. This has been considered as the great object, and the most important interest of the New England States.

Since commerce has ever been considered as the handmaid of agriculture, particularly in America, where the agricultural interest so greatly predominates; and since neither can flourish without the other, policy and interest point out the necessity of such a system of commercial and agricultural regulations, as will originate and effectually preserve a proper connection and balance between them.

The consumption of fish, oil, whale-bone, and other articles obtained through the fisheries, in the towns and countries that are convenient for navigation, has become much greater than is generally supposed. It is computed that no less than five thousand barrels of mackerel, salmon, and pickled codfish, are vendible annually in the city of Philadelphia: add to them the dried fish, oil, spermaceti candles, whale-bone, &c. and it will be found that a little fleet of sloops and schooners are employed in the business.

The demand for the forementioned articles is proportionably great in the other parts of the union, especially in Boston and the

large commercial towns that lie along the coast north-eastward, which enter largely into the fishing trade, and the vessels employed in transporting them proportionably numerous. The increase of their towns and manufactures will increase the demand for these articles, and of course the number of coasting vessels. In the present state of their navigation, they can be in no doubt of procuring these supplies by means of their own vessels. This will afford encouragement to the business of ship-building, and increase the number of their seamen, who must hereafter form an important part of the defence of their country. Add to these, their prospects from the fur trade of Canada. The vast settlements which are making at Pittsburgh, Genesee, and in other parts in the neighbourhood of Canada; the advantages of their inland navigation, by means of the lakes, the northern branches of the Ohio, the Potomac, the Susquehannah and the Hudson, with many other circumstances depending not only on the situation, but likewise on the climate, proximity, &c. must, in a few years, put a large share of the fur trade into their hands, and procure them, at least, a proportionable share of the large profits thence arising, which Canada, since the year 1763, has enjoyed almost exclusively. These advantages, however, are still but in prospect; and must remain so until the British, agreeable to the treaty of peace, shall have evacuated the forts at Niagara, the large settlements of the Heights, and that of Michilimackinac. Although the British, by the treaty of peace, are to enjoy with the Americans the portages of the navigation of the lakes, yet, should a dispute arise, it will not be convenient for the former to contest it; for the northern and north-eastern parts of the continent included in the British limits, are much colder, more mountainous and poorer than the United States, and have no rivers, but such as are full of rapids and falls: consequently, this trade cannot be carried on by the Canadians with the same facility nor advantage as by the Americans. Still England will have left the exclusive right to the communication from Montreal with the High-lands, through the large river of the Ottawas, which flows into the river St. Lawrence at the lake of the Two Mountains, nine miles from that city; but its rapids and falls render this way, if not impracticable, at least always very expensive and precarious.

The quantity of furs, deer and elk skins, annually imported from the northern parts of America to England, is prodigious. In 1784, the amount of sales for furs was more than two hundred and forty-five thousand pounds. It has not equalled this every year since, but has seldom varied more than from ten

twenty thousand pounds.—When we consider the number of animals destroyed to furnish such extensive products, the mind feels itself lost in contemplating the vast tract of country that could afford an habitation for them.

The following is a Correct statement of the number of furs, &c. exposed to sale in London, in the present year, 1794, and which may be taken as a fair average of the annual importations for ten years past.

191,452 raccoon	10,580 fox
22,354 bear	740 wolvern
27,670 martin	90,600 musquash
145,720 beaver	7,798 rabbit and white hare
25,890 otter	10,785 kidd
6,700 fisher	161,371 deer
18,760 cat	470 elk
32,540 mink	720 seals
9,790 wolf	983 lamb.

To these must be added a small quantity of furs, and about six or eight thousand deer not yet sold, the vessel having been delayed on her passage. In this enumeration, the quantity imported by the Hudson's Bay Company is not noticed. Of these we shall speak when treating of that part of the British settlements.—The chief of these furs are paid for in English manufactures.—Not more than a fourth part of them, beaver and deer skin excepted, if so much, are done any thing more to in England than beat, sorted, and re packed; a great portion are re shipped to Germany, and dispersed through the various parts of the Empire, France, &c. Some are shipped from London direct for France, and some to Russia, China, &c. at immense profits.

This valuable trade, which is carried on through Quebec, will a great part of it fall into the hands of the Americans, as soon as the fortifications, which the British possess in their northern territories, shall be reduced. To this consideration, rather than to the pretended commission for the Royalists, may be attributed the delay of that restoration. The period when this restitution *must* be made, is however arrived, a period which the British government have long anticipated with sorrow. Such are some of the commercial resources and prospects of the United States.

But for various reasons, the advantages for trade, which nature has so liberally given the Americans, have never, till since the establishment of the present government, been properly improved. Before the revolution, Great Britain claimed an exclusive right to the trade of her American colonies. This right, which she in fact maintained, enabled her to fix her own price, and to

the articles which she purchased from them, as upon those of her own manufactures exported for their consumption. The carrying trade, too, was preserved almost exclusively in her own hands, which afforded a temptation to the carriers, that was often too powerful to be withstood, to exact exorbitant commissions and freights. Although we will not even hazard a conjecture how much Great Britain enriched herself by this exclusive trade with her colonies, yet this we may say, that by denying them the privilege of carrying their own produce to foreign markets, she deprived them of the opportunity of realizing, in their full extent, the advantages for trade which nature has given them.

The late war, which brought about the separation from Great Britain, threw the commercial affairs of America into great confusion. The powers of the old confederation were unequal to the complete execution of any measures, calculated effectually to recover them from their deranged situation. Through want of power in the old Congress to collect a revenue for the discharge of their foreign and domestic debt, their credit was destroyed, and trade of consequence greatly embarrassed. Each state, in her defective regulations of trade, regarded her own interest, while that of the union was neglected. And so different were the interests of the several states, that their laws respecting trade often clashed with each other, and were productive of unhappy consequences. The large commercial States had it in their power to oppress their neighbours; and in some instances this power was directly exercised. These impolitic and unjustifiable regulations, formed on the impression of the moment, and proceeding from no uniform or permanent principles, excited unhappy jealousies between the clashing States, and occasioned frequent stagnations in their trade, and in some instances, a secrecy in their commercial policy. But the wise measures which have been adopted by Congress, under the present efficient government of the United States, have extricated them almost entirely from these embarrassments, and put a new and pleasing face upon their public affairs. Invested with the adequate powers, Congress have formed a system of commercial regulations, which enable them to place the opposers of their trade upon their own ground; a system which has placed their commerce on a respectable, uniform, and intelligible footing, adapted to promote the general interests of the Union, with the smallest injury to the individual States.

* countries with which the United States have had their commercial intercourse are Spain, Portugal, France, Great United Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden, and an possessions, Russia, &c. &c. &c. and the articles

of export which constitute, at present, the basis of that
are as follows:

ORES, METALS, &c.

Copper Ore	Skimmers and ladles
Pig	Anchors
Sheet	Grappails
Manufactured	Muskets
Iron, the ton	Cutlasses
Pig	Knives and forks
Shot for cannon	Chests of carpenters to
Bar	Nails
Nail rods, &c.	Waggon boxes
Hoops	Pots, kettles, and other
Axes	Cannon
Hoes	Swivels
Drawing knives	Shot for cannon
Scythes	Lead, Sheet
Locks and bolts	Pig
Shovels	Shot

NAVAL STORES.

Hemp	Rosin
Cables and cordage	Turpentine
Pitch	Sail cloth
Tar	

PROVISIONS.

Rice	Dried fish
Flour	Pickled fish
Ship stuff	Cheese
Rye meal	Lard
Indian meal	Butter
Buckwheat meal	Sausages
Oat meal	Carcases of mutton
Mustard	Neats tongues
Bread	Oysters pickled
Beef	Potatoes
Pork	Onions
Crackers	Other vegetables.
Hams and bacon	Reeds
Venison and mutton hams.	

SPIRITS, WINES, &c.

	Madeira and other wine
ican	Bottled ditto
India	Vinegar
	Essence of Spruce
ch	Beer
	Ale
	Porter
	Ditto bottled

LIVE STOCK.

tle	Deer
	Hogs
	Poultry

DRUGS, MEDICINES, &c.

	Sassafras wood or root
and snake root	Genfang, &c. &c.

GROCERIES.

innamon	Cocoa
	Chocolate
	Brown sugar
	Loaf sugar
	Other sugars
	Raisins

GRAIN SEEDS AND PULSE.

	Madder
	Garden seeds
	Hay seed
	Mustard seed
	Cotton seed
	Flax seed

ins

SKINS AND FURS.

cow hides	Beaver
	Martin

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

(Skins and Furs continued.)

Calf in hair	Mink
Moose and elk	Musquash
Deer skins	Cat
Seals	Fox
Bear, wolfe, and tyger	Wolveren
Otter	Squirrel, and
Raccoon,	Sundry other skins and

SADDLERY, AND OTHER ARTICLES IN LEATHER

Saddles, mens'	Shoes, mens' and women
Bridles	Boots
Whips	Boot legs
Coach and other carriage harness	Leather tanned and
Waggon and cart geers	

TIMBER WORK.

Frames of vessels	Frames of houses
snows	windows and doo
boats	

HOUSE FURNITURE.

Tables	Clocks
Bedsteads	Clock cases
Desks	Chests
Bureaus	Chairs, Windsor
Sophas and settees	Chairs, Rush

CARRIAGES.

Coachet,	Phaetons, &c.
Chariots.	Waggons and carts

WOOD.

Staves and heading	Boxes and brakes
Shingles	Blocks
Shook casks	Oars
Casks	Oars rafters
Laths	Trunnels
Hoops	Cedar and oak knees
Hoop-poles	Breast hooks
Masts	Carlings
Bowsprits	Anchor stocks
Booms	Cedar posts
Spars	Oak boards and plank

(Wood continued.)

	Pine balk
	Pine boards and plank
lank	Mast hoops
	Axe helves
.	Truss hoops
	Yokes and bowes for oxen
	Lock stocks
	Worm tubs
agua	Wheel barrows
d, &c.	Waggon and cart wheels
ory, &c.	Spokes and Fellies
t, hic-	Spinning wheels
	Tubs, pails, &c.
	Bowls, dishes, platters, &c.

MISCELLANEOUS.

	Nutts
	Oil whale
	Oil spermaceti
	Oil linseed
	Spirits of turpentine
	Porcelain or china ware
	Powder, gun
ck	Powder, hair
	Pomatum
	Paints
	Pipes
	Printing presses
	Printing types
x	Plaster of paris
	Soap
	Starch
i	Snuff
	Steel
	Silk, raw
	Silver, old
	Salt
	Stone ware
sticks	Feathers
ool-cards	Flints
	Grindstones
	Nankeens

N s

ABSTRACT OF DUTIES.

Arising on Goods, Wares, and Merchandise, imported into the United States; commencing on the 1st of ending the 30th of September 1791.

STATES	Gross Amount of Duties		Per cent on Value Imported in American Vessels		Per cent on Value Imported in Foreign Vessels		Total Amount of Duties		Expense of Collection.		Drawbacks.		Bounties.		Net Amount of Duties.	
	Dols.	Cts.	Dols.	Cts.	Dols.	Cts.	Dols.	Cts.	Dols.	Cts.	Dols.	Cts.	Dols.	Cts.	Dols.	Cts.
N. Hampshire	29,429.	41	45.	24	36.	49	20,010.	69	1553.	81	144.	91	311.	68	27,000.	29
Massachusetts	480,129.	47	10,528.	97	1,448.	95	47,049.	45	25,953.	83	11,130.	43	13,258.	00	420,707.	17
Rhode Island	115,359.	42	1,906.	37	15.	68	11,479.	72	4,924.	88	389.	10	1,043.	39	107,102.	35
Connecticut	117,738.	47	1,762.	49	1,653.	04	11,319.	07	5,593.	29	-	-	674.	19	106,351.	63
New York	639,165.	53	5,202.	65	15,565.	50	649,538.	38	13,460.	45	16,416.	33	117.	44	619,534.	16
New Jersey	7,162.	56	214.	49	-	-	6,918.	07	349.	38	-	-	-	-	6,598.	68
Pennsylvania	77,133.	37	10,162.	19	13,179.	85	77,151.	03	15,280.	48	5,915.	26	-	-	707,955.	29
Delaware	20,036.	52	571.	05	203.	67	19,669.	14	1,246.	96	138.	32	-	-	18,283.	86
Maryland	338,035.	25	4,798.	02	6,009.	70	339,246.	93	11,223.	62	5,058.	38	-	-	322,964.	92
Virginia	340,303.	03	5,143.	70	11,502.	56	340,661.	88	11,176.	49	461.	66	27.	90	334,995.	83
North Carolina	62,065.	11	781.	97	1,788.	52	63,071.	66	4,180.	78	29.	46	-	-	58,861.	42
South Carolina	239,912.	99	3,118.	34	8,166.	95	244,901.	61	10,879.	38	-	-	-	-	234,082.	23
Georgia	43,634.	91	334.	87	1,796.	59	43,096.	63	1,692.	77	18.	77	-	-	42,285.	09
Total	3,155,087.	09	144,980.	32	61,367.	63	3,171,474.	46	108,516.	72	40,808.	62	15,432.	51	3,006,712.	86

JOSEPH NURSE, Auditor.

The exports of the year ending 30th September 1792, amount-
in value to twenty-one millions, five thousand five hundred
and sixty-eight pounds, from which time they have been gradu-
ally on the increase.

The exports of the year ending 30th September 1793, amount-
to 26,000,000 of dollars, being an excess of 5,000,000 above
the preceding year.

The exports of the year ending 30th September 1794, exceeded
1,000,000 of dollars.

Mr. Tench Cox in his *View of the United States*, says, that
less than half the ships and vessels belonging to the United
States, are sufficient to transport all the commodities they con-
sume or import."

The imports of America, consist mostly of articles on which
European industry has been exhausted, an idea of their extent,
well as of that of the American navigation, depending on their
commerce, will appear by the following tables, containing ab-
stracts of duties on the imports, and on the tonnage of vessels en-
tered into the different ports of the United States, in the year
1791,

SUMMARY

ABSTRACT OF DUTIES.

Arising on GOODS, WARES, and MERCHANDISE, imported into the UNITED STATES; commencing ending the 30th of September 1791.

STATES	Gross Amount of Duties		Deduct on Imports from American Vessels		Addition of 10 per cent on Goods Imported in Foreign Vessels		Total Amount of Duties		Expence of collection		Drawbacks.	Bounties.	Net Amount Due	
	Dol.	Cts.	Dol.	Cts.	Dol.	Cts.	Dol.	Cts.	Dol.	Cts.				
N. Hampshire	29,429.	44	455.	24	36.	49	29,010.	69	1553.	81	144.	91.	27,000.	29
Massachusetts	480,129.	47	10,528.	97	1,448.	95	471,049.	45	25,953.	83	11,130.	43	420,707.	17
Rhode Island	115,350.	42	1,906.	37	15.	68	113,459.	78	4,944.	88	389.	10.	107,102.	35
Connecticut	112,728.	47	1,762.	49	1,653.	04	112,619.	02	5,593.	29	-	-	106,351.	53
New York	639,165.	53	5,202.	65	15,565.	50	649,528.	38	13,460.	45	16,416.	33	619,534.	16
New-Jersey	7,162.	56	214.	49	-	-	6,948.	07	349.	38	-	-	6,598.	68
Pennsylvania	7,713.	37	10,162.	19	13,179.	85	730,151.	03	15,280.	48	-	-	707,955.	29
Delaware	20,036.	52	571.	05	203.	67	19,669.	14	1,246.	96	138.	32.	18,283.	86
Maryland	338,035.	25	4,798.	02	6,009.	70	339,246.	93	11,223.	62	5,058.	38	322,964.	92
Virginia	340,303.	03	5,143.	70	11,502.	56	349,661.	38	11,176.	49	461.	66.	334,995.	83
North Carolina	62,065.	11	781.	97	1,788.	52	63,071.	66	4,180.	78	29.	45	58,861.	42
South Carolina	239,912.	99	3,118.	31	8,166.	95	244,961.	61	10,879.	38	-	-	234,082.	23
Georgia	43,634.	91	334.	87	1,796.	59	45,096.	63	2,592.	77	18.	77.	42,285.	09
TOTAL	1,220,880.	35	61,267.	51	108,516.	16	1,317,174.	26	108,516.	16	40,802.	52.	1,165,412.	61

STATES.	DENMARK.		SWEDEN AND RUSSIA.		TOTAL AMERICAN TONNAGE.		TOTAL FOREIGN TONNAGE.		TOTAL FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.	
	Tons.	95lbs.	Tons.	95lbs.	Tons.	95lbs.	Tons.	95lbs.	Tons.	95lbs.
N. Hampshire	-	-	-	-	13,028.	781.	888.	45	14,840.	1,670.
Massachusetts	531.	16	319.	92	172,084.	51	12,046.	60	196,215.	93
Rhode Island	-	-	-	-	29,110.	80	340.	60	29,627.	30
Connecticut	-	-	-	-	28,740.	48	1,726.	22	32,867.	9
New York	-	-	-	-	46,626.	71	3,098.	26	86,171.	23
New Jersey	-	-	-	-	5,234.	69	-	-	5,234.	69
Pennsylvania	219.	-	225.	32	53,186.	24	33,586.	71	86,773.	20
Delaware	-	-	-	-	5,797.	23	347.	83	7,873.	47
Maryland	497.	-	-	-	41,748.	74	2,354.	55	64,103.	34
Virginia	194.	43	-	-	42,750.	42	47,665.	86	90,416.	33
N. Carolina	-	-	136.	59	30,759.	11	14,309.	7	45,068.	28
S. Carolina	-	-	76.	54	27,197.	93	25,767.	79	52,965.	77
Georgia	-	-	-	-	7,796.	60	17,122.	45	24,919.	10
Total	1,441.	59	758.	47	379.	26	114,522.	75	1,737,075.	63

N. B. To this Statement of Tonnage of the Shipping of the United States, an addition must be made in proportion to the increase of the Exports, which will give an addition to the Tonnage for 1792 of more than 70,000 tons, and which we have reason to believe has increased, and will annually increase in a like proportion.

JOSEPH NOURSE, Registrar.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

It may be necessary here to notice the principal regulations, and prohibitions sustained by the United States in their trade with the different European kingdoms, in comparison with those sustained by them in their trade with the Spanish Dominions.

Of their commercial objects, SPAIN receives favorably American bread, stuff, salted fish, wood, ships, tar, pitch, and turpentine. On their meals, however, as well as on those of other countries, when re-exported on their colonies, they have imposed duties, of from half a dollar to two dollars the barrel, the duties being so proportioned to the current price of the flour, as that both together are to make the constant sum of two dollars per barrel.

They do not discourage the rice, pot and pearl ash, salted provisions, or whale oil of the United States; but these articles are in small demand at their markets, are carried thither but in a small degree. Their demand for rice, however, is increasing. Neither tobacco, nor indigo are received there. American commerce is permitted with their Canary Islands, under the same regulations.

The Spaniards, and their colonies, are the actual consumers of what they receive from the United States.

The navigation of the United States is free with the ports of Spain, foreign goods being received there in their own ships on the same conditions as if carried in their own, or in the ships of the country of which such goods are the manufacture or growth.

PORTUGAL receives favourably American grain, bread, stuff, fish, and other salted provisions, wood, tar, pitch and turpentine.

For flax-seed, pot and pearl-ash, though not discouraged, there is but a little demand.

American ships pay 20 per cent. on being sold to Portuguese subjects, and are then free bottoms.

Foreign goods, except those of the East Indies, are received on the same footing in American vessels, as in their own, or in others; that is to say, on general duties of from twenty to thirty per cent. and consequently their navigation is unobstructed by them. Tobacco, rice and meals are prohibited.

The Portuguese and their colonies consume what they receive from the American States.

These regulations extend to the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape Verde islands, except that in these, meals and rice are received freely.

FRANCE receives favourably American bread stuff, rice, turpentine, pot and pearl ashes.

A duty of five sous the hundred, or nearly four an hundred

aid on American tar, pitch, and turpentine. Whale oils pay x livres the kental, and are the only foreign whale oils admitted. If the states, indigo pays five livres on the kental; their own wo and an half: but a difference of quality, still more than a difference of duty, prevents its seeking that market.

Salted beef is received freely for re-exportation, but if for some consumption, it pays five livres the kental. Other salted provisions pay that duty in all cases, and salted fish is made lately to pay the prohibitory one of twenty livres in the kental.

American ships are free to carry to France all foreign goods which may be carried in their own or any other vessels, except tobaccos not the growth of the states; and they participate with the French ships in the exclusive carriage of whale oils and tobaccos.

During their former government, the tobacco was under a monopoly; but paid no duties, and American ships were freely sold in their ports, and converted into national bottoms. The first national assembly took from American ships this privilege: they emancipated tobacco from its monopoly, but subjected it to duties of eighteen livres fifteen sous the kental, carried in their own, and twenty-five livres if carried in American vessels, a difference more than equal to the freight of the article.

The French nation have however offered to enter into a new treaty of commerce with the United States on more liberal terms and in the mean time have relaxed some of the above restraints and severities.

GREAT BRITAIN receives from the states pot and pearl ashes free, while those of other nations pay a duty of two shillings and three-pence the kental. There is an equal distinction in favour of their bar iron, of which article, however, they do not produce enough for their own use. Woods are free from America, whilst they pay some small duty from other countries. Their tar and pitch pay 11d. sterling the barrel; from other alien countries they pay about a penny and a third more.

Their tobacco, for British consumption, pay 1s. 3d. sterling the pound, custom and excise, besides heavy expences of collection. And rice, in the same case, pays 7s. 4d. sterling the hundred weight; which, rendering it too dear as an article of common food, it is consequently used in very small quantity.

The salted fish, and other salted provisions of the United States, except bacon, are prohibited. Bacon and whale oil are under prohibitory duties; so are the grains, meals, and bread, as to our internal consumptions unless in times of such scarcity as may raise

the price of wheat to 50s. sterling the quarter, and other grain and meals in proportion.

American ships, though purchased and navigated by British subjects, are not permitted to be used, even in our own trade with them.

While the vessels of other nations are secured by standing laws which cannot be altered, but by the concurrent will of the three branches of the British legislature, in bringing hither any produce or manufacture of the country to which they belong, what may be lawfully carried in any vessels, American ships with the same prohibition of what is foreign, are further prohibited by standing law (12 Car. II. 28. §. 3.) from bringing hither all any of their own domestic productions and manufactures. A subsequent act, indeed, has authorised the executive power to permit the carriage of their productions in their own bottoms, at its sole discretion; and the permission has been given from year to year by proclamation, but subject every moment to be withdrawn on its single will, in which event, American vessels having anything of the kind on board, stand interdicted from the entry of all British ports. The disadvantage of a tenure which may be suddenly discontinued was experienced by the American merchants on a late occasion, when an official notification that this law would be strictly enforced, gave them just apprehensions for the fate of their vessels and cargoes which they had dispatched or destined to the ports of Great Britain. The minister indeed frankly expressed his personal conviction that the words of the order went farther than was intended, and so he afterwards officially informed them; but the embarrassments of the moment were real and great, and the possibility of their renewal lays their commerce to this country under the same species of discouragement as to other countries, where it is regulated by a single legislator; and the distinction is too remarkable not to be noticed that the navigation of the American States is excluded from the security of fixed laws, while that security is given to the navigation of others.

American vessels pay in our ports 1s. 9d. sterling per ton light and trim duty, more than is paid by our own ships, except in the port of London, where they pay the same as British.

The greater part of what we receive from them is re-exported to other countries, under the useless charges of an intermediate deposit and double voyage. From tables published in London and compiled from the books of our custom-houses, it appears that of the indigo imported here in the year 1773—4—5, one third was re-exported; and from a document of authority, we

again that of the rice and tobacco imported here before the war, four-fifths were re-exported. The quantities sent here for re-exportation since the war, are considerably diminished, yet less so than reason and national interest would dictate. The whole of their grain is re-exported when wheat is below 50s. the quarter, and other grains in proportion.

The principal facts, relative to the question of reciprocity of commercial regulations, between Great Britain and the United States of America, have, by a gentleman who had access to every necessary information for the purpose, been thrown into the form of a table, which we will insert, in order that the citizens of one country, and the subjects of the other, may have a clear and distinct view of the subject.

GREAT BRITAIN

Prohibits American vessels from entering into the ports of several parts of her dominions, viz. the West Indies, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Hudson's Bay, Honduras Bay, and her East India spice markets.

She imposes double light money on American vessels in most of her ports.

She prohibits the navigating *ad libitum*, of American vessels by native or other seamen.

She prohibits the employment of American built ships by her own citizens, in many branches of trade, upon any terms.

She charges a duty on American sail cloth, made up in the United States for British ships.

She prohibits the importation of goods from several parts of her dominions into others, in American vessels, upon any terms.

She prohibits the importation

THE UNITED STATES

Admit British vessels into all their ports, subject to a tonnage duty of 44 cents, or 24 sterling pence, more than American vessels, and an addition of one tenth to the amount of the impost accruing on their cargoes.

They do not impose extra light money on British vessels in any of their ports.

They admit the navigating of British vessels by native or other seamen, *ad libitum*.

They admit the employment of British built ships by English subjects, in every branch of trade, upon the terms of 44 cents extra per ton, and one tenth extra on the impost arising from their cargoes.

They do not charge a duty on British sail cloth, made up in G. Britain for American ships.

They admit the importation of goods from any part of their dominions into another, in British vessels, on the terms of 44 cents per ton extra on the vessel.

They admit the importation of

GREAT BRITAIN.

goods into Great Britain, by American vessels, from any other country than the United States.

She prohibits the importation into Great Britain from the United States, by American vessels, of all goods not produced by the United States.

She prohibits the importation of any goods previously brought into the United States, from the said States into Great Britain, even in British vessels.

She prohibits the exportation of several articles from Great Britain to the United States.

She lays duties of various rates upon the exportation of many articles to the United States.

She prohibits the importation of all manufactures from the United States, into her European dominions, and her colonies, unless it be some very simple preparations and decoctions, requisite to her navy, shipping, and manufactures.

She imposes very considerable duties upon some of the *agricultural* productions of the United States, and excludes others by duties equal to their value.

She prohibits, for considerable terms of time, some of the principal *agricultural* productions of the United States, and others at all times.

THE UNITED STATES.

goods into the United States by British vessels, from any country whatever.

They do not prohibit importation into the United States from Great Britain by British vessels, of any goods produced by Great Britain.

They do not prohibit importation of any goods previously brought into Great Britain, from that kingdom into the United States, in either British or American bottoms.

They do not prohibit importation of any article from the United States to Great Britain.

They do not lay a duty upon the exportation of any article whatever to Great Britain.

They do not prohibit importation of any manufacture whatever from Great Britain.

They impose moderate duties, lower than any other nation by 2, 3, and one, on the *produce and manufactures* of Great Britain except in a very few instances and exclude scarcely any articles by duties equal to value.

They prohibit none of the *agricultural* productions of Great Britain or her dominions.

GREAT BRITAIN

THE UNITED STATES

It is understood that by treaty she grants some favours, which are not extended to the United States.

She prohibits the importation of some American articles, in American ships, or any but British ships, into her European dominions.

She does not permit an American citizen to import goods into some of her dominions, and to sell them there, even in British vessels. In other parts of her dominions, she lays an extra tax on him, or his sales.

She imposes heavy duties on certain articles of the produce of the American fisheries, and supportable duties on others, in some parts of her dominions; and in other parts, she prohibits their importation.

She prohibits the consumption of some American articles, of which she permits the importation.

She prohibits the importation of American articles from foreign countries into the British dominions, even in her own ships.

They treat Great Britain as favourable as any nation whatever, as to ships, imports, and exports, and in all other respects.

They do not prohibit the importation of any British article in British vessels, or any but American vessels.

They permit a British subject to import goods into all their ports, in any vessels, and to sell them there without any extra tax on him, or his sales.

They impose only five per cent. on the produce of the British fisheries, which duty is drawn back on exportation and admit every article derived from them.

They do not prohibit the consumption of any British article whatever.

They do not prohibit the importation of British articles from foreign countries in any ships.

Besides these advantages, which Great Britain derives from the commerce of America, there is no country that contributes so much to the support of her navy as the United States, by the employment they give to her ships. From August 1789, to August 1790, no less than 230,000 tons of British vessels cleared from these States; which much exceeds the quantity of vessels she employed the same year in the Russian trade.—The whole Baltic trade of Great Britain, with all the countries of the various powers that lie within the Sound, important as it is to her, does not fill more. Her trade with Holland, France, Spain, and Portugal, does not altogether employ as many vessels.—Her whole fisheries, American colonial trade, and West India trade, do not employ

and load more. And how, it may be asked, are the United States repaid for thus strengthening the acknowledged bulwark of Great Britain, by annually giving a complete lading to an unequalled quantity of 230,000 tons of her private vessels? Their ships are seized, and detained, in the regular course of trade; and their seamen are impressed from their service, in order to fight against their friends and allies!

THE UNITED NETHERLANDS prohibit the pickled beef, pork, mels and bread of all sorts, coming from the United States, and lay prohibitory duty on their spirits distilled from grain.

All other of their productions are received on varied duties which may be reckoned on a medium at about three per cent.

The United Netherlands consume but a small proportion of what they receive from America: the residue is partly forwarded for consumption to the inland parts of Europe, and partly shipped to the other maritime countries. On the latter portion they intercept between the Americans and the consumer, so much of the value as is absorbed by the charges attending an intermediate deposit.

Foreign goods, except some East India articles, are received by them in vessels of any nation.

American ships may be sold and nationalized there with exemptions of one or two privileges, which somewhat lessen their value.

Duties on exports are considerable on the tobacco and rice of the United States, even if carried in their own vessels, and half as much more if carried in others, but the exact amount of these duties is not perfectly known here. They lay such a restraint to prohibitions on American indigo and corn.

Siam receives favourably grains and meals, salted provisions, mags, and whale oil, from the United States.

They subject them here to duties of sixteen mills the pound weight, if carried in their own vessels, and of forty per cent. addition on that, or 22,400 mills, carried in American or any other. Being thus rendered too dear as an article of commerce, little of it is consumed with them. They consume more than 100,000 ccs, which they take circuitously through Great Britain, leaving heavy duties on them also; then duties of entry, town duties, and others, being four dollars, thirty-four cents the hundred weight, if carried in their own vessels, and of forty per cent. on that added, if carried in American or any other vessels.

They prohibit altogether, American bread, fish, pot and pearl ashes, flaxseed, tar, pitch, and turpentine, wood, except oak timber and masts, and all foreign manufactures.

Under so many restrictions and prohibitions, the navigation of America with them, is reduced almost to nothing.

With the neighbours of the States, an order of things much harder presents itself.

SPAIN and PORTUGAL refuse to those parts of America which they govern, all direct intercourse with any people but themselves. The commodities in mutual demand between them and their neighbours must be carried to be exchanged in some port of the dominant country, and the transportation between that and the subject state, must be in a domestic bottom.

FRANCE, by a standing law, permitted her West India possessions, prior to the war, to receive directly, vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch, turpentine, rice and maize, from the States, and prohibited their other bread stuff; but a suspension of this prohibition having been left to the colonial legislatures in times of scarcity, it was suspended occasionally, but latterly without interruption.

American fresh and salted provisions, except pork, was received in their islands under a duty of three colonial livres the kent-al, and their vessels were as free as their own to carry their commodities thither, and to bring away rum and molasses.

GREAT BRITAIN admits in her islands, American vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch, turpentine, rice, and bread stuff, by a proclamation of the executive power, limited always to the term of a year. She prohibits their salted fish, and other salted provisions: she does not permit their vessels to carry thither their own produce. Her vessels alone may take it from them, and bring in exchange, rum, molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa-nuts, ginger, and pimento. There are, indeed, some freedoms in the island of Dominica, but under such circumstances as to be little used by the Americans. In the British continental colonies, and in Newfoundland, all their productions are prohibited, and their vessels forbidden to enter the ports: the governors however, in times of distress, have power to permit a temporary importation of certain articles in their own bottoms, but not in those of the Americans.

American citizens cannot reside as merchants or factors within any of the British plantations, this being expressly prohibited by the same statute of 12 Car. II. c. 18, commonly called the Navigation act.

In the Danish-American possessions, a duty is levied on the corn, corn-meal, rice, tobacco, indigo, horses, mules, and live stock of the ten per cent, on their flour, salted pork, and turpentine.

rules of regulating laws, duties and prohibitions, could it be freed from all its shackles in all parts of the world—could every country be employed in producing that which nature has destined it to produce, and each be free to exchange with others mutual surplusses for mutual wants, the greatest mass possible would then be produced of those things which contribute to life and human happiness; the numbers of mankind would be increased, and their condition bettered.

Should even a single nation begin with the United States this system of free commerce, it would be advisable to begin it with caution; since it is one by one only that it can be extended. Where the circumstances of either party render it expedient to levy a revenue, by way of impost, on commerce, its free-
 ight may be modified, in that particular, by mutual and equivalent measures, preserving it entire in all others.

Nations, not yet ripe for free commerce, in all its extent, will be willing to mollify its restrictions and regulations for a proportion to the advantages which an intercourse with them might offer. Particularly they might concur with them in moderating the duties to be levied on each side, or in compensating excess of duty by equivalent advantages of another.

Their commerce is certainly of a character to entitle it to a share in most countries. The commodities they offer, are necessaries of life, or materials for manufacture; or contributors of revenue: and they take in exchange, either manufactures, when they have received the last finish of art and labour, or mere luxuries. Such customers may reasonably expect to receive a liberal and friendly treatment at every market; customers whose demands, increasing with their wealth and population, not only shortly give full employment to the whole industry of a country on whatever, in any line of supply they may get into the calling for, from it.

Should any nation, contrary to their wishes, suppose it may find its advantage by continuing its system of prohibitions, and regulations, it behoves them to protect their citizens, commerce and navigation, by counter-prohibitions, duties, and regulations also. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for restrictions and vexations; nor are they to produce a relaxation of them.

Commerce and navigation involves still higher considerations. As a branch of industry, it is valuable: but, as a resource, essential. It is, as a branch of industry, enhanced by the dependence so many other branches on it. In times of general peace it is a great competitor for employment in transportation, and

so keeps that at its proper level; and in times of war, that is to say, when those nations who may be their principal carriers, shall be at war with each other, if they have not within themselves the means of transportation, their produce must be exported in intelligent vessels, at the increased expence of war-freight and insurance, and the articles which will not bear that, must perish in their hands.

But it is as a resource for defence that their navigation will admit neither neglect nor forbearance. The position and circumstances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on the land, and nothing to desire beyond their present rights. But on the sea they are open to injury, and they have there, too, a commerce which must be protected. This can only be done by possessing a respectable body of CITIZEN-SEAMEN, and of arms and establishments in readiness for ship-building.

Were the ocean, which is the common property of all, open to the industry of all, so that every person and vessel should be free to take employment wherever it could be found, the United States would certainly not set the example of appropriating to themselves, exclusively, any portion of the common stock of occupation. They would rely on the enterprize and activity of their citizens for a due participation of the benefits of the fostering business, and for keeping the marine class of citizens equal to their object. But if particular nations grasp at undue shares, and more especially if they seize on the means of the United States to convert them into aliment for their own strength, and withdraw them entirely from the support of those to whom they belong, defensive and protecting measures become necessary on the part of the nation whose marine resources are thus invaded, or it will be disarmed of its defence; its productions will lie at the mercy of the nation which has possessed itself exclusively of the means of carrying them, and its politics may be influenced by those who command its commerce. The carriage of their own commodities, if once established in another channel, cannot be resumed in the moment they may desire. If they lose the seamen and artists whom it now occupies, they lose the present means of marine defence, and time will be requisite to raise up others, when disgrace or losses shall bring home to their feelings the error of having abandoned them. The materials for maintaining their due share of navigation are theirs in abundance; and as to the mode of using them, they have only to adopt the principles of those who thus put them on the defensive, or rather equivalent and better fitted to their circumstances.

The following principles being founded on reciprocity, apply to all nations, and offer no cause of complaint to any nation.

Where a nation imposes high duties on their productions, prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for them to do the same by theirs, first burthening or excluding those productions which they carry there in competition with their own of the same kind; selecting next such manufactures as they take from the greatest quantity, and which at the same time they could most furnish to themselves, or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind, may induce the manufacturer, to come himself to these States; where cheaper subsistence, equal laws, and a market for his wares, free of duty, may ensure him the highest profits of his skill and industry. And here it would be in the power of state governments to co-operate essentially, by opening the various means of encouragement which are under their controul, extending them liberally to artists in those particular branches of manufacture, for which their soil, climate, population, and other circumstances have matured them, and fostering the precious arts and progress of household manufacture by some patronage according to the nature of its objects, guided by the local information they possess, and guarded against abuse by their presence and regulations. The oppressions on their agriculture in foreign ports may thus be made the occasion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and of promoting manufactures, and population among themselves.

Where a nation refuses permission to their merchants and to reside within certain parts of their dominions, they may in return should be thought expedient, refuse residence to theirs, in every part of the states, or modify their transactions.

Where a nation refuses to receive in their vessels any productions but their own, they may refuse to receive, in theirs, any but their own productions.

Where a nation refuses to consider any vessel as belonging to the United States, which has not been built within their territories, they should refuse to consider as belonging to them any vessel not built within their territories.

Where a nation refuses to their vessels the carriage even of their own productions to certain countries under their dominion, they might refuse to theirs, of every description, the carriage of the same productions to the same countries. But as justice and good neighbourhood would dictate, that those who have been in imposing the restriction on them, should not be the vic-

tims of the measures adopted to defeat its effect, it may be per-
 mitted to confine the restrictions to vessels owned or navigated by
 subjects of the same dominant power, other than the inhabitants of
 the country to which the said productions are to be carried.
 And to prevent all inconvenience to the said inhabitants, arising
 from their own, by too sudden a check on the means of transport,
 they may continue to admit the vessels marked for future ex-
 portation, on an advanced tonnage, and for such length of time only
 as may be supposed necessary to provide against that inconvenience.

The establishment of some of these principles by Great Britain
 alone, has already lost the Americans, in their commerce with
 that country and its possessions, between eight and nine hundred
 vessels of near 40,000 tons burthen, according to statements of
 official materials. This involves a proportional loss of sea-
 shipwrights, and ship building, and is too serious a loss to
 require forbearance of some effectual remedy.

It is true they must expect some inconvenience in practice,
 from the establishment of discriminating duties. But in this, as
 in many other cases, they are left to chuse between two evils. The
 inconveniences are nothing when weighed against the loss of
 wealth and loss of force, which will follow their persevering in
 the plan of indiscrimination.—When once it shall be perceived
 that they are either in the system or the habit of giving equal
 advantages to those who extinguish their commerce and naviga-
 tion, by duties and prohibitions as to those who treat both with
 equity and justice, liberality and justice will be converted by
 duties and prohibitions. It is not to the moderation and justice
 of others that they are to trust for fair and equal access to market
 for their productions, or for their due share in the transportation
 of them; but to their means of independence, and the firm will
 maintain them. Nor do the inconveniences of discrimination merit
 consideration. Not one of the nations beforementioned, perhaps,
 a commercial nation on earth, is without them. In their
 one distinction alone will suffice; that is to say, between nations
 who favour their productions and navigation, and those who
 do not favour them. One set of moderate duties, say the pro-
 duces, for the first, and a fixed advance on these as to some
 other and prohibitions as to others for the last.

have hitherto prevented the prosecution of them to effect, America has had repeated assurances of a continuance of opposition.

Proposals of friendly arrangement have been made on the part of the United States, by the present government, to that of Great Britain, but being already on as good a footing in law, and a better one, than the most favoured nation, they have not as yet displayed any disposition to attend to those overtures.

We have no reason to conclude that friendly arrangements will be declined by the other nations, with whom they have such commercial intercourse as may render them important. In the mean time, it will rest with the wisdom of Congress to determine whether, as to those nations, they will not surcease *ex parte* regulations, on the reasonable presumption that they will concur in doing whatever justice and moderation dictate should be done.

MANUFACTURES.

We now come to the subject of manufactures, the expediency of encouraging of which in the United States, was not long deemed very questionable, but the advantages of which, are at this time to be generally admitted. The embarrassments which have obstructed the progress of their external trade with foreign nations, have led them to serious reflections on the utility of enlarging the sphere of their domestic commerce: Restrictive regulations which in foreign markets have abridged the sale of the increasing surplus of their agricultural produce, have served to beget in them an earnest desire, that a more extensive demand for that surplus may be created at home: And the success which has rewarded manufacturing enterprise, in valuable branches, conspiring with the promising symptoms which attend some less mature essays in others, justify a hope, that the obstacles to the growth of this species of industry are less formidable than they were apprehended to be; and that it is not difficult to find, in its further extension, a full indemnification for any external disadvantages, which are or may be experienced, as well as an accession of resources, favourable to national independence and safety.

There are still, nevertheless, among the Americans, many respectable patrons of opinions unfriendly to the encouragement of manufactures.—The following are, substantially, the arguments which these opinions are defended:

In every country, say those who entertain them, agriculture is the most beneficial and *productive* object of human industry. This position, generally, if not universally true, applies with peculiar emphasis to the United States, on account of their im-

menſe tracts of fertile territory, uninhabited and uncultivated. Nothing can afford ſo advantageous an employment for land and labour, as the converſion of this extenſive wildneſs into cultivated farms. Nothing, equally with this, can contribute ſo much to the population, ſtrength, and real riches of the country.

“ To endeavour by the extraordinary patronage of government to accelerate the growth of manufactures, is, in fact, to pour, by force and art, to transfer the natural current of labour from a more to a leſs beneficial channel. Whatever tendency muſt neceſſarily be unwiſe: Indeed it can hardly be wiſe in a government to attempt to give a direction to the induſtry of its citizens. This, under the quick-ſighted influence of private intereſt, will, if left to itſelf, infallibly find a way to the moſt profitable employment; and it is by ſuch means that the public proſperity will be moſt effectually promoted. To leave induſtry to itſelf, therefore, is, in almoſt every ſituation, the ſoundeſt as well as the ſimpleſt policy.”

“ This policy is not only recommended to the United States by the conſiderations which affect all nations; it is in a manner forced upon them by the imperious force of a very peculiar ſituation. The ſmallneſs of their population, compared with their territory, the conſtant allurements to emigration from the ſettled to the wild parts of the country; the facility with which the independent condition of an artiſan can be exchanged for the dependent condition of a farmer; theſe, and ſimilar cauſes, will, to produce, and for a length of time muſt continue to produce, a ſcarcity of hands for manufacturing occupation, and deſert labour generally. To theſe diſadvantages for the proſpect of manufactures, a deficiency of pecuniary capital being added, the proſpect of a ſucceſsful competition with the manufactures of Europe muſt be regarded as little leſs than deſperate. If manufactures can only be the offſpring of a redundant, or a full population. Till the latter ſhall characteriſe the ſituation of this country, 'tis vain to hope for the former.”

“ If, contrary to the natural courſe of things, an unſeaſonable and premature ſpring can be given to certain fabrics, by duties, prohibitions, bounties, or by other forced expedients, the only reſult will only be to ſacrifice the intereſts of the community to thoſe of particular claſſes. Beſides the miſdirection of labour, monopoly will be given to the perſons employed on ſuch manufactures, and an enhancement of price, the inevitable conſequence of monopoly, muſt be defrayed at the expence of the other members of the ſociety. It is far preferable that thoſe perſons be employed in the cultivation of the earth, and that we ſhould receive in exchange for its productions, the commodities

such foreigners are able to supply us in greater perfection, and on better terms."

This mode of reasoning is founded upon facts and principles, which have certainly respectable pretensions. If it had governed the conduct of nations more generally than it has done, there is reason to suppose, that it might have carried them faster to prosperity and greatness than they have attained by the pursuit of aims too widely opposite. Most general theories, however, admit of numerous exceptions, and there are few, if any, of the political kind, which do not blend a considerable portion of error with the truths they inculcate.

In order to form an accurate judgment, how far that which has been just stated ought to be deemed liable to a similar imputation, it is necessary to advert carefully to the considerations which are adduced in favour of manufactures, and which appear to recommend the special and positive encouragement of them, in certain cases, and under certain reasonable limitations.

It ought readily to be conceded, that the cultivation of the earth, as the primary and most certain source of national supply; the immediate and chief source of subsistence to man; as the principal source of those materials which constitute the nutriment of other kinds of labour; as including a state most favourable to the freedom and independence of the human mind; one, perhaps, most conducive to the multiplication of the human species; has intrinsically a strong claim to pre-eminence over every other kind of industry.

But that it has a title to any thing like an exclusive predilection in any country, ought to be admitted with great caution. That it is even more productive than every other branch of industry, requires more evidence than has yet been given in support of the position. That its real interests, precious and important as, without the help of exaggeration, they truly are, will be advanced, rather than injured, by the due encouragement of manufactures, may be satisfactorily demonstrated. And the expediency of such encouragement, in a general view, may be shown to be recommended by the most cogent and persuasive motives of national policy.

It has been maintained, that agriculture is not only the most productive, but the only productive species of industry. The reality of this assertion, in either respect, has, however, not been verified by any accurate detail of facts and calculations; and the general arguments, which are adduced to prove it, are rather subtle and paradoxical, than solid or convincing.

Those which maintain its exclusive productiveness are to this effect:—Labour bestowed upon the cultivation of land produces

enough, not only to replace all the necessary expences incurred in the business, and to maintain the persons who are employed in it; but to afford, together with the ordinary profit on the stock capital of the farmer, a nett surplus, or rent for the landlord proprietor of the soil. But the labour of artificers does not more than replace the stock which employs them, or which furnishes materials, tools and wages, and yield the ordinary profit upon that stock. It yields nothing equivalent to the rent of land: nor does it add any thing to the total value of the whole as a fund of the land and labour of the country. The additional value given to those parts of the produce of land, which are wrought into manufactures, is counterbalanced by the value of those other parts of that produce which are consumed by the manufacturers. It can therefore only be by saving, or *parfimony*, not by the positive *productiveness* of their labour, that the classes of artificers can in any degree augment the revenue of society.

To this it has been answered, that inasmuch as it is acknowledged that manufacturing labour re-produces a value equal to that which is expended or consumed in carrying it on, and continues in existence the original stock or capital employed, it ought on that account alone to escape being considered as wholly unproductive; that though it should be admitted, as alledged, that the consumption of the produce of the soil, by the classes of artificers or manufacturers is exactly equal to the value added by their labour to the materials upon which it is exerted; yet it would not thence follow, that it added nothing to the revenue of the society, or the aggregate value of the annual produce of its land and labour. If the consumption for any given period amounted to a given sum, and the increased value of the produce manufactured in the same period to a like sum, the total amount of the consumption and production during that period would be equal to the two sums, and consequently double the value of the agricultural produce consumed. And though the increment of value produced by the classes of artificers should at no time exceed the value of the produce of the land consumed by them, yet there would be at every moment, in consequence of their labour, a greater value of goods in the market than would exist independent of it.

The position, that artificers can augment the revenue of a society only by *parfimony*, is true in no other sense than in one, which is equally applicable to husbandmen or cultivators. It may be alike affirmed of all these classes, that the fund acquired by their labour, and destined for their support, is not, in an ordinary way, more than equal to it. And hence it will follow

augmentations of the wealth or capital of the community, in the instance of some extraordinary dexterity or skill, may proceed, with respect to any of them, from the savings more thrifty and parsimonious.

The annual produce of the land and labour of a country can be increased in two ways—by some improvement in the *productive powers* of the useful labour, which actually exists without any increase in the quantity of such labour: that with regard to the first, the labour of artificers being capable of a greater subdivision and simplicity of operation than that of the husbandmen, it is susceptible, in a proportionably greater degree, of improvement in its *productive powers*, whether to be derived from an accession of skill, or from the application of ingenious machinery; in which particular, therefore, the labour employed in the culture of land can pretend to no advantage over that employed in manufactures: that with regard to an augmentation in the quantity of useful labour, this, excluding adventitious circumstances, must depend essentially upon an increase of *capital*, which again must depend upon the savings made out of the revenue of those who furnish or manage *that*, which is at any time employed, whether in agriculture, or in manufactures, or in any other way.

While the exclusive productiveness of agricultural labour has thus been denied and refuted, the superiority of its production has been conceded without hesitation. As this concession involves a point of considerable magnitude, in relation to the system of public administration, the grounds on which it rests require the necessity of a distinct and particular examination.

Some of the arguments made use of, in support of the idea, may be pronounced both quaint and superficial: it amounts to this—the productions of the soil, nature co-operates with man; and the effect of their joint labour must be greater than that of the labour of man alone.

It is, however, far from being a necessary inference. It is conceivable, that the labour of man alone laid out upon a task requiring great skill and art to bring it to perfection, may be more productive *in value*, than the labour of nature and man united, when directed towards more simple operations and operations which are more easily performed. And when it is recollected to what an extent the agency of fire and water in the application of the mechanical powers, is made use of in the prosecution of manufactures, the suggestion which is now noticed loses even the appearance of plausibility.

It might also be observed, with a contrary view, that the labour employed in agriculture is in a great measure periodical.

and occasional, depending on seasons, liable to various and intermissions; while that occupied in many manufactures is constant and regular, extending through the year, embracing some instances, night as well as day. It is also probable there are among the cultivators of land more examples of idleness than among artificers. The farmer, from the fertility of his land, or some other favourable circumstance, may frequently obtain a livelihood, even with a considerable degree of carelessness in the mode of cultivation; but the manufacturer can with great difficulty effect the same object, without exerting himself pretty equally with all those who are engaged in the pursuit. And if it may likewise be assumed as a fact, that manufactures open a wider field to exertions of ingenuity than agriculture, it would not be a strained conjecture, that the labour employed in the former, being at once more constant, more uniform, and more ingenious, than that which is employed in the latter, will be found at the same time more productive.

But it is not meant to lay stress on observations of this nature; they ought only to serve as a counterbalance to those of a similar complexion. Circumstances so vague and general, as well as so abstract, can afford little instruction in a matter of this kind.

Another, and that which seems to be the principal argument offered for the superior productiveness of agricultural labour, turns upon the allegation, that labour employed on manufactures yields nothing equivalent to the rent of land; or to that net surplus, as it is called, which accrues to the proprietor of the soil.

But this distinction, important as it has been deemed, appears rather verbal than substantial.

It is easily discernible, that what in the first instance is divided into two parts under the denomination of the *ordinary profit* of the stock of the farmer and *rent* to the landlord, is in the second instance united under the general appellation of the *ordinary profit* on the stock of the undertaker; and that this formal or verbal distinction constitutes the whole difference in the two cases. It seems to have been overlooked, that the land is itself a stock; capital, advanced or lent by its owner to the occupier or tenant, and that the rent he receives is only the ordinary profit of a certain stock in land, not managed by the proprietor himself but by another to whom he lends or lets it, and who, on his part, advances a second capital to stock and improve the land, upon which he also receives the usual profit. The rent of the landlord and the profit of the farmer are therefore nothing more than the *ordinary profit* of two capitals belonging to two different

sons, and united in the cultivation of a farm: as in the other case, the surplus which arises upon any manufactory, after placing the expences of carrying it on, answers to the ordinary profits of *one or more* capitals engaged in the prosecution of each manufactory. It is said *one or more* capitals; because in fact, the same thing which is contemplated in the case of the farm, sometimes happens in that of a manufactory. There is one who furnishes part of the capital, or lends a part of the money, by which it is carried on, and another who carries it on with the addition of his own capital. Out of the surplus which remains, after defraying expences, an interest is paid to the money-lender for the portion of the capital furnished by him, which exactly agrees with the rent paid to the landlord; and the residue of that surplus constitutes the profit of the undertaker or manufacturer, and agrees with what is denominated the ordinary profits of the stock of the farmer. Both together make the ordinary profits of two capitals employed in a manufactory: in the other case the rent of the landlord and the revenue of the farmer compose the ordinary profits of two capitals, employed in the cultivation of a farm.

The rent therefore accruing to the proprietor of the land, far from being a criterion of *exclusive* productiveness, as has been argued, is no criterion even of *superior* productiveness. The question must still be, whether the surplus, after defraying the expences of a *given capital*, employed in the *purchase and improvement* of a piece of land, is greater or less than that of a like capital employed in the prosecution of a manufactory; or whether the *whole value produced* from a *given capital* and a *given quantity of labour*, employed in one way, be greater or less than the whole value produced from an equal capital and an equal quantity of labour employed in the other way; or, perhaps, whether the business of agriculture or that of manufactures will yield the greatest product, according to a comparison of the quantity of the capital and the quantity of labour which are employed in the one or in the other.

The solution of either of these questions is not easy; it involves numerous and complicated details, depending on an accurate knowledge of the objects to be compared. It is not known that the comparison has ever yet been made upon sufficient data properly ascertained and analysed. To be able to make it with satisfactory precision would demand much previous inquiry and diligent investigation.

Some essays, however, have been made towards acquiring the requisite information, which have rather served to throw doubt

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upon, than to confirm the hypothesis under examination. But it ought to be acknowledged, that they have been too little diversified, and are too imperfect to authorize a definitive conclusion either way, leading rather to probable conjecture than to certain deduction. They render it probable that there are various branches of manufactures in which a given capital will yield a greater total product, and a considerably greater nett product than an equal capital invested in the purchase and improvement of lands; and that there are also some branches, in which both the gross and the nett produce will exceed that of agricultural industry, according to a compound ratio of capital and labour. But it is on this last point that there appears to be the greatest room for doubt. It is far less difficult to infer generally that the nett produce of capital engaged in manufacturing enterprises is greater than that of capital engaged in agriculture.

The foregoing suggestions are not designed to inculcate an opinion that manufacturing industry is more productive than that of agriculture. They are intended rather to shew that the verity of this proposition is not ascertained; that the general arguments which are brought to establish it are not satisfactory; and, consequently, that a supposition of the superior productivity of tillage ought to be no obstacle to listening to any substantial inducement to the encouragement of manufactures, which may otherwise be perceived to exist, through an apprehension that they may have a tendency to divert labour from a more self profitable employment.

It is extremely probable, that on a full and accurate development of the matter, on the ground of fact and calculation, it would be discovered that there is no material difference between the aggregate productiveness of the one, and of the other kind of industry; and that the propriety of the encouragements, which may in any case be proposed to be given to either, ought to be determined upon considerations irrelative to any comparison of that nature.

But without contending for the superior productiveness of manufacturing industry, it may conduce to a better judgment of the policy, which ought to be pursued by the United States, in respecting its encouragement, to contemplate the subject under some additional aspects, tending not only to confirm the idea that this kind of industry has been improperly represented as unproductive in itself; but to evince in addition, that the establishment and diffusion of manufactures will have the effect of rendering the total mass of useful and productive labour, in the community, greater than it would otherwise be. In prosecuting this discussion, it may be necessary briefly to resume and review some of the topics which have been already touched.

To affirm that the labour of the manufacturer is unproductive, because he consumes as much of the produce of land as he adds value to the raw materials which he manufactures, is not better founded, than it would be to affirm, that the labour of the farmer, which furnishes materials to the manufacturer, is unproductive, because he consumes an equal value of manufactured articles. Each furnishes a certain portion of the produce of his labour to the other, and each destroys a correspondent portion of the produce of the labour of the other. In the mean time the maintenance of two citizens, instead of one, is going on; the state has two members instead of one: and they together consume twice the value of what is produced from the land.

If instead of a farmer and artificer, there was a farmer only, he would be under the necessity of devoting a part of his labour to the fabrication of cloathing and other articles, which he would procure of the artificer, in the case of there being such a person; and of course, he would be able to devote less labour to the cultivation of his farm, and would draw from it a proportionably less product. The whole quantity of production, in this state of things, in provisions, raw materials and manufactures, would certainly not exceed in value the amount of what would be produced in provisions and raw materials only, if there were an artificer as well as a farmer.

Again—If there were both an artificer and a farmer, the latter would be left at liberty to pursue exclusively the cultivation of his farm. A greater quantity of provisions and raw materials would of course be produced, equal, at least, as has been already observed, to the whole amount of the provisions, raw materials, and manufactures, which would exist on a contrary supposition. The artificer, at the same time, would be going on in the production of manufactured commodities, to an amount sufficient not only to repay the farmer, in those commodities, for the provisions and materials which were procured from him, but to furnish the artificer himself with a supply of similar commodities for his own use. Thus, then, there would be two quantities or values in existence instead of one; and the revenue and consumption would be double in one case, what it would be in the other.

If in place of both these suppositions, there were supposed to be two farmers and no artificer, each of whom applied a part of his labour to the culture of land, and another part to the fabrication of manufactures; in this case, the portion of the labour of both bestowed upon land would produce the same quantity of provisions and raw materials only, as would be produced by the entire sum of the labour of one applied in the same manner, and

the portion of the labour of both bestowed upon manufactures, would produce the same quantity of manufactures, only, as would be produced by the entire sum of the labour of one applied in the same manner. Hence the produce of the labour of the two farmers would not be greater than the produce of the labour of the farmer and the artificer; and hence it results, that the labour of the artificer is as positively productive as that of the farmer, and, as positively, augments the revenue of the society.

The labour of the artificer replaces to the farmer that portion of his labour with which he provides the materials of exchange with the artificer, and which he would otherwise have been compelled to apply to manufactures; and while the artificer thus enables the farmer to enlarge his stock of agricultural industry, a portion of which he purchases for his own use, *he also supplies himself with the manufactured articles of which he stands in need.* He does still more—Besides this equivalent which he gives for the portion of agricultural labour consumed by him, and this supply of manufactured commodities for his own consumption, he furnishes still a surplus, which compensates for the use of the capital advanced either by himself or some other person, for carrying on the business. This is the ordinary profit of the stock employed in the manufactory, and is, in every sense, as effective an addition to the income of the society as the rent of land.

The produce of the labour of the artificer, consequently, may be regarded as composed of three parts; one by which the provisions for his subsistence and the materials for his work are purchased of the farmer; one by which he supplies himself with manufactured necessaries, and a third which constitutes the profit on the stock employed. The two last portions seem to have been overlooked in this system, which represents manufacturing industry as barren and unproductive.

In the course of the preceding illustrations, the products of equal quantities of the labour of the farmer and artificer have been treated as if equal to each other. But this is not to be understood as intending to assert any such precise equality. It is merely a manner of expression adopted for the sake of simplicity and perspicuity. Whether the value of the produce of the labour of the farmer be somewhat more or less than that of the artificer, is not material to the main scope of the argument, which hitherto has aimed at shewing, that the one, as well as the other, occasions a positive augmentation of the total produce and revenue of the society.

It is now proper to proceed a step farther, and to enumerate the principal circumstances, from which it may be inferred, that

manufacturing establishments, not only occasion a positive augmentation of the produce and revenue of the society, but that they contribute essentially to rendering them greater than they could possibly be, without such establishments. These circumstances are,

1. The division of labour.
2. An extension of the use of machinery.
3. Additional employment to classes of the community not ordinarily engaged in the business.
4. The promoting of emigration from foreign countries.
5. The furnishing greater scope for the diversity of talents and dispositions which discriminate men from each other.
6. The affording a more ample and various field for enterprise.
7. The creating, in some instances, a new, and securing in all, a more certain and steady demand for the surplus produce of the soil.

Each of these circumstances has a considerable influence upon the total mass of industrious effort in a community: together, they add to it a degree of energy and effect, which are not easily conceived. Some comments upon each of them, in the order in which they have been stated, may serve to explain their importance.

1. *As to the division of labour.*—

It has justly been observed, that there is scarcely any thing of greater moment in the economy of a nation, than the proper division of labour.—The separation of occupations causes each to be carried to a much greater perfection than it could possibly acquire, if they were blended. This arises principally from three circumstances.

1st. The greater skill and dexterity naturally resulting from a constant and undivided application to a single object.—It is evident, that these properties must increase in proportion to the repetition and simplification of objects, and the steadiness of the attention devoted to each; and must be less, in proportion to the complication of objects, and the number among which the attention is distracted.

2d. The economy of time, by avoiding the loss of it, incident to a frequent transition from one operation to another of a different nature.—This depends on various circumstances; the transition itself, the orderly disposition of the implements, machines, and materials employed in the operation to be relinquished, the preparatory steps to the commencement of a new one, the interruption of the impulse, which the mind of the workmen acquires, from being engaged in a particular operation; the distractions,

hesitations, and reluctances, which attend the passage from one kind of business to another.

3d. An extension of the use of machinery.—A man occupied on a single object, will have it more in his power, and will more naturally be led to exert his imagination in devising means to facilitate and abridge labour, than if he were perplexed by a variety of independent and dissimilar operations. Besides the fabrication of machines, in numerous instances, becoming itself a distinct trade, the artist who follows it, has all the advantages which have been enumerated, for improvement in his particular art; and in both ways the invention and application of machinery are extended.

And from these causes united, the mere separation of the occupation of the cultivator, from that of the artificer, has the effect of augmenting the productive powers of labour, and with this the total mass of the produce or revenue of a country. In the single view of the subject, therefore, the utility of artificers and manufactures, towards promoting an increase of productive industry, is apparent.

II. *As to an extension of the use of machinery, a point which though partly anticipated, requires to be placed in one or two additional lights.*

The employment of machinery forms an item of great importance in the general mass of national industry. 'Tis an artificial force brought in aid of the natural force of man; and, on all the purposes of labour, is an increase of hands; an accession of strength, unincumbered too by the expence of maintaining the labourer. May it not therefore be fairly inferred, that those occupations, which give greatest scope to the use of this auxiliary, contribute most to the general stock of industrious effort, and, in consequence, to the general product of industry?

It will be taken for granted, and the truth of the position is referred to observation, that manufacturing pursuits are susceptible in a greater degree of the application of machinery, than those of agriculture. If so, all the difference is lost to a community which, instead of manufacturing for itself, procures the fabric requisite to its supply from other countries. The substitution of foreign for domestic manufactures, is a transfer to foreign nations of the advantages accruing from the employment of machinery, in the modes in which it is capable of being employed with most utility and to the greatest extent.

The cotton mill invented in England, within the last twenty years, is a single illustration of the general proposition which we have advanced. In consequence of it, all the different processes for spinning cotton are performed by means of machines, which

are put in motion by water, and attended chiefly by women and children; and by a smaller number of persons, in the whole, than are requisite in the ordinary mode of spinning. And it is an advantage of great moment that the operations of this mill continue with convenience, during the night, as well as through the day. The prodigious effect of such a machine is easily conceived. To this invention is to be attributed essentially, the immense progress which has been so suddenly made in this country in the various fabrics of cotton.

III. *As to the additional employment of classes of the community, who are ordinarily engaged in the particular business.*

This is not among the least valuable of the means, by which manufacturing institutions contribute to augment the general stock of industry and production. In places where those institutions prevail, besides the persons regularly engaged in them, they afford occasional and extra employment to industrious individuals and families, who are willing to devote the leisure resulting from the intermissions of their ordinary pursuits to collateral labours, as a resource for multiplying their acquisitions or their enjoyments. The husbandman himself experiences a new source of profit and support from the increased industry of his wife and daughters; and is invigorated and stimulated by the demands of the neighbouring manufactories.

Beside this advantage of occasional employment to classes having different occupations, there is another of a nature allied to it, and of a similar tendency.—This is the employment of persons who would otherwise be idle, and in many cases a burthen on the community, either from the bias of temper, habit, infirmity, of body, or some other cause, indisposing or disqualifying them for the toils of the country. It is worthy of particular remark, that, in general, women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishments, than they would otherwise be. Of the number of persons employed in the cotton manufactories of Great Britain, it is computed that four sevenths nearly are women and children; of whom the smallest proportion are children, and many of them of a tender age.

Thus it appears to be one of the attributes of manufactures, and one of no small consequence, to give occasion to the exertion of a greater quantity of industry, even by the same number of persons they happen to prevail, than would exist if there were no such establishments.

As to the promoting of emigration from foreign countries.

It affords quite one course of occupation and livelihood

for another, unless invited to it by very apparent and proximate advantages. Many, who would go from one country to another, if they had a prospect of continuing, with more benefit, the callings to which they have been educated, will often not be tempted to change their situation by the hope of doing better in some other way. Manufacturers who, listening to the powerful invitations of a better price for their fabrics, or their labour; of greater cheapness of provisions and raw materials; of an exemption from the chief part of the taxes, burthens and restraints, which they endure in Europe; of greater personal independence and consequence, under the operation of a more equal government; and of what is far more precious than mere religious toleration, a perfect equality of religious privileges; will probably flock from Europe to the United States to pursue their own trades or professions, if they are once made sensible of the advantages they will enjoy, and are inspired with an assurance of encouragement and employment.

If it be true then, that it is the interest of the United States to open every possible avenue to emigration from abroad, it affords a weighty argument for their encouragement of manufactures; which, for the reasons just assigned, will have the strongest tendency to multiply the inducements to it.

Here is perceived an important resource, not only for extending the population, and with it the useful and productive labour of the country, but likewise for the prosecution of manufactures, without deducting from the number of hands, which might otherwise be drawn to tillage; and even for the indemnification of agriculture for such as may happen to be diverted from it. Many whom manufacturing views may induce to emigrate, will afterwards yield to the temptations, which the particular situation of the United States hold out to agricultural pursuits. And while agriculture will in other respects derive many signal and unmingled advantages from the growth of manufactures, it is a problem whether it will gain or lose, as to the article of the number of persons employed in carrying it on.

And the latter will find greater scope for the diversity of talents and inclinations, which do not emanate from each other.

This is a much more powerful mean of augmenting the fund of national industry, than may at first sight appear. It is a just observation, that minds of the strongest and most active powers for their proper objects fall below mediocrity, and labour without effect if confined to uncongenial pursuits: and it is thence to be inferred, that the results of human exertion may be immensely increased by diversifying its objects. When all the different kinds of industry obtain in a community, each individual can find his

proper element, and can call into activity the whole vigour of his nature. And the community is benefitted by the services of its respective members, in the manner in which each can serve it with most effect.

If there be any thing in a remark often to be met with, namely, that there is, in the genius of the people of America, a peculiar aptitude for mechanical improvements, it will operate as a forcible reason for giving opportunities to the exercise of that species of talent by the propagation of manufactures.

VI. *As to the affording a more ample and various field for enterprise.*

This also is of greater consequence in the general scale of national exertion, than might, perhaps, on a superficial view be supposed, and has effects not altogether dissimilar from those of the circumstances last noticed. To cherish and stimulate the activity of the human mind, by multiplying the objects of enterprise, is not among the least considerable of the expedients by which the wealth of a nation may be promoted.—Even things in themselves, not positively advantageous, sometimes become so by their tendency to provoke exertion. Every new scene which is opened to the busy nature of man to rouse and exert itself, is the addition of a new energy to the general stock of effort.

The spirit of enterprise, useful and prolific as it is, must necessarily be contracted or expanded in proportion to the simplicity or variety of the occupations and productions which are to be found in a society. It must be less in a nation of mere cultivators, than in a nation of cultivators and merchants: less in a nation of cultivators, and merchants, than in a nation of cultivators, artificers, and merchants.

VII. *As to the creating, in some instances, a new, and securing in all, a more certain and steady demand for the surplus produce of the soil.*

This is among the most important of the circumstances which have been indicated. It is a principal mean by which the establishment of manufactures contributes to an augmentation of the produce or revenue of a country, and has an immediate and direct relation to the prosperity of agriculture.

It is evident that the exertions of the husbandman will be steady or fluctuating, vigorous or feeble, in proportion to the steadiness or fluctuation, adequateness, or inadequateness of the markets, on which he must depend, for the vent of the surplus, which may be produced by his labour; and that such surplus in the ordinary course of things will be greater or less in the same proportion.

For the purpose of this vent, a domestic market is greatly to be preferred to a foreign one; because it is in the nature far more to be relied upon.

It is a primary object of the policy of nations to be able to supply themselves with subsistence from their own soil ; and manufacturing nations, as far as circumstances permit, endeavour to procure from the same source, the raw materials necessary for their own fabrics. This disposition, urged by the spirit of monopoly, is sometimes even carried to an injudicious extreme. It is not always to be recollected, that nations who have neither soil nor manufactures, can only obtain the manufactured articles which they stand in need, by an exchange of the products of their soils ; and that if those who can best furnish them with such articles are unwilling to give a due course to this exchange, they of necessity make every possible effort to manufacture for themselves ; the effect of which is, that the manufacturing nations abridge the natural advantages of their situation, through a willingness to permit the agricultural countries to enjoy the advantages of theirs, and sacrifice the interests of a mutually beneficial intercourse to the vain project of selling every thing and buying nothing.

But it is also a consequence of the policy, which has been adopted, that the foreign demand for the products of agricultural countries, is, in a great degree, rather casual and occasional, than certain or constant. To what extent injurious interruptions of demand for some of the staple commodities of the United States may have been experienced from that cause, must be referred to the judgment of those who are engaged in carrying on the commerce of the country ; but it may be safely affirmed, that such interruptions are at times very inconveniently felt, and that not unfrequently occur, in which markets are so confined and restricted, as to render the demand very unequal to the supply.

Independent likewise of the artificial impediments, which are created by the policy in question, there are natural causes which tend to render the external demand for the surplus of agricultural productions a precarious reliance. The differences of seasons in countries which are the consumers, make immense differences in the produce of their own soils, in different years, and consequently in the degrees of their necessity for foreign supply. Plethoric harvests with them, especially if similar ones occur at the same time in the countries which are the furnishers, occasion of course a glut in the markets of the latter.

Considering how fast and how much the progress of new settlements in the United States must increase the surplus produce of the soil, and weighing seriously the tendency of the policy which prevails among most of the commercial nations of Europe, whatever dependence may be placed on the force of natural circumstances to counteract the effects of an artificial policy,

near strong reasons to regard the foreign demand for the surplus as too uncertain a reliance, and to desire a substitute for it, in an extensive domestic market.

To secure such a market, there is no other expedient than for the United States to promote manufacturing establishments. Manufacturers, who constitute the most numerous class, after the cultivators of land, are for that reason the principal consumers of the surplus of their labour.

This idea of an extensive domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil, is of the first consequence to the United States. It is of all things that which most effectually conduces to a flourishing state of agriculture. If the effect of manufactories were to be the detaching a portion of the hands which would be otherwise engaged in tillage, it might possibly cause a smaller quantity of lands to be under cultivation: but by their tendency to procure a more certain demand for the surplus produce of the soil, they at the same time, cause the lands which are in cultivation to be better improved, and more productive. And while, by their influence, the condition of each individual farmer is meliorated, the total mass of agricultural production will probably be increased: for this must evidently depend as much, if not more, upon the degree of improvement, than upon the number of acres under culture.

It merits particular observation, that the multiplication of manufactories not only furnishes a market for those articles which have been accustomed to be produced in abundance in a country, but it likewise creates a demand for such as were either unknown, or produced in inconsiderable quantities. The bowels, as well as the surface of the earth, are ransacked for articles which were before neglected. Animals, plants, and minerals acquire a utility and value, which were before unexplored.

The foregoing considerations seem sufficient to establish, as general propositions, that it is the interest of nations, and particularly of the United States, to diversify the industrious pursuits of the individuals who compose them—that the establishment of manufactures is calculated not only to increase the general stock of useful and productive labour, but even to improve the state of agriculture in particular; certainly to advance the interest of those who are engaged in it. There are other views, that we shall hereafter take of the subject, which, it is conceived, will serve to confirm these inferences.

Previous to a further discussion of the objections to the encouragement of manufactures, which have been stated, it will be to see what can be said in reference to the particular

terms, all the labors of which it stands in need for the supply of its inhabitants. The power of doing this at least secures the great advantage of a division of labour, leaving the farmer free to devote exclusively the culture of his land, and enabling him to purchase with its products the manufactured supplies requisite either for his wants or to his enjoyments. And though it should be true that in settled countries the diversification of industry is conducive to an increase in the productive powers of labour, and to an accumulation of revenue and capital, yet it is scarcely conceivable that there can be any thing of so solid and permanent advantage to an uncultivated and unpeopled country, as to convert its wastes into cultivated and inhabited districts. If the revenue, in the present time, should be less, the capital, in the event, must be greater.

To these observations, the following appears to be a satisfactory answer, at least so far as they concern the American States.

If the system of perfect liberty to industry and commerce were the prevailing system of nations, the arguments which would persuade a country in the predicament of the United States, to pursue a zealous pursuit of manufactures, would doubtless have great weight. It will not be affirmed, that they might not be permitted, with a few exceptions, to serve as a rule of national conduct. In such a state of things, each country would have the full benefit of its peculiar advantages to compensate for its deficiencies or disadvantages. If one nation were in condition to supply manufactured goods on better terms than another that other might find an advantage

inferior degree of opulence in the mean time; and in a case in which opposite considerations are pretty equally balanced, the opinion ought perhaps always to be, in favour of leaving industry to its own direction.

But the system which has been mentioned is far from characterizing the general policy of nations. The prevalent one has been regulated by an opposite spirit. The consequence of it is, that the United States are to a certain extent in the situation of a country precluded from foreign commerce. They can indeed, without difficulty, obtain from abroad the manufactured supplies of which they are in want; but they experience numerous and very injurious impediments to the emission and vent of their own commodities. Nor is this the case in reference to a single foreign nation only. The regulations of several countries, with which they have the most extensive intercourse, throw serious obstructions in the way of the principal staples of the United States.

In such a position of things, the United States cannot exchange with Europe on equal terms; and the want of reciprocity would render them the victim of a system, which would induce them to confine their views to agriculture, and refrain from manufactures. A constant and increasing necessity, on their part, for the commodities of Europe, and only a partial and occasional demand for their own, in return, could not but expose them to a state of impoverishment, compared with the opulence to which their political and natural advantages authorize them to aspire.

Remarks of this kind are not made in the spirit of complaint. 'Tis for the nations, whose regulations are alluded to, to judge for themselves, whether by aiming at too much, they do not lose more than they gain. 'Tis for the United States to consider by what means they can render themselves least dependent on the combinations, right or wrong, of European policy.

It can be no small consolation to them, that already the measures which have embarrassed their trade have accelerated their internal improvements, which, upon the whole, have bettered their affairs. To diversify and extend these improvements is the surest and safest method of indemnifying themselves for any inconveniencies which those or similar measures have a tendency to create. If Europe will not take from them the products of their soil, upon terms consistent with their interest, the natural remedy is for them to contract as fast as possible their wants of her.

The conversion of their waste into cultivated land is a point of great moment in the political calculations of the states. But the degree in which this may possibly be encouraged by the encouragement of manufactures, does not admit of all the powerful inducements to asserting that

An observation made in another place is of a nature to great influence upon this question—If it cannot be denied, the interests even of agriculture may be advanced more by such of the lands of a state as are occupied under good cultivation, than by having a greater quantity occupied under inferior cultivation; and if manufactures, for the reasons already stated, must be admitted to have a tendency to promote a more rapid and vigorous cultivation of the lands occupied, than would be the case without them, then it will follow, that they are capable of indemnifying a country for a diminution of the progress of agriculture; and may serve to increase both the capital value and the income of its lands, even though they should abridge the number of acres under tillage.

But it does by no means follow, that the progress of new settlements will be retarded by the extension of manufactures. The desire of being an independent proprietor of land is found to be such strong principles in the human breast, that where the opportunity of becoming so is as great as it is in the United States, the proportion will be small of those, whose whole situations would otherwise lead to it, who will be diverted from it towards manufactures. And it is highly probable, as already intimated, that the accession of foreigners, who originally drawn over by manufacturing views, will afterwards abandon them for agriculture, and will be more than equivalent for those of her own citizens, who may happen to be detached from them.

The remaining objections to a particular encouragement of manufactures in the United States now require to be examined.

One of these turns on the position, that industry, if left to itself, will naturally find its way to the most useful and profitable employment: whence it is inferred, that manufactures, without the aid of government, will grow up as soon and as fast as the natural state of things, and the interest of the community require.

Against the solidity of this hypothesis, in the full limited terms, very cogent reasons may be offered. These have relation to the strong influence of habit and the spirit of imitation; the fear of want of success in untimed enterprises, the intrinsic difficulties incident to first essays towards a competition with those who have previously attained to perfection in the business attempted, the bounties, premiums, and other artificial encouragements, with which European nations second the exertions of their own subjects in the branches in which they are to be rivalled.

Experience teaches, that men are often so much governed by custom, that they are accustomed to see and practice, that the first

and most obvious improvements, in the most ordinary occupations, are adopted with hesitation, reluctance, and by slow gradations. The spontaneous transition to new pursuits, in a community long habituated to different ones, may be expected to be attended with proportionably greater difficulty. When former occupations cease to yield a profit adequate to the subsistence of their followers, or when there is an absolute deficiency, of employment in them, owing to the superabundance of hands, changes will ensue; but these changes will be likely to be more tardy than may consist with the interest either of individuals, or of the society. In many cases they will not happen, while a bare support can be ensured by an adherence to ancient courses, though a resort to a more profitable employment might be practicable. To produce the desirable changes, as early as may be expedient, may therefore require the incitement and patronage of government.

The apprehension of failing in new attempts is perhaps a more serious impediment. There are dispositions apt to be attracted by the mere novelty of an undertaking; but these are not always the best calculated to give it success. To this it is of importance that the confidence of cautious, sagacious capitalists, both citizens and foreigners, should be excited. And to inspire this description of persons with confidence, it is essential that they should be made to see in any project, which is new, and for that reason alone, if for no other, precarious, the prospect of such a degree of countenance and support from government, as may be capable of overcoming the obstacles inseparable from first experiments.

The superiority antecedently enjoined by nations, who have preoccupied and perfected a branch of industry, constitutes a more formidable obstacle, than either of those which have been mentioned, to the introduction of the same branch into a country in which it did not before exist. To maintain between the recent establishments of one country, and the long-matured establishments of another country, a competition upon equal terms, both as to quality and price, is in most cases impracticable. The disparity in the one or in the other, or in both, must necessarily be so considerable as to forbid a successful rivalry, without the extraordinary aid and protection of government.

But the greatest obstacle of all to the successful prosecution of a new branch of industry in a country in which it was before unknown, consists, as far as the instances apply, in the bounties, premiums, and other aids which are granted, in a variety of cases, by the nations in which the establishments to be imitated are previously introduced. It is well known, that certa

grant bounties on the exportation of particular commodities enable their own workmen to undersell and supplant all competitors, in the countries to which those commodities are sent. If the undertakers of a new manufacture have to contend not with the natural disadvantages of a new undertaking, but with the gratuities and remunerations which other governments bestow. To be enabled to contend with success, it is evident that the interference and aid of their own government are indispensable.

Combinations by those engaged in a particular branch of business in one country to frustrate the first efforts to introduce it into another, by temporary sacrifices, recompensed perhaps by extraordinary indemnifications of the government of such country, are believed to have existed, and are not to be regarded as destitute of probability. The existence or assurance of aid from the government of the country in which the business is to be introduced, may be essential to fortify adventurers against the dread of such combinations—to defeat their effects, if formed, and to prevent their being formed, by demonstrating that they must in the end prove fruitless.

Whatever room there may be for an expectation that the industry of a people, under the direction of private interest, will upon equal terms find out the most beneficial employment for itself, there is none for a reliance that it will struggle against the force of unequal terms, or will of itself surmount all the adventitious barriers to a successful competition, which may have been erected either by the advantages naturally acquired from position and previous possession of the ground, or by those which may have sprung from positive regulations and an artificial policy. This general reflection might alone suffice as an answer to the objection under examination, exclusively of the weighty considerations which have been particularly urged.

The objections to the pursuit of manufactures in the United States, which next present themselves to discussion, represent the impracticability of success, arising from three causes—scarcity of hands, dearth of labour, want of capital.

The two first circumstances are to a certain extent real, and within due limits, ought to be admitted as obstacles to the success of manufacturing enterprise in the United States. But there are various considerations which lessen their force, and tend to afford an assurance that they are not sufficient to prevent the advantageous prosecution of many very useful and extensive manufactures.

With regard to scarcity of hands, the fact itself must be supplied with no small qualification to certain parts of the United States. There are large districts which may be considered

pretty fully peopled, and which, notwithstanding a continual drain for distant settlements, are thickly interspersed with flourishing and increasing towns. If these districts have not already reached the point at which the scarcity of hands ceases, they are not remote from it, and are approaching fast towards it: and having, perhaps, fewer attractions to agriculture than some other parts of the union, they exhibit a proportionably stronger tendency towards other kinds of industry. In these districts may be discerned no inconsiderable maturity for manufacturing establishments.

But there are circumstances, which have been already noticed with another view, that materially diminish every where the effect of a scarcity of hands. These circumstances are—the great use which can be made of women and children; on which point a very pregnant and instructive fact has been mentioned; the vast extension given by late improvements to the employment of machines, which, substituting the agency of fire and water, has prodigiously lessened the necessity for manual labour; the employment of persons ordinarily engaged in other occupations, during the seasons, or hours of leisure; which, besides giving occasion to the exertion of a greater quantity of labour by the same number of persons, and thereby increasing the general stock of labour, as has been elsewhere remarked, may also be taken into the calculation, as a resource for obviating the scarcity of hands—lastly, the attraction of foreign emigrants. Whoever inspects with a careful eye the composition of their towns, will be made sensible to what an extent this resource may be relied upon. These exhibit a large proportion of ingenious and valuable workmen, in different arts and trades, who, by expatriating from Europe, have improved their own condition, and added to the industry and wealth of the United States. It is a natural inference from the experience they have already had, that in proportion as the United States shall present the countenance of a serious prosecution of manufactures, in proportion as foreign artists shall be made sensible that the state of things there affords a moral certainty of employment and encouragement competent numbers of European workmen will transplant themselves, effectually to ensure the success of the design. How indeed can it otherwise happen, considering the various and powerful inducements which the situation of America offers, addressing themselves to so many strong passions and feelings, to so many general and particular interests?

It may be affirmed, therefore, in respect to hands for carrying on manufactures, that they will in a great measure trade upon a foreign stock; reserving their own for the cultivation of their

lands and the manning of their ships, as far as character and circumstances shall incline. It is not unworthy of remark, that the objection to the success of manufactures, deduced from the scarcity of hands, is alike applicable to trade and navigation, and these are perceived to flourish, without any sensible impediment from that cause.

As to the dearness of labour, another of the obstacles alleged, this has relation principally to two circumstances; one, which has been just discussed, the scarcity of hands; the other, the greatness of profits.

As far as it is a consequence of the scarcity of hands, it is supported by all the considerations which have been adduced as tending to that deficiency. It is certain too, that the disparity in respect between some of the most manufacturing parts of England and a large proportion of the United States, is not nearly so great as is commonly imagined. It is also much less in regard to ~~parts~~ ^{artisans} and manufacturers than in regard to country labourers, while a careful comparison shews that there is, in this particular, much exaggeration, it is also evident, that the effect of the disparity which does truly exist, is diminished in proportion to the use which can be made of machinery.

To illustrate this last idea—Let it be supposed, that the difference of price, in two countries, of a given quantity of manufactured labour requisite to the fabrication of a given article is as ten to one; that some MECHANIC POWER is introduced into both countries, which performing half the necessary labour, leaves only half to be done by hand, it is evident, that the difference in the prices of the fabrications of the article in question, in the two countries, as far as it is connected with the price of labour, will be reduced from ten to five, in consequence of the introduction of MECHANIC POWER.

This circumstance is worthy of the most particular attention. It diminishes immensely one of the objections, most strenuously urged, against the success of manufactures in the United States.

For the United States to procure all such machines known in any part of Europe can only require a proper exertion and due pains. The knowledge of several of the most important of them they already possess. The preparation of them there is in most cases practicable on nearly equal terms. As they depend on water, some superiority of advantages is claimed, from the uncommon variety and greater cheapness of situations adapted to mill seats, with which different parts of the United States abound.

So far as the dearth of labour may be a consequence of the greatness of profits in any branch of business, it is no obstacle to its success. The undertaker can afford to pay the price.

There are grounds to conclude, that undertakers of manufactures in America, can at this time afford to pay higher wages to the workmen they employ than are paid to similar workmen in Europe. The price of foreign fabrics in the markets of the United States, which will for a long time regulate the prices of the domestic ones, may be considered as compounded of the following ingredients:—The first cost of materials, including the taxes, if any, which are paid upon them where they are made; the expence of grounds, buildings, machinery, and tools; the wages of the persons employed in the manufactory; the profits on the capital or stock employed; the commissions of agents to purchase them where they are made; the expence of transportation to the United States, including insurance and other incidental charges; the taxes or duties, if any, and fees of office which are paid on their exportation; the taxes or duties, and fees of office which are paid on their importation.

As to the first of these items, the cost of materials, the advantage, upon the whole, is at present on the side of the United States, and the difference in their favour must increase, in proportion as a certain and extensive domestic demand shall induce the proprietors of land to devote more of their attention to the production of those materials. It ought not to escape observation, in a comparison on this point, that some of the principal manufacturing countries of Europe are much more dependent on foreign supply for the materials of their manufactures, than the United States, who are capable of supplying themselves with a greater abundance, as well as a greater variety, of the requisite materials.

As to the second item, the expence of grounds, buildings, machinery, and tools, an equality at least may be assumed; since advantages in some particulars will counterbalance temporary disadvantages in others.

As to the third item, or the article of wages, the comparison certainly turns against the United States; though, as before observed, not in so great a degree as is commonly supposed.

The fourth item is alike applicable to the foreign and to the domestic manufacture. It is indeed more properly a result than a particular to be compared.

But with respect to all the remaining items, they are alone applicable to the foreign manufacture, and in the strictest sense, extraordinary; constituting a sum of extra charge on the foreign

fabric, which cannot be estimated at less than from 15 to 20 per cent. on the cost of it at the manufactory.

The sum of extra charge may confidently be regarded as more than a counterpoise for the real difference in the price of labour, and is a satisfactory proof that manufactures may prosper in the absence of it in the United States.

To the general allegation, connected with the circumstances of scarcity of hands and the dearth of labour, that extensive manufactures can only grow out of a redundant or full population, it will be sufficient to answer generally, that the fact has been otherwise.—That the situation alledged to be an essential condition of success, has not been that of several nations, at the time when they had already attained to maturity in a variety of manufactures.

The supposed want of capital for the prosecution of manufactures in the United States is the most indefinite of the objections which are usually opposed to it.

It is very difficult to pronounce any thing precise concerning the real extent of the monied capital of a country, and still more so concerning the proportion which it bears to the objects that require the employment of capital. It is not less difficult to pronounce, how far the effect of any given money, as capital, or in other words, as a medium for circulating the industry and property of a nation, may be increased by the very circumstances which give the additional motion which is given to it by new objects of employment. That effect, like the momentum of descending bodies, may not improperly be represented, as in a compound ratio of mass and velocity. It seems pretty certain, that a given sum of money, in a situation in which the quick impulses of commercial activity are little felt, will appear inadequate to the circulation of as great a quantity of industry and property as in one in which their full influence is experienced.

It is not obvious why the same objection might not as well be made to external commerce as to manufactures, since it is manifest that the immense tracts of land, occupied and unoccupied, are capable of giving employment to more capital than is actually flowed upon them. It is certain that the United States offer a vast field for the advantageous employment of capital, but it does not follow that there will not be, in one way or another, a sufficient fund for the successful prosecution of any species of industry which is likely to prove beneficial.

The following considerations are of a nature to remove all inquietude on the score of want of capital.

the introduction of banks, as has been shown on another occasion, is a powerful tendency to extend the active capital of a country. Experience of the utility of these institutions is multiplying them in the United States. It is probable that they will be established wherever they can exist with advantage, and wherever they can be supported, if administered with prudence, will add new energies to all pecuniary operations.

The aid of foreign capital may safely, and with considerable success, be taken into calculation. It is fundamentally has been experienced in their external commerce, and it has begun to be felt in various other modes. Not only their funds, but their agriculture and other internal improvements have been aided by it. It has already, in a few instances, extended even to manufactures.

It is a well known fact, that there are parts of Europe, which have more capital than profitable domestic objects of employment. Hence, among other proofs, the large loans continually furnished to foreign states. And it is equally certain, that the export of capital may find more profitable employment in the United States than at home. And notwithstanding there are weighty inducements to prefer the employment of capital at home, even at a profit, to an investment of it abroad, though with greater profit, yet these inducements are over-ruled, either by a deficiency of employment, or by a very material difference in profit. Both causes operate to produce a transfer of foreign capital to the United States. It is certain, that various objects in America hold advantages, which are with difficulty to be equalled elsewhere, and under the increasingly favourable impressions, which are entertained of its government, the attractions will become more and more strong. These impressions will prove a permanent prosperity to the country, if they are confirmed and strengthened by the progress of their affairs. And to secure this advantage, little more is necessary, than to foster industry, and cultivate order and tranquility at home and abroad.

It is not impossible, that there may be persons disposed to look with a jealous eye on the introduction of foreign capital, as if it were an instrument to deprive their own citizens of the profits of their industry; but perhaps there never could be a more unreasonable jealousy. Instead of being viewed as a rival, it might be considered as a most valuable ally. It would afford a greater quantity of capital for the most useful enterprise, than could be raised in any other country situated in the same manner, and of course, it would be

capital, which is laid out in internal ameliorations, and in numerous establishments of a permanent nature, is a precious acquisition.

And whatever be the objects which originally attract foreign capital, when once introduced, it may be directed towards any purpose of beneficial exertion, which is desired. And to detain it in the United States, there can be no expedient so effectual as to enlarge the sphere, within which it may be usefully employed. Though introduced merely with views to speculations in funds, it may afterwards be rendered subservient to the interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

But the attraction of foreign capital for the direct purposes of manufactures ought not to be deemed a chimerical expectation. There are already examples of it, as remarked in another place. And the examples, if the disposition be cultivated, can hardly fail to multiply. There are also instances of another kind, which serve to strengthen the expectation; enterprises for improving the public communications, by cutting canals, opening the obstructions in rivers, and erecting bridges, have received very material aid from the same source.

When the manufacturing capitalist of Europe shall advert to the many important advantages which have been intimated in the course of these remarks, he cannot but perceive very powerful inducements to a transfer of himself and his capital to the United States. Among the reflections which a most interesting peculiarity of situation is calculated to suggest, it cannot escape his observation, as a circumstance of moment in the calculation, that the progressive population and improvement of the United States ensure a continually increasing domestic demand for the fabrics which he shall produce, not to be affected by any external casualties or vicissitudes.

But while there are circumstances sufficiently strong to authorize a considerable degree of reliance on the aid of foreign capital towards the attainment of the object in view, it is satisfactory to have good grounds of assurance, that there are domestic resources of themselves adequate to it. It happens, that there is a species of capital, actually existing within the United States, which is free from all inquietude on the score of want of capital.—This is the funded debt.

The effect of a funded debt, as a species of capital, has been noticed upon a former occasion; but a more particular elucidation of the point seems to be required by the stress which is laid upon it.

Public funds answer the purpose of capital, from the certainty in which they are usually held by married men; and con-

entity from the ease and dispatch with which they can be turned into money. In the process of payment, contributors into debt, causes a transfer of stock to be in a great number of cases equivalent to a payment in coin.—And where it does not happen, but the party who is to receive, to accept a transfer of stock, a party who is to pay, is never at a loss to find elsewhere a purchaser of his stock, who will furnish him in lieu of it, with the amount which he stands in need.

Hence in a sound and settled state of the public funds, a man possessed of a sum in them can embrace any scheme of business and offers with as much confidence as if he were possessed of an equal sum in coin.

This operation of public funds, as capital, is too obvious to be denied—but it is objected to the idea of their operating as an augmentation of the capital of the community, that they serve to replace the destruction of some other capital to an equal amount.

The capital which alone they can be supposed to destroy, must be of two kinds.—The annual revenue, which is applied to the payment of interest on the debt, and to the gradual redemption of the principal.—The amount of the coin, which is employed in circulating the funds, or in other words, in effecting the different alienations which they undergo.

But the following appears to be the true and accurate view of the matter:—

As to the point of the annual revenue requisite for payment of interest and redemption of principal:

As a determinate proportion will tend to perpetuity in the sinking fund, let it be supposed, that the annual revenue to be applied, in providing with the modification of the 6 per cent. stock of the United States, is in the ratio, of eight upon the hundred, that is in the first instance, six on account of interest, and two on account of principal.

Thus far it is evident, that the capital destroyed to the capital paid, would bear no greater proportion than 8 to 100. There would be withdrawn from the total mass of other capitals a sum of 80 dollars to be paid to the public creditor; while he would be added of a sum of one hundred dollars, ready to be applied to any purpose, to be embarked in any enterprise, which might be to him eligible.—Here then the augmentation of capital, is exactly of that which is paid and destroyed; that is, the capital destroyed, is equal to 8.

and so; but there will be at every instant of time our
will be paid in gold or silver corresponding with the
the principal as the interest comes in the hands of some
or other employed, or it will be employed in some pro-
ducing. There will therefore constantly be more ca-
pacity to be employed, than capital taken from employ-
ment. The excess for the first year has been fixed to be ninety mil-
lions; it will diminish yearly; but there will always be an
until the principal of the debt is brought to a level with
decreasing annuity, that is, in the case which has been assumed
way of example, to eight dollars. The reality of this ex-
cess is payable, if it be supposed, as often happens, that
a foreign country imports into the United States more
for the purchase of an equal sum of public debt—here is
the augmentation of the mass of circulating coin to the
100 dollars. At the end of a year, the foreigner is pre-
sented back eight dollars on account of his principal and
there still leaves ninety-two of his original deposit in circula-
tion. In like manner leaves eighty-four at the end of the
second year, drawing back then also the sum of eight dollars
on account of his principal; the capital left in circulation is
eighty dollars, and coming nearer to the level of the annuity
of eight. There are, however, some differences in the ultimate
of the part of the debt, which is purchased by for-
eigners, which remains in the hands of citizens. But the

either immediately by employing the money in some branch of industry, or mediately by lending it to some other person who does so employ it, or by spending it on his own maintenance. In either supposition, there is no destruction of capital : there is nothing more than a suspension of its motion for a time, that is, while it is passing from the hands of those who pay into the public coffers, and thence through the public creditor into some other channel of circulation. When the payments of interest are periodical and quick, and made by the instrumentality of banks, the diversion or suspension of capital may almost be denominated momentary. Hence the deduction on this account is far less than it at first sight appears to be.

There is evidently, as far as regards the annuity, no destruction nor transfer of any other capital, than that portion of the income of each individual, which goes to make up the annuity. The land which furnishes the farmer with the sum which he is to contribute remains the same ; and the like may be observed of other capitals. Indeed, as far as the tax, which is the object of contribution (as frequently happens when it does not oppress by its weight) may have been a motive to greater exertion in any occupation ; it may even serve to increase the contributory capital. This idea is not without importance in the general view of the subject.

It remains to see, what further deduction ought to be made from the capital which is created, by the existence of the debt, on account of the coin which is employed in its circulation. This is susceptible of much less precise calculation than the article which has been just discussed. It is impossible to say, what proportion of coin is necessary to carry on the alienations which any species of property usually undergoes. The quantity, indeed, varies according to circumstances. But it may still without hesitation be pronounced, from the quickness of the rotation, or rather of the transitions, that the medium of circulation always bears but a small proportion to the amount of the property circulated. And it is thence satisfactorily deducible, that the coin employed in the negotiations of the funds, and which serves to give them activity as capital, is incomparably less than the sum of the debt negotiated for the purpose of business.

It ought not, however, to be omitted, that the negotiation of the funds becomes itself a distinct business, which employs, and by employing, diverts a portion of the circulating coin from other pursuits. But making due allowance for this circumstance, there is no reason to conclude, that, the effect of the diversion of coin in the whole operation bears any considerable proportion to the

amount of the capital to which it gives activity. The sum of the debt in circulation is continually at the command of any useful enterprise; the coin itself, which circulates it, is never more than momentarily suspended from its ordinary functions. It experiences an incessant and rapid flux and reflux to and from the channel of industry to those of speculations in the funds.

There are strong circumstances in confirmation of this theory. The force of mortgaged capital which has been displayed in Great Britain, and the height to which every species of industry has grown up under it, defy a solution from the quantity of coin which that kingdom has ever possessed. Accordingly it has been co-eval with its funding system, the prevailing opinion of the men of business, and of the generality of the most sagacious theorists of that country, that the operation of the public funds as capital has contributed to the effect in question. Among the American appearances thus far favour the same conclusion. Industry in general seems to have been re-animated. There are symptoms indicating an extension of their commerce. Their navigation has certainly of late had a considerable spring, and there appears to be in many parts of the Union a command of capital, which, till lately since the revolution at least, was unknown. But it is at the same time to be acknowledged, that other circumstances have concurred, and in a great degree, in producing the present state of things, and that the appearances are not yet sufficiently decisive to be entirely relied upon.

In the question under discussion, it is important to distinguish between an absolute increase of capital, or an accession of real wealth and an artificial increase of capital, as an engine of business, or as an instrument of industry and commerce. In the first sense, a funded debt has no pretensions to being deemed an increase of capital; in the last, it has pretensions which are not easy to be controverted. Of a similar nature is bank credit, and, in an inferior degree, every species of private credit.

But though a funded debt is not in the first instance, an absolute increase of capital, or an augmentation of real wealth; yet, by serving as a new power in the operation of industry, it has within certain bounds a tendency to increase the real wealth of a community; in like manner as money borrowed by a thrifty farmer, to be laid out in the improvement of his farm, may, in the end, add to his stock of real riches.

There are respectable individuals, who, from a just aversion to an accumulation of public debt, are unwilling to concede to it any kind of utility, who can discern no good to alleviate the ill with which they suppose it pregnant: who cannot be persuaded, that it ought in any sense to be viewed as an increase of capital, lest it should

be inferred, as it has erroneously been in Great Britain, that the more ~~debt~~ the more capital, the greater the burthens the greater the ~~burthens~~ of the community.

But it interests the public to have estimated every object as it truly is: to appreciate how far the good in any measure is compensated by the ill; or the ill by the good; either of them is seldom unmixed.

But it will not follow, that an accumulation of debt is desirable, because a certain degree of it operates as a capital. There may be a plethora in the political, as in the natural body; there may be a state of things in which any such artificial capital is unnecessary. The debt too may be swelled to such a size, as that the greatest part of it may cease to be useful as a capital, serving only as it does in England, to burden the labouring mechanic, and pamper the dissipation of idle and dissolute individuals; as that the sum required to pay the interest upon it may become oppressive, and beyond the means which a government can employ, consistently with its tranquility, to raise them—as that the resources of taxation to face the debt may have been strained too far to admit of extensions adequate to exigencies, which regard the public safety.

Where this critical point is, we cannot pronounce with precision, but it is impossible to believe, that there is not such a point, and almost equally difficult to doubt, but that most of the old governments of Europe are nearly arrived at it.

And as the vicissitudes of nations beget a perpetual tendency to the accumulation of debt, there ought to be in every government a perpetual, anxious, and unceasing effort to reduce that, which at any time exists, as fast as shall be practicable, consistently with integrity and good faith.

Reasonings on a subject comprehending ideas so abstract and complex, so little reducible to precise calculation as those which enter into the question just discussed, are always attended with a danger of running into fallacies. Due allowance ought therefore to be made for this possibility—But as far as the nature of the subject admits of, it there appears to be satisfactory ground for a belief that the public funds operate as a resource of capital to the citizens of the United States, and if they are a resource at all, it is an extensive one.

To all the arguments which are brought forward, the impracticability of success in manufacturing, the impracticability of success in manufacturing, the United States, it might have been a sufficient answer, that the experience of what has been done in several important branches of commerce, and the rapidity and success which it has attained, is a sufficient answer to the objection.

cans themselves; affording an encouraging assurance of future attempts; of these it may not be improper to enumerate the most considerable.

I. Tanned and tawed leather, dressed skins, boots, slippers, harness, and saddlery of all kinds, portmanteaus and leather breeches, gloves, muffs and tippets, parchment.

II. Bar and sheet iron, steel, nail rods, and nails, iron of husbandry, stoves, pots, and other household utensils, and iron work for carriages, and ship-building, anchors, beams and weights, various tools of artificers, arms of all kinds, the manufacture of these last has of late diminished in demand.

III. Ships, cabinet wares and turnery, wool and cotton, and other machinery for manufactures and husbandry, musical instruments, cooper's wares of every kind.

IV. Cables, sail-cloth, cordage, twine and pack-thread.

V. Bricks and coarse tiles, and potters wares.

VI. Ardent spirits and malt liquors.

VII. Writing and printing paper, sheathing and wrapping paper, paste-boards, fullers or press papers, paper hangings.

VIII. Hats of fur and wool, and of mixtures of both—mens stuff and silk shoes.

IX. Refined sugars.

X. Oils of animals and seeds, soap, spermaceti and candles.

XI. Copper and brass wares, particularly utensils for brewers, sugar refiners and brewers, and irons and other articles of household use—philosophical apparatus, &c.

XII. Tin wares for most purposes of ordinary use.

XIII. Carriages of all kinds.

XIV. Snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco.

XV. Starch and hair powder.

XVI. Lampblack and other painters colours.

XVII. Gunpowder.

Besides manufactories of these articles which are carried on by regular trades, and have attained to a considerable degree of celebrity, there is a vast scene of household manufacturing, which contributes more largely to the supply of the community than can be imagined, without having made it an object of particular inquiry. This observation is the pleasing result of the investigation to which the subject has led, and is applicable as well to the south as to the middle and northern states; great quantities of cloths, coatings, serges, and flannels, linsey-woolseys, hosiery, wool, cotton, and thread, coarse fustians, jeans and muslin, checked and striped cotton and linen goods, bedticks, cover-

and counterpanes, tow linens, coarse shirtings, sheetings, toweling and table linen, and various mixtures of wool and cotton, and of cotton and flax, are made in the household way, and in many instances to an extent not only sufficient for the supply of the families in which they are made, but for sale, and even in some cases for exportation. It is computed in a number of districts, that two thirds, three fourths, and even four-fifths, of all the clothing of the inhabitants are made by themselves. The importance of so great a progress, as appears to have been made in family manufactures within a few years, both in a moral and political view, renders the fact highly interesting.

Neither does the above enumeration comprehend all the articles that are manufactured as regular trades; many others occur which are equally well established, but which not being of equal importance have been omitted; and there are many attempts still in their infancy, which though attended with very favourable appearances, could not have been properly comprised in an enumeration of manufactories already established. There are other articles also of great importance, which, though strictly speaking, manufactures, are omitted, as being immediately connected with husbandry, such are flour, pot and pearl ash, pitch, tar, turpentine, and the like.

There remains to be noticed an objection to the encouragement of manufactures, of a nature different from those which question the probability of success.—This is derived from its supposed tendency to give a monopoly of advantages to particular classes at the expence of the rest of the community, who, it is affirmed, would be able to procure the requisite supplies of manufactured articles on better terms from foreigners than from their own citizens, and who it is alledged, are reduced to the necessity of paying an enhanced price for whatever they want, by every measure which obstructs the free competition of foreign commodities.

It is not an unreasonable supposition, that measures which serve to abridge the free competition of foreign articles have a tendency to occasion an enhancement of prices, and it is not to be denied that such is the effect in a number of cases; but the fact does not uniformly correspond with the theory. A reduction of price has, in several instances, immediately succeeded the establishment of a domestic manufacture. Whether it be that foreign manufactures endeavour to supplant, by underselling, their own, or whatever else be the cause, the effect has been such as is stated, and the reverse of what might have been expected.

But though it were true, that the immediate and certain effect of regulations controuling the competition of foreign with domestic fabrics was an increase of price, it is universally true, that the

experience.

Hence it follows, that it is **the interest** of the United States to establish a permanent **economy**, to encourage manufactures. In a national view, a temporary depression of price must always be well compensated by a permanent increase of it.

It is a reflection which may with propriety be made, that this eventual diminution of the prices of manufactures, which is the result of internal manufacturing, has a direct and very important tendency to benefit agriculture. It enables the farmer to procure, with a smaller quantity of labour, the manufactured produce of which he stands in need, consequently increases the value of his income and his power of consumption.

The objections which are commonly made to the encouragement of manufactures, and to the probability of succeeding in this pursuit in the United States, having now been considered, the following considerations which have appeared in the course of the discussion, recommending that species of industry to the attention of the American government, will be materially strengthened. Some general and some particular topics, which have been mentioned, require subsequent notice.

It seems to be a moral certainty, that the trade of a country, whether manufacturing and agricultural, will be more extensive and prosperous than that of a country which is exclusively agricultural.

Difference of seasons have been elsewhere remarked: this uniformity of demand on one side, and unsteadiness of it on the other, must necessarily have a tendency to cause the general course of the exchange of commodities between the parties to turn to the disadvantage of the merely agricultural states. Peculiarity of situation, a climate and soil adapted to the production of peculiar commodities, may sometimes contradict the rule; but there is every reason to believe that it will be found in the main a just one.

Another circumstance which gives a superiority of commercial advantages to states, that manufacture, as well as cultivate, consists in the more numerous attractions which a more diversified market offers to foreign customers, and in the greater scope which it affords to mercantile enterprise. It is a position of indisputable truth in commerce, depending too on very obvious reasons, that the greatest resort will ever be to those marts, where commodities, while equally abundant, are most various. Each difference of soil holds out an additional inducement, and it is a position not less clear, that the field of enterprise must be enlarged to the merchants of a country, in proportion to the variety as well as the abundance of commodities which they find at home for exportation to foreign markets.

A third circumstance, perhaps not inferior to either of the other two, conferring the superiority which has been stated, has relation to the stagnations of demand for certain commodities, which at some time or other interfere more or less with the sale of all.—The nation which can bring to market but few articles, is likely to be more quickly and sensibly affected by such stagnations, than one which is always possessed of a great variety of commodities: the former frequently finds too great a portion of its stock of materials, for sale or exchange, lying on hand—or is obliged to make injurious sacrifices to supply its wants of foreign articles, which are numerous and urgent, in proportion to the smallness of the number of its own. The latter commonly finds itself indemnified by the high prices of some articles for the low prices of others—and the prompt and advantageous sale of those articles which are in demand enables its merchants the better to wait for a favourable change, in respect to those which are not. There is ground to believe, that a difference of situation, in this particular, has immensely different effects upon the wealth and prosperity of nations.

From these circumstances collectively, two important inferences may be drawn; one, that there is always a higher probability of a favourable balance of trade, in regard to countries in which man-

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ded on the basis of a thriving agriculture, flourish, to those which are confined wholly, or almost culture, the other, which is a consequence of the tries of the former description are likely to possess wealth, or money, than those of the latter. to correspond with this conclusion. The impor- factured supplies seem invariably to drain the mere- people of their wealth. Let the situation of the countries of Europe be compared in this particular those countries which only cultivate, and the dif- be striking. Other ss, it is true, help to account ury between some pm; and among these causes, th ve state of agriculture between others of them, the mol nment circumstance of di miltude arises from the com- j utive state of manufactures. In corroboration of the same idea, to escape remark, that the West India islands, the are the most fertile, and the nation, which in the gre gree supplies the rest of the world, with the precious metals, exchange to a loss with almost every other country.

As far as experience in America may guide, it will lead to the same conclusion. Previous to the revolution, the quantity of coin possessed by the colonies, which now compose the United States, appeared to be inadequate to their circulation, and their debt to Great Britain was progressive. Since the revolution, the States, in which manufactures have most increased, have recovered fastest from the injuries of the late war, and abound most in pecuniary resources.

It ought to be admitted, however, in this as in the preceding case, that causes irrelative to the state of manufactures account, in a degree, for the phenomena remarked. The continual progress of new settlements, has a natural tendency to occasion an unfavourable balance of trade, though it indemnifies for the inconvenience, by the increase of the national capital which flows from the conversion of waste into improved lands: and the different degrees of external commerce which are carried on by the different States, may make material differences in the comparative state of their wealth. The first circumstance has reference to the deficiency of coin, and the increase of debt previous to the revolution: the last, to the advantages which the most manufacturing States appear to have enjoyed over the others, since the termination of the late war.

But the uniform appearance of an abundance of specie, as the concomitant of a flourishing state of manufactures, and of the re-

where they do not prevail, afford a strong presumption of their favourable operation upon the wealth of a country.

Not only the wealth, but the independence and security of a country, appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufactures. Every nation, with a view to those great objects, ought to endeavour to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply. These comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, cloathing, and defence.

The possession of these is necessary to the perfection of the body politic, to the safety as well as to the welfare of the society; the want of either is the want of an important organ of political life and motion; and in the various critical events which await a state, it must severely feel the effects of any such deficiency. The extreme embarrassments of the United States during the late war, from an incapacity of supplying themselves, are still matter of keen recollection: a future war might be expected again to exemplify the mischiefs and dangers of a situation, to which that incapacity is still in too great a degree applicable, unless changed by timely and vigorous exertions. To effect this change, as fast as shall be prudent, merits all the attention and all the zeal of their public councils: it is the next great work to be accomplished.

The want of a navy to protect the external commerce of the United States, as long as it shall continue, must render it a peculiarly precarious reliance for the supply of essential articles, and must serve to strengthen prodigiously the arguments in favour of manufactures.

To these general considerations are added some of a more particular nature.

Their distance from Europe, the great fountain of manufactured supply, subjects them, in the existing state of things, to inconvenience and loss in two ways.

The bulkiness of those commodities which are the chief productions of the soil, necessarily imposes very heavy charges on their transportation to distant markets. These charges, in the cases in which the nations, to whom their products are sent, maintain a competition in the supply of their own markets, principally fall upon them, and form material deductions from the primitive value of the articles furnished. The charges on manufactured supplies carried from Europe are greatly enhanced by the same circumstance of distance. These charges, again, in the cases in which their own industry maintains no competition in their own markets, also principally fall upon them, and are a principal cause of extraordinary deduction from the primitive value of their own products, these being the materials of exchange for the foreign fabrics which they consume.

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and moderation of individual property, and the effects of new districts, occasioned in the United States demand for coarse manufactures, the charges of greater in proportion to their greater bulk, augment the weight which has been just described.

Our domestic supplies maintain a very competition with such foreign productions of the soil as are offered for sale; if the extensive establishment of manufactures in the United States does not create a similar competition in respect to manufactured articles, it appears to be clearly deducible, from the considerations which have been mentioned, that they must sustain a double loss in the exchanges with foreign nations, strongly conducive to an unfavorable balance of trade, and very prejudicial to their interests.

These disadvantages press with no small weight on the landed interest of the country; in seasons of peace they cause a serious deduction from the intrinsic value of the products of the soil; and in case of war, which should either involve themselves, or any other nation, possessing a considerable share of their carrying trade, the charges on the transportation of their commodities, bulky as most of them are, under such circumstances, could hardly fail to prove a grievous burthen to the farmer, while obliged to depend in too great a degree as he now does upon foreign markets for the vent of the surplus of his labour.

As far as the prosperity of the fisheries of the United States is impeded by the want of an adequate market, there arises another special reason for desiring the extension of manufactures. Besides the fish, which in many places would be likely to make a part of the subsistence of the persons employed, it is known that the oils, bones, and skins of marine animals, are of extensive use in various manufactures; hence the prospect of an additional demand for the produce of the fisheries.

One more point of view only remains, in which to consider the expediency of the utmost encouragement being given to manufactures in the United States.

It is not uncommon to meet with an opinion, that though the promoting of manufactures may be the interest of a part of the Union, it is contrary to that of another part; the northern and southern regions are sometimes represented as having adverse interests in this respect; there are called manufacturing, the agricultural states, and a species of opposition is imagined to subsist between the manufacturing and agricultural interests.

This idea of an opposition between those two interests has been the common error of the early periods of every country, but experience gradually dissipates it: indeed, they are perceived to

mutual succour and to befriend each other, that they come at length to be considered as one; a supposition which has been frequently abused, and is not universally true. Particular encouragements of particular manufactures may be of a nature to sacrifice the interests of landholders to those of manufacturers; but it is nevertheless a maxim well established by experience, and generally acknowledged, where there has been sufficient experience, that the aggregate prosperity of manufactures, and the aggregate prosperity of agriculture are intimately connected. In the course of this discussion, various weighty considerations have been adduced operating in support of this opinion. Perhaps the superior fecundity of the demand of a domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil is alone a convincing argument of its truth.

Ideas of a contrariety of interests between the northern and southern regions of the United States, are in the main as unfounded as they are mischievous; the diversity of circumstances, on which such contrariety is usually predicated, authorises a direct contrary conclusion; mutual wants constitute one of the strongest links of political connection, and the extent of these bears a mutual proportion to the diversity in the means of mutual supply.

Suggestions of an opposite complexion are ever to be deplored, as unfriendly to the steady pursuit of one great common cause, and to the perfect harmony of all the parts.

In proportion as the mind is accustomed to trace the intimate connection of interests which subsist between all the parts of a society, united under the same government; and the infinite variety of channels, which serve to circulate the prosperity of each to and through the rest, in that proportion it will be little apt to be disturbed by sollicitudes and apprehensions which originate in local discriminations. It is a truth as important as it is agreeable, and one to which it is not easy to imagine exceptions, that every thing tending to establish substantial and permanent order in the affairs of a country, to increase the total mass of industry and opulence, is ultimately beneficial to every part of it. On the credit of this great truth an acquiescence may safely be accorded to every quarter to all institutions and arrangements, which promote a confirmation of public order, and an augmentation of national resource.

But there are more particular considerations which serve to fortify the idea, that the encouragement of manufactures is the interest of all parts of the American Union. If the northern and middle states should be the principal scenes of such establishment they would immediately benefit the more southern countries for productions, some of which they demand, and others of which are

THE CLIMATE OF THE SOUTH IS ALSO BETTER ADAPTED TO THE
of silk.

The extensive cultivation of cotton can, perhaps, be
expected, without the previous establishment of domestic
factories of the article; there in some of the States have
been established, and have already arrived at a degree of perfect
respectability hardly to have been expected in the time
surest encouragement and vent for the others, will require
similar establishments in respect to them.

If then it satisfactorily appears, that it is the interest
of the United States generally to encourage manufactures, it merits
particular attention, that there are circumstances which now
present a critical moment for entering with zeal upon this im-
portant business; the effort cannot fail to be materially seconded
by a considerable and increasing influx of money, arising from
the numbers who have, and which still continue to transfer their
wealth and capitals from the Old World to the different States
in consequence of foreign speculations in their funds—and by the
removal of the disorders and oppressions which exist in different parts of
Europe.

The first circumstance not only facilitates the execution of
manufacturing enterprises, but it indicates them as a necessary
step to turn their increasing population and capital, to advantage
and to prevent their being eventually an evil. If useful
employment can be not found for the money of foreigners who are daily
settling their residence in the United States and for that which

in similar improvements, it will be productive of substantial benefit; but there is reason to doubt, whether in such channels it is likely to find sufficient employment, and still more, whether it is those who possess it will be as readily attracted to objects of this nature as to manufacturing pursuits, which bear greater resemblance to those to which they have been accustomed, and to the pleasures generated by them.

To open the one field, as well as the other, will at least secure
 the prospect of useful employment, for whatever accession of
 labor and money there has been or may be.

There is at the present juncture a certain fermentation of mind, an activity of speculation and enterprise, which, if properly directed, may be made subservient to useful purposes, but if left entirely to itself, may be attended with pernicious

The disturbed state of Europe inclining its citizens to emigrate, the requisite workmen will be more easily acquired for domestic manufactures than at another time; and the effect of multiplying the opportunities of employment to those who emigrate, by an increase of the number and extent of valuable acquisitions to the population, arts, and industry of the United States, to find pleasure in the calamities of other nations would be fatal, but for the Americans to benefit themselves by opening a salu- tary commerce to those who suffer in consequence of them, is as just as it is politic.

A view having now been taken of the inducements to the
 of manufactures in the United States, accompanied
 an examination of the principal objections which are urged
 thereto by some of their own citizens, it is proper,
 next place to consider the means by which the promotion
 may be effected, as introductory to a specification of the
 for, which, in the present state of things, appear the most fit to
 be urged, and of the particular measures which it would be
 proper for them to adopt in respect to each.

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re numerous topics which have been suggested, let by the laws of the United States in a variety of instances the additional recommendation of being a resource.—Indeed all the duties imposed on imported articles with an exclusive view to revenue, have the effect of protection, and, except where they fall on raw materials, with a beneficent aspect towards the manufactures of the country.

II. *Prohibitions of rival articles, or duties equivalent to prohibitions.*
This is another and an efficacious mean of encouraging the national manufactures, but in general it is only fit to be employed when a manufacture has made such a progress, and is in so many hands as to ensure a due competition, and an adequate supply on reasonable terms. Of duties equivalent to prohibitions, there are examples in the laws of the United States, and there are cases to which the principle may be advantageously extended, but they are not numerous.

Considering a monopoly of the domestic market to its manufactures as the reigning policy of manufacturing nations, a similar policy on the part of the United States in every proper instance is dictated, it might almost be said, by the principles of distributive justice; certainly by the duty of endeavouring to secure to their own citizens a receipt of advantages.

III. *Prohibitions of foreign raw materials, or manufactures.*
The desire of securing a cheap and plentiful supply for the national workmen, where the article is either peculiar to the country, or of peculiar quality there,—the jealousy of enabling foreign workmen to rival those of the nation with its own materials, are the leading motives to this species of restraint. It ought not to be affirmed that this regulation is in no instance proper; but it is certainly one which ought to be adopted with great circumspection, and only in very plain cases. It is from its force, that the immediate operation is to abridge the demand, and keep down the price of the produce of some other branch of industry, generally speaking, of agriculture, to the prejudice of those who carry it on; and though, if it be really essential to the prosperity of any very important national manufacture, it may happen that those who are injured in the first instance, may be eventually indemnified by the superior readiness of an extensive domestic market depending on that prosperity, yet in a matter in which there is so much room for nice and difficult combinations, in which such opposite considerations combat each other, prudence is to dictate, that the expedient in question ought to be used with a sparing hand.

IV. *Pecuniary bounties.*

This has been found one of the most efficacious means of encouraging manufactures, and it is, in some views, the best. Though it has not yet been much practised upon by the government of the United States, unless the allowance on the exportation of dried and pickled fish and salted meat could be considered as a bounty, this method of encouraging manufactures, though less favoured by public opinion than some other modes, has its advantages.

1. It is a species of encouragement more positive and direct than any other, and, for that very reason, has an immediate tendency to stimulate and uphold new enterprises, increasing the chances of profit, and diminishing the risks of loss, in the first attempts.

2. It avoids the inconvenience of a temporary augmentation of price, which is incident to some other modes, or it produces it to a less degree; either by making no addition to the charges on the rival foreign article, as in the case of protecting duties, or by making a smaller addition. The first happens when the fund for the bounty is derived from a different object, which may or may not increase the price of some other article, according to the nature of that object; the second, when the fund is derived from the same or a similar object of foreign manufacture. One per cent. duty on the foreign article converted into a bounty on the domestic, will have an equal effect with a duty of two per cent. exclusive of such bounty; as the price of the foreign commodity is liable to be raised, in the one case, in the proportion of one per cent.; in the other, in that of two per cent. But the bounty when drawn from another source is calculated to promote a reduction of price; because, without laying any new charge on the foreign article, it serves to introduce a competition with it, and to increase the total quantity of the article in the market.

3. Bounties have not, like high protecting duties, a tendency to produce scarcity. An increase of price is not always the immediate, though, where the progress of a domestic manufacture does not counteract a rise, it is commonly the ultimate effect of an additional duty. In the interval between the laying of the duty, and a proportional increase of price, it may discourage importation, by interfering with the profits to be expected from the sale of the article.

4. Bounties are sometimes not only the best, but the only proper expedient, for uniting the encouragement of a new object of agriculture with that of a new object of manufacture. It is the interest of the farmer to have the production of the raw material promoted, by counteracting the interference of the foreign man-

The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established, is almost always be of questionable policy; because a presumption would arise in every such case, that there were natural and inherent impediments to success. But in new undertakings they are as justifiable, as they are oftentimes necessary.

There is a degree of prejudice against bounties, from an appearance of giving away the public money, without an immediate consideration, and from a supposition that they serve to enrich particular classes at the expence of the community.

But neither of these sources of dislike will bear a serious examination when applied to an infant state. There is no purpose to which public money can be more beneficially applied, than to the acquisition of a new and useful branch of industry; no consideration more valuable than a permanent addition to the general stock of productive labour.

As to the second source of objection, it equally lies against other modes of encouragement which are admitted to be eligible. As often as a duty upon a foreign article makes an addition to its price, it causes an extra expence to the community, for the benefit of the domestic manufacturer. A bounty does no more. But it is the interest of the society in each case to submit to a temporary expence, which is more than compensated by an increase of industry and wealth, by an augmentation of resources and independence; and by the circumstance of eventual cheapness, which has been noticed in another place.

It would deserve attention, however, in the employment of this species of encouragement in the United States, as a reason for moderating the degree of it in the instances in which it might be deemed eligible, that the great distance of the United States from Europe imposes very heavy charges on all the fabrics which are brought from thence, amounting from 15 to 30 per cent. on their value, according to their bulk.

V. *Premiums.*

These are of a nature allied to bounties, though distinguishable from them in some important features.

Bounties are applicable to the whole quantity of an article produced or manufactured, or exported, and involve a correspondent expence.—Premiums serve to reward some particular excellence or superiority, some extraordinary exertion or skill, and are dispensed only in a small number of cases; but their effect is to stimulate general effort—contrived so as to be both honorary and lucrative, they address themselves to different passions, touching the chords as well of emulation as of interest.—They are accordingly a very economical mean of exciting the enterprise of a whole community.

There are various societies in different countries, whose object is the dispensation of premiums for the encouragement of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and though they are for the most part voluntary associations, with comparatively slender funds, their utility has been immense. Much has been done by this mean in Great Britain; Scotland in particular owes materially to it a prodigious amelioration of condition. From a similar establishment in the United States, supplied and supported by the Government of the Union, vast benefits might reasonably be expected.

VI. The exemption of the materials of manufactures from duty.

The policy of that exemption as a general rule, particularly in relation to new establishments, is obvious. It can hardly ever be advisable to add the obstructions of fiscal burthens to the difficulties which naturally embarrass a new manufacture; and where it is matured and in condition to become an object of revenue, it is, generally speaking, better that the fabric, than the material, should be the subject of taxation.—Ideas of proportion between the quantum of the tax and the value of the article can be more easily adjusted in the former than in the latter case. An argument for exemptions of this kind in the United States is to be derived from the practice, as far as their necessities have permitted, of those nations whom they are to meet as competitors in their own and in foreign markets.

There are, however, exceptions to it: of which some examples will be given under the next head.

The laws of the Union afford instances of the observance of the policy here recommended: but it will probably be found advisable to extend it to some other cases.—Of a nature, bearing some affinity to that policy, is the regulation which exempts from duty the tools and implements, as well as the books, clothes, and household furniture of foreign artists who come to reside in the United States; an advantage already secured to them by the laws of the Union, and which it is in every view, proper to continue.

VII. Drawbacks of the duties which are imposed on the materials of manufactures.

It has already been observed, as a general rule, that duties on those materials ought, with certain exceptions, to be foreborne. Of these exceptions, three cases occur, which may serve as examples—one, where the material is itself an object of general or extensive consumption, and a fit and productive source of revenue—another where a manufacture of a simpler kind, the competition of which with a like domestic article is desired to be restrained, partakes of the nature of a raw material, from being capable, by a further process, to be converted into a manufacture of a different kind, the introduction or growth of which is desired to be en-

a third, where the material itself is a production of the country, and in sufficient abundance to furnish a cheap and plentiful supply to the national manufacturers.

Under the first description comes the article of molasses. It is not only a fair object of revenue, but being a sweet, it is just that the consumers of it should pay a duty as well as the consumers of sugar.

Cottons and linnen in their white state fall under the second description—a duty upon such as are imported is proper to promote the domestic manufacture of similar articles in the same state—a drawback of that duty is proper to encourage the painting and staining at home of those which are brought from abroad. When the first of these manufactures has attained sufficient maturity in a country to furnish a full supply for the second, the utility of the drawback ceases.

The article of hemp either now does or may be expected soon to exemplify the third case in the United States.

Where duties on the materials of manufactures are not laid for the purpose of preventing a competition with some domestic production, the same reasons which recommend, as a general rule, the exemptions of those materials from duties, would recommend, as a like general rule, the allowance of drawbacks, in favour of the manufacturer: accordingly such drawbacks are familiar in countries which systematically pursue the business of manufactures; which furnishes an argument for the observance of a similar policy in the United States; and the idea has been adopted by the laws of the Union, in the instances of salt and molasses. And it will be found advantageous to extend it to some other articles.

VIII. *The encouragement of new inventions and discoveries, and of the introduction into the United States of such as have been made in other countries, particularly those which relate to machinery.*

This is among the most useful and unexceptionable of the aids which can be given to manufactures. The usual means of that encouragement are pecuniary rewards, and, for a time, exclusive privilege. The first must be employed according to the occasion, and the utility of the invention or discovery. For the last, so far as respects "authors and inventors," provision has been made by law. It is desirable, in regard to improvements and secrets of extraordinary value to be able to extend the same benefits to introducers, as well as authors and inventors; a policy which has been justified with advantage in other countries. Here, however, as in some other cases, there is cause to regret, that the competency of the National Government to the good which is to be done, is not without a question. Many aids might be given to industry; many internal improvements of primary mag-

nitude might be promoted, by an authority operating throughout the Union which cannot be effected by an authority confined within the limits of a single state.

But if the Legislature of the Union cannot do all the good that might be wished, it is at least desirable, that all may be done which is practicable.

It is customary with manufacturing nations to prohibit, under severe penalties, the exportation of implements and machines, which they have either invented or improved. There are already checks for a similar regulation in the United States; and others may be expected to occur from time to time. The adoption of this line of conduct seems to be dictated by a principle of reciprocity. Greater liberality in such respects might better comport with the general spirit of the country; but a selfish and exclusive policy in Europe will not always permit the free indulgence of a spirit, which would place America upon an unequal footing. As far as prohibitions tend to prevent foreign competitors from deriving the benefit of the improvements made in the United States, they tend to increase the advantages of those by whom they may have been introduced, and operate as an encouragement to exertion.

14. Fictitious regulations for the inspection of manufactured commodities.

This is not among the least important of the means by which the prosperity of manufactures may be promoted. It is, indeed, in many cases, one of the most essential—contributing to prevent frauds upon consumers at home, and exporters to foreign countries; to improve the quality and preserve the character of the national manufactures; it cannot fail to aid the expeditious and advantageous sale of them, and to serve as a guard against successful competition from other quarters. The reputation of the flour and lumber of some states, and the pot-ash of others, has been established by an attention to this point. And the like good name might be procured for those articles, wheresoever produced, by a judicious and uniform system of inspection throughout the ports of the United States. A like system might also be extended with advantage to other commodities.

15. Circulation of bank notes, and remittances from place to place—

This is a point of considerable moment to trade in general, and to manufactures in particular; by rendering more easy the purchase of raw materials and provisions, and the payment for manufactured supplies. A general circulation of bank paper, which is to be expected from the institution lately established in the United States, will be a most valuable mean to this end.

XI. The facilitating of the transportation of commodities.

Improvements favouring this object intimately concern all the domestic interests of a community. but they may, without impropriety, be mentioned as having an important relation to manufactures. There is, perhaps, scarcely any thing which has been better calculated to assist the manufactures of Great Britain than the amelioration of the public roads, and the great progress which has been of late made in opening canals. Of the former, most parts of the United States stand much in need; for the latter they present uncommon facilities.

The symptoms of attention to the improvement of inland navigation, which have lately appeared in some of the United States, must fill with pleasure every breast warmed with a true zeal for the prosperity of that country. These examples, it is to be hoped, will stimulate the exertions of the government and citizens of every state. There can certainly be no object more worthy of the cares of the local administrations; and it were to be wished, that there was no doubt of the power of the national government to lend its direct aid on a comprehensive plan.—This is one of those improvements which could be prosecuted with more efficacy by the whole, than by any part or parts of the union. There are cases in which the general interest will be in danger of being sacrificed to the collision of some supposed local interests. Jealousies, in matters of this kind, are as apt to exist as they are apt to be erroneous.

The following remarks are sufficiently judicious and pertinent to deserve a literal quotation: "Good roads, canals, and navigable rivers, by diminishing the expence of carriage, put the remote parts of a country more nearly upon a level with those in the neighbourhood of the town. They are, upon that account, the object of all improvements; they encourage the cultivation of the remote, which must always be the most extensive circle of the country; they are advantageous to the town, by breaking down the monopoly of the country in its neighbourhood; they are advantageous even to that part of the country. Though they introduce some rival commodities into the old market, they open many new markets to its produce. Monopoly, besides, is a great enemy to good management, which can never be universally established, but in consequence of that free and universal competition which forces every body to have recourse to it for the sake of

success. It is not more than fifty years ago that some of the parishes in the neighbourhood of London petitioned the parliament against the extension of turnpike roads into the remoter parts. Those remoter counties, they pretended, from the want of labour, would be able to sell their grass and corn

cheaper in the London market than themselves, and they were thereby reduce their rents, and ruin their cultivation. Their rents, however, have arisen, and their cultivation has been improved since that time."

Specimens of a spirit, similar to that which governed the societies here spoken of, present themselves too frequently to the eye of an impartial observer, and render it a wish of patriotism in the body in America, in whose councils a local or partial spirit, least likely to predominate, were at liberty to pursue and promote the general interest in those instances in which there might be danger of the interference of such a spirit.

The foregoing are the principal of the means by which the growth of manufactures is ordinarily promoted. It is, however, not merely necessary that the measures of government, which have a direct view to manufactures, should be calculated to aid and protect them, but that those which only collaterally affect them in the general course of the administration, should be guarded from any peculiar tendency to injure them.

There are certain species of taxes which are apt to be oppressive to different parts of the community, and, among other ill effects have a very unfriendly aspect towards manufactures.

Such are all taxes on occupations—which proceed according to the amount of capital supposed to be employed in a business, or to profits supposed to be made in it: these are unavoidably hurtful to industry. It is in vain that the evil may be endeavoured to be mitigated by leaving it, in the first instance, in the option of the party to be taxed to declare the amount of his capital or profits.

Men engaged in any trade or business have commonly weighty reasons to avoid disclosures which would expose, with any thing like accuracy, the real state of their affairs. They most frequently find it better to risque oppression than to avail themselves of so inconvenient a refuge: and the consequence is, that they often suffer oppression.

When the disclosure too, if made, is not definitive, but controulable by the discretion, or, in other words, by the passion and prejudices of the revenue officers, it is not only an ineffectual protection, but the possibility of its being so is an additional reason for not resorting to it.

Allowing to the public officers the most equitable dispositions yet where they are to exercise a discretion, without certain data they cannot fail to be often misled by appearances. The quantity of business which seems to be going on, is in a vast number of cases, a very deceitful criterion of the profits which are made, yet perhaps the best they can have, and it is the one on which will most naturally rely; a business, therefore, which may

rather require aid from the government, than be in a capacity to be contributory to it, may find itself crushed by the mistaken conjectures of the assessors of taxes.

Arbitrary taxes, under which denomination are comprised all those that leave the quantum of the tax to be raised on each person to the discretion of certain officers, are as contrary to the genius of liberty as to the maxims of industry. In this light they have been viewed by the most judicious observers on government, who have bestowed upon them the severest epithets of reprobation, as constituting one of the worst features usually to be met with in the practice of despotic governments.

It is certain, at least, that such taxes are particularly inimical to the success of manufacturing industry, and ought carefully to be avoided by a government which desires to promote it.

The great copiousness of this subject has insensibly led to a longer preliminary discussion than was originally contemplated, or intended. It appeared proper to investigate principles, to consider the objections which have been brought forward against the establishment of manufactures in the United States, and to endeavour to establish their utility on general principles, which have long experience for their basis: It now remains to specify some of the objects which appear, particularly to merit, and which will require the encouragement of the government of the United States to bring them to perfection.

In the selection of objects, several circumstances seem entitled to particular attention: The capacity of the country to furnish the raw material—the degree in which the nature of the manufacture admits of a substitute for manual labour, in machinery—the facility of execution—the extensiveness of the uses to which the article can be applied—its subserviency to other interests, particularly the great one of national defence. There are, however, objects to which these circumstances are little applicable, which, for some special reasons, may have a claim to encouragement.

A designation of the principal raw material of which each manufacture is composed, will serve to introduce the remarks upon it.—As, in the first place,

IRON.

The manufacturers of this article are entitled to pre-eminent rank—None are more essential in their kinds, nor so extensive in their uses. They constitute in whole or in part the implements or the materials, or both, of almost every useful occupation. Their instrumentality is every where conspicuous.

Y r.

The United States already in a great measure supply themselves with nails and spikes; they are able, and ought certainly to do it entirely. The first and most laborious operation in this manufacture is performed by water-mills; and of the persons afterwards employed a great proportion are boys, whose early habits of industry are of importance to the community, to the present support of their families, and to their own future comfort. It is not less curious than true, that in certain parts of the United States, the making of nails is an occasional family manufacture.

The expediency of an additional duty on the importation of these articles is indicated by an important fact. About one million eight hundred thousand pounds of them were imported into the United States in the course of one year, ending the 30th of September, 1790. A duty of two cents, per pound would, it is presumable, speedily put an end to so considerable an importation. And it is in every view advantageous to the States that an end should be put to it.

The implements of husbandry are made in several states in great abundance. In many places it is done by the common blacksmiths. And there is no doubt that an ample supply for the whole country can with great ease be procured among themselves.

Various kinds of edged tools for the use of mechanics are also made, and a considerable quantity of hollow wares; though the business of casting has not yet attained the perfection which might be wished. It is however improving, and as there are respectable capitals in good hands, embarked in the prosecution of those branches of iron manufactories, which are yet in their infancy, they may all be contemplated as objects not difficult to be acquired.

To insure the end, it seems equally safe and prudent for the government of the American States to extend the duty, *ad valorem*, upon all imported manufactures of iron, or of which iron is the article of chief value, to ten per cent.

Fire arms and other military weapons may, it is conceived, be placed, without inconvenience, in the class of articles rated at fifteen per cent. There exist already in the American States manufactories of these articles which only require the stimulus of a certain demand to render them adequate to the supply necessary.

It would also be a material aid to manufactories of this nature, as well as a mean of public security, if provision was made for an annual purchase of military weapons, of their own manufacture,

to a certain determinate extent, in order to the formation of ~~manu-~~
~~factures~~; and to replace from time to time such as should be worn
 drawn for use, so as always to have in store the quantity of ~~each~~
 kind, which should be deemed a competent supply.

Imported manufactures of steel generally, or of which ~~steel~~ is
 the article of chief value, may with advantage, be placed in ~~the~~
 class of goods rated at seven and an half per cent. As ~~manu-~~
~~factures~~ of this kind have not yet made any considerable progress
 in the United States, it is a reason for not rating them as high as
 those of iron; but as this material is the basis of them, and as
 their extension is not less practicable than important, it is desir-
 able to promote it by a somewhat higher duty than the present.

OPPER.

The manufactures of which this article is susceptible are ~~a~~
 of great extent and utility. Under this description, those ~~of~~
 brass, of which it is the principal ingredient, are intended to ~~be~~
 included.

The material is a natural production of the country. In many
 parts of the United States, mines of copper have actually been
 wrought, and with profit to the undertakers. And nothing
 easier than the introduction of it from other countries, on mo-
 derate terms, and in great plenty.

Copper-smiths and brass-founders, particularly the former are
 numerous in the United States; some of whom carry on business
 to a respectable extent.

To multiply and extend manufactories of the materials in ques-
 tion, is worthy of the attention and efforts of the federal govern-
 ment. In order to this, it is desirable for them to facilitate a
 plentiful supply of the materials; and a proper mean to this end
 is to place them in the class of free articles. Copper in plates
 and brass are already in this predicament; but copper in pigs
 and bars is not; neither is lapis calaminaris, which, together with
 copper and charcoal, constitute the component ingredients of
 brass. The exemption from duty, by parity of reason, ought to
 embrace all such of these articles as are objects of importation.

An additional duty on brass wares will tend to the general
 end in view. These now stand at five per cent. while those of
 tin, pewter, and copper, are rated at seven and an half. There
 appears to be a propriety in every view in placing brass wares
 upon the same level with them; and it merits their consideration
 whether the duty upon all of them ought not to be raised to ten
 per cent.

L E A D.

There are numerous proofs, that this material abounds in the United States, and requires little to unfold it to an extent, more than equal to every domestic occasion. A prolific mine of it has long been open in the south-western parts of Virginia, and under a public administration, during the late war, yielded a considerable supply for military use. This is now in the hands of individuals, who not only carry it on with spirit, but have established manufactories of it at Richmond in the same state.

The duties already laid upon the importation of this article, either in its unmanufactured or manufactured state, insure it a decisive advantage in the home market—which amounts to considerable encouragement. If the duty on pewter wares should be raised, it would afford a further encouragement. Nothing else occurs as proper to be added.

F O S S I L C O A L.

This, as an important instrument of manufactures, may, without impropriety, be mentioned among the subjects of the present remarks.

A copious supply of it would be of great consequence to the iron branch: As an article of household fuel also it is an interesting production; the utility of which must increase in proportion to the decrease of wood, by the progress of settlement and cultivation. And its importance to navigation, as an immense article of transportation coast-wise, it signally exemplified in Great Britain.

It is known, that there are several coal mines in Virginia, now worked, and appearances of their existence are familiar in a number of places.

The expediency of a bounty on all this species of coal of home production, and of premiums, on the opening of new mines, under certain qualifications, appears to be worthy of the particular attention of the American government. The great importance of the article will amply justify a reasonable expence in this way, if it shall appear to be necessary to, and shall be thought likely to answer the end.

W O O D.

Several manufactures of this article flourish in the United States. Ships are now here built in greater perfection, and cabinet wares, generally, are made little, if at all inferior to those of Europe. Their extent is such as to have admitted of considerable exportation.

An exemption from duty of the several kinds of wood ordi-

mainly used in their manufactures seems to be all that is required by way of encouragement. It is recommended by the establishment of a similar policy being pursued in other countries, and by the expediency of giving equal advantages to their own and foreign wood. The abundance of timber proper for ship-building in the United States does not appear to be any object of the present. The increasing scarcity and the growing importance of the article in the European countries, admonish the United States to encourage, and systematically to pursue measures for the preservation of their stock. Whatever may promote the regular and abundant export of cargoes of ship-timber is in various views desirable.

SKINS.

There are scarcely any manufactories of greater importance to the United States than of this article. Their direct and very happy influence upon agriculture, by promoting the raising of cattle of different kinds, is a very material recommendation.

It is pleasing, too, to observe the extensive progress they have made in their principal branches, which are so far matured as almost to defy foreign competition. Tanneries in particular are not only carried on as a regular business in numerous instances, and in various parts of the country, but they constitute in some places an important and profitable family manufacture.

Recent measures however have been made to the government, upon the expediency of further encouragement to the leather branch in two ways, one by increasing the duty on the manufactures of it, which are imported, the other by prohibiting the exportation of bark. In support of the latter, it is alledged, that the price of bark, chiefly in consequence of large exportations, has risen within a few years from about three dollars to four dollars and a half per cord. The exportation of this article will however be checked by the improvements made in this article of manufacture in Europe, and by the extension of them to the States.

These improvements are,—1st. A more judicious use of the bark itself, by extracting more of its qualities by boiling it after it has been taken out of the press in the hitherto common method of using it. This method, if attended to properly, will render two thirds of the quantity heretofore used unnecessary.—2dly. The superseding the use of bark in tanning altogether by the introduction of articles of less expence in its stead, for which recent has been obtained by an inhabitant of England.

3dly. However, perhaps an additional reason for the prohibition, of the bark usually exported from the United States, is its being a sort peculiar to the country, and the material of

very valuable dye, of great use in some other manufactures, in which the United States have begun a competition.

There may also be this argument in favour of an increase of duty. The object is of importance enough to claim decisive encouragement, and the progress which has been made, leaves no room to apprehend any inconvenience on the score of supply from such an increase.

It would be of benefit to this branch, if glue, which is now taxed at five per cent. were made the object of an excluding duty. It is already made in large quantities at various tanneries; and, like paper, is an entire economy of materials, which, if not manufactured, would be left to perish. It may be placed with advantage in the class of articles paying fifteen per cent. on importation.

GRAIN.

Manufactures of the several species of this article have a title to peculiar favour, not only because they are most of them immediately connected with the subsistence of the citizens, but because they enlarge the demand for the most precious products of the soil.

Though flour may with propriety be noticed as a manufacture of grain, it were useless to do it but for the purpose of submitting the expediency of a general system of inspection throughout the ports of the United States, which, if established upon proper principles, would be likely to improve the quality of their flour at home, and would rise its reputation in foreign markets. There are, however, considerations, which stand in the way of such an arrangement.

Wine, brandy, and malt liquors, are next to flour, the two principal manufactures of grain: the first has made a very extensive, and a considerable progress in the United States: in respect to its exclusive possession of the home market ought to be equal to the domestic manufactures as fast as circumstances permit. Nothing is more practicable, and nothing more de-

mentary to the augmentation of the duties on spirits imported into the country, would favour as well the distillation of spirits from molasses from grain; and to secure to a nation the benefit of a manufacture, even of foreign materials, is always of great, though, of secondary importance.

It would therefore be advantageous to the States that an additional two cents per gallon be made to the duty on imported spirits of the first class of proof, - with a proportionable increase

imported. The regrets already made is an earnest of
be remembered. The growing competition is an assured
improvement. This should be accelerated by measures tend-
ing to greater capital into this channel of employment.

To render the encouragement of domestic brewing
it may be advisable for the government to substitute
fixed rates of duty eight cents per gallon generally; and
deserve to be considered by them as a guard against
whether there ought not to be a prohibition of their import
except in casks of considerable capacity. Such a dis-
banish from their markets foreign malt liquors of inferior
and the best kind only would continue to be imported
planted by the efforts of equal skill or care in the State.

Till that period, the importation so qualified would
ful stimulus to improvement; and in the mean time, the
of the increased price, for the enjoyment of a luxury
to the encouragement of a most useful branch of in-
dustry, could not reasonably be deemed a hardship.

As a further aid to the manufactures of grain, those
smaller scale, the articles of starch, hair powder, and
with great propriety be placed among those which are
fifteen per cent. No manufactures are more simple,

ly within the reach of a full supply from the

and it is a policy, as common as it is obvious

importation of them the objects either of prohibi-

been already made in the coarser fabrics of them, especially in the family way, constitute claims of peculiar force to the patronage of the American government.

This patronage may be afforded in various ways; by promoting the growth of the materials; by increasing the impediments to an advantageous competition of rival foreign articles; by direct bounties or premiums upon the home manufacture.

First. *As promoting the growth of the materials.*

A strong wish naturally suggests itself to the friends of America, that some method could be devised of affording a more direct encouragement to the growth both of flax and hemp, such as would be effectual, and at the same time not attended with too great inconveniencies. To this end, bounties and premiums offer themselves to consideration; but no modification of them has yet occurred, which would not either hazard too much expence, or operate unequally in reference to the circumstances of different parts of the Union, and which would not be attended with very great difficulties in the execution.

Secondly. *As to increasing the impediments to an advantageous competition of rival foreign articles.*

To this purpose, an augmentation of the duties on importation is the obvious expedient; which, in regard to certain articles, appears to be recommended by sufficient reasons.

The principal of these articles is sail cloth, one intimately connected with navigation and defence; and of which a flourishing manufactory is established at Boston, and very promising ones at several other places.

It is presumed to be both safe and adviseable for the American government to place this in the class of articles rated at ten per cent. A strong reason for it results from the consideration, that a bounty of two pence sterling per ell, is allowed in Great Britain upon the exportation of the sail-cloth manufactured in that kingdom.

It would likewise appear to be good policy for the States to raise the duty to seven and an half per cent. on the following articles: drillings, osnaburghs, ticklenburghs, dowlas, canvas, brown rolls, bagging, and upon all other linens, the first cost of which, at the place of exportation, does not exceed thirty-five cents. per yard. A bounty of twelve and a half per cent. upon an average, on the exportation of such or similar linens from Great Britain, encourages the manufacture of them, and increases the obstacles to a successful competition in the countries to which they are sent.

The quantities of tow and other household linens manufactured in different parts of the United States, and the expec-

tations which are derived from some late experiments, capable to extend the use of labour-saving machines in the fabrics of linen, obviate the danger of inconvenience and increase of the duty upon such articles, and authorise expectation of a speedy and complete success to the end which may be used for procuring an internal supply.

Thirdly, *As to direct bounties, or premiums upon the manufacture.*

To afford more effectual encouragement to the manufacture and at the same time to promote the cheapness of the article for the benefit of navigation, it would be of great use for the government to allow a bounty of two cents per yard on cloth which is made in the United States from materials of its own growth; this would also assist the culture of those articles. An encouragement of this kind, if adopted, ought to be continued for a moderate term of years, to invite to new undertakings and to an extension of the old. This is an article of importance enough to warrant the employment of extraordinary measures in its favour.

COTTON.

There is something in the texture of this material which adapts it in a peculiar degree to the application of machinery. The signal utility of the mill for spinning of cotton, since invented in England, has been noticed in another place; but there are other machines scarcely inferior in utility. In the different manufactories of this article, are employed exclusively, or with more than ordinary effect. This important circumstance recommends the fabrics of cotton, in a particular manner, to a country in which a defect of hand labour constitutes the greatest obstacles to success.

The variety and extent of the uses to which the manufactures of this article are applicable, is another powerful argument in its favour.

And the faculty of the United States to produce the material in abundance, and of a quality which, though alledged to be inferior to some that is produced in other quarters, is nevertheless capable of being used with advantage in many fabrics, and probably susceptible of being carried by a more experienced hand to much greater perfection, suggests an additional and a potent inducement to the vigorous pursuit of the cotton business in its several subdivisions.

How much has been already said has been stated in a great part of these remarks.

In addition it may be announced, that a society is formed with capital, which is expected to be extended to at least half a million of dollars; on behalf of which measures are already in train for prosecuting on a large scale the making and printing of cotton goods.

These circumstances conspire to indicate the expediency of the government removing any obstructions which may happen to exist to the advantageous prosecution of the manufactures in question, and of adding such encouragements as may appear necessary and proper.

Cotton not being, like hemp, an universal production of the country, it affords less assurance of an adequate internal supply; but the chief objection arises from the doubts which are entertained concerning the quality of the national cotton. It is alleged that the fibre of it is considerably shorter and weaker than that of some other places; and it has been observed as a general rule, that the nearer the place of growth to the equator, the better the quality of the cotton; that which comes from Cayenne, Surinam, and Demarara, is said to be preferable, even at material difference of price, to the cotton of the islands.

While an expectation may reasonably be indulged, that with due care and attention the cotton in the United States may be made to approach nearer than it now does to that of regions somewhat more favoured by climate: and while facts authorize an opinion, that very great use may be made of it, and that it is a resource which gives greater security to the cotton fabrics of America than can be enjoyed by any which depend wholly on external supply, it will certainly be wise, in every view, to let their infant manufacturers have the full benefit of the best material on the cheapest terms. It is obvious, that the necessity of having such materials is proportioned to the unskillfulness and inexperience of the workmen employed, who, if inexperienced, will not fail to commit great waste, where the materials they are to work with are of an inferior kind.

To secure to the national manufacturers the greatest advantage, a repeal of the present duty on imported cotton is indispensable.

A substitute for the duties now existing to encourage production, will be to grant a bounty on the cotton grown in the United States, when brought to the manufacturing establishment, or on the exportation of the raw cotton to the foreign market, or to the foreign do much more than to protect the industry of the state by the merely nominal duties now existing on the importation of the raw cotton. The first would be the best, as it would encourage the manufacture.

The bounty, which has been mentioned as existing in Great Britain, upon the exportation of coarse linens not exceeding a certain value applies also to certain descriptions of cotton goods of similar value.

This furnishes an additional argument for allowing to the manufacturers the species of encouragement just suggested, and indeed for adding some other aid.

One cent per yard, not less than of a given width, on all goods of cotton, or of cotton and linen mixed, which are manufactured in the United States, with the addition of one cent per weight of the material, if made of national cotton, would amount to an aid of considerable importance, both to the production and to the manufacture of that valuable article. And the expense would be well justified by the magnitude of the object.

The printing and staining of cotton goods is known to be a distinct business from the fabrication of them. It is one easily accomplished, and which, as it adds materially to the value of the article in its white state, and prepares it for a variety of uses, is of importance to be promoted.

As imported cottons, equally with those which are made at home, may be the objects of this manufacture, it is worthy of consideration, whether it would not be for the advantage of the States that the whole, or part of the duty, on the white goods, ought not to be allowed to be drawn back in favour of those who print or stain them. This measure would certainly operate as a powerful encouragement to the business, and though it may in a degree counteract the original fabrication of the articles, it would probably more than compensate for this disadvantage in the rapid growth of a collateral branch, which is of a nature sooner to attain to maturity. When a sufficient progress shall have been made, the drawback may be abrogated, and by that time the domestic supply of the articles to be printed or stained will have been extended.

If the duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on certain kinds of cotton goods were extended to all goods of cotton, or of which it is the principal material, it would probably more than counterbalance the effect of the drawback proposed, in relation to the fabrication of the article; and no material objection occurs to such an extension. The duty then, considering all the circumstances which attend goods of this description, could not be deemed inconveniently high; and it may be inferred, from various causes, that the price of them would still continue moderate.

Manufactories of cotton goods, not long since established at Beverly, in Massachusetts and at Providence, in the state of Rhode Island, and at New-York, and conducted with a perseverance

ponding with the patriotic motives which began them, seem to have overcome the first obstacles to success, producing corduroys, velverets, fustians, jeans, and other similar articles, of a quality which will bear a comparison with the like articles from Manchester. The one at Providence has the merit of being the first introducing into the United States the celebrated cotton mill, which not only furnishes the materials for that manufactory itself, but for the supply of private families for household manufacture.

Other manufactories of the same material, as regular businesses, have also been begun at different places in the State of Connecticut, but all upon a smaller scale than those above mentioned. Some others are also making in the printing and staining of cotton goods. There are several small establishments of this kind already on foot.

WOOL.

In a country, the climate of which partakes of so considerable proportion of winter, as that of a great part of the United States, the woollen branch cannot be regarded as inferior to any which relates to the cloathing of the inhabitants.

Household manufactures of this material are carried on, in different parts of the United States, to a very interesting extent; but there is only one branch, which as a regular business, can be said to have acquired maturity; this is the making of hats.

Hats of wool and of wool mixed with fur, are made in large quantities in different states, and nothing seems wanting, but an adequate supply of materials to render the manufacture commensurate with the demand.

A promising city towards the fabrication of cloaths, cassimeres, and other woollen goods, is likewise going on at Hartford, in Connecticut. Specimens of the different kinds which are made, evince, that these fabrics have attained a very considerable degree of perfection. Their quality certainly surpasses any thing that could have been looked for, in so short a time and under so great disadvantages, and compares with the manufactures of the means, which have been the subject of the admiration, as well as the eulogium of the people of the parent country, and which have been the subject of the admiration of the people of the parent country.

Measures, which tend to the improvement of the quality of wool, and of the manner of spinning, and of the manner of weaving, and of the manner of finishing, are of great importance, and that present circumstances, which tend to the improvement of the manufacture.

To encourage the industry and improving the business of the United States, it is necessary that the government should for that purpose, and for the purpose of the improvement of the

it is yet a problem, whether their wool is capable of such degree of improvement as to render it fit for the finer fabrics.

Premiums would probably be found the best means of promoting the domestic, and bounties the foreign supply, and the ought of course to be adjusted with an eye to quality as well as quantity.

A fund for this purpose may be derived from the addition of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the present rate of duty on carpets and carpets imported into the states; an increase to which the nature of the articles suggests no objection, and which may at the same time furnish a motive the more to the fabrication of them at home towards which some beginnings have been made.

SILK.

The production of this article is attended with great facility in most parts of the United States. Some pleasing essays are made in Connecticut, as well towards that as towards the manufacture of what is produced. Stockings, handkerchiefs, ribbons, buttons, are made, though as yet but in small quantities.

A manufactory of lice, upon a scale not very extensive, has been long memorable at Iplwich in the State of Massachusetts.

An exemption from the material from the duty which it now pays on importation, and premiums upon the production, seem to be the only species of encouragement advisable as to early stage.

GLASS.

The materials for making glass are found every where; in the United States there is no deficiency of them. The sands and stones called Tarlo, which include flinty and chryalline substances generally, and the salts of various plants, particularly the sea-weed kali, or kelp, constitute the essential ingredients. An extraordinary abundance of fuel is a particular advantage enjoyed by America for such manufactures; they, however, require large capitals, and involve much manual labour.

Different manufactories of glass are now on foot in the United States. The present duty of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. laid by the states on all imported articles of glass amount to a considerable encouragement to those manufactories; if any thing in addition is judiciously eligible, the most proper would appear to be a direct bounty on window glass and black bottles.

The first recommends itself as an object of general convenience, the last adds to that character the circumstance of being an important item in breweries. A complaint is made of great deficiency in this respect.

GUN POWDER.

No small progress has been of late made in the manufacture of this important article; it may, indeed, be considered as already established, but its high importance renders its farther extension very desirable.

The encouragements which it already enjoys, are a duty of ten per cent. on the foreign rival article, and an exemption of salt-petre, one of the principal ingredients of which it is composed, from duty. A like exemption of sulphur, another chief ingredient, would appear to be equally proper. No quantity of this article has yet been produced from any internal sources of the States. This consideration, and the use made of it, in finishing the bottoms of ships, is an additional inducement to placing it in the class of free goods. Regulations for the careful inspection of the article would have a favourable tendency.

PAPER.

Manufactories of paper are among those which are arrived at the greatest maturity in the United States, and are almost adequate to national supply. That of paper hangings is a branch in which respectable progress has been made.

Nothing material seems wanting to the farther success of this valuable branch, which is already protected by a competent duty on similar important articles.

In the enumeration of the several kinds made subject to duty on importation into the States, sheathing and cartridge paper have been omitted; these being the most simple manufactures of the sort, and necessary to military supply as well as ship-building, recommend themselves equally with those of other descriptions to encouragement, and appear to be as fully within the compass of domestic exertions.

PRINTED BOOKS.

The great number of presses disseminated throughout the Union seem to afford an assurance, that there is no need of being indebted to foreign countries for the printing of the books which are used in the United States. A duty of ten per cent, on the importation, which is now charged upon the article, will have a tendency to aid the business internally.

It occurs, as an objection to this, that it may have an unfavourable aspect towards literature, by raising the prices of books in universal use, in private families, schools, and other seminaries of learning; but the difference, it is conceived, will be without effect.

As to books which usually fill the libraries of colleges, and of professional men, such an augm

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

as might be occasioned by an additional duty of five per cent, would be too little felt to be an impediment to the acquisition.

And with regard to books which may be specially imported for the use of particular seminaries of learning, and of libraries, a total exemption from all duty would be advisable, which would go far towards obviating the objection just mentioned.

As to the books in most general family use, the constant universality of the demand would ensure exertions to procure them in the different states, and the means are completely adequate. It may also be expected ultimately, in this and in other cases, that the extension of the domestic manufacture would conduce to the cheapness of the article.

It ought not to pass unremarked, that to encourage the printing of books is to encourage the manufacture of paper.

REFINED SUGARS AND CHOCOLATE

Are among the number of extensive and prosperous domestic manufactures, in the United States.

Drawbacks of the duties upon the materials of which they respectively made, in cases of exportation, would have a beneficial influence upon the manufacture, and would conform to precedent which has been already furnished in the instance of molasses, on the exportation of distilled spirits.

Cocoa, the raw material, now pays a duty of one cent per lb. while chocolate, which is a prevailing and very simple manufacture, is comprised in the mass of articles, rated at no more than five per cent.

There would appear to be a propriety in encouraging the manufacture by a somewhat higher duty on its foreign rival, than is paid on the raw material. Two cents per lb. on imported chocolate would, it is presumed, be without inconvenience.

WINES.

The manufacture of wines, is an object worthy of legislative attention and encouragement in the United States. Successful experiments have already been made, by some new settler French people, on the river Ohio, which evince the practicability of the manufacture of wines of excellent quality, and of

MAPLE SUGAR.

The manufacture of maple sugar, though it has for many years been carried on, in the small way, in the eastern States, has lately become an object of public attention.—The eastern Middle States furnish a sufficient number of maple trees to supply the United States with the article of sugar; and, it is affirmed, of a quality “equal, in the opinion of competent judges, the best sugars imported from the West India Islands.” A person, whose judgment on this subject is much to be relied on, and well from his experience in the business, as his established character for candor and integrity, has given it as his opinion, that four active and industrious men, well provided with materials and conveniences proper for carrying on the business, may make, in a common season, which lasts from four to six weeks, 4000lbs. of sugar, that is 1000lbs. to each man.” If this be the amazing product of six weeks labour of an individual, what may be expected from the labours of the many thousands of people who now inhabit, and may hereafter inhabit, the extensive tracts of country which abound with the sugar maple? This manufacture is so important and interesting, that it respects the wealth and prosperity of their country, and the welfare of humanity, that it deserves the countenance of every good citizen, and even national encouragement. No less than seven millions of pounds of West India sugars, manufactured by the hands of slaves, is annually imported into and consumed in the United States. In proportion as this quantity can be supplied by their own manufacturers, by the hands of freemen, the wealth of the United States will be increased, and the cause of humanity promoted.

The foregoing heads comprise the most important of the several kinds of manufactures which have occurred as requiring, and, at the same time, as most proper for public encouragement in the United States, and other such measures for affording it, as have been best calculated to answer the end proposed.

which have been considered, though some of them may be thought to require more yet when taken into consideration, they rather augment

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the

tion in others of duties which have been pledged for the public debt is proposed, it is essential that it should be accompanied with a competent substitute. In order to this, it is requisite that all the additional duties which shall be laid be appropriated, in the first instance, to replace all defalcations which may proceed from any such abolition or diminution. It is evident at first glance, that they will not only be adequate to this, but will yield a considerable surplus.

There is reason to believe that the progress of particular manufactures in the United States has been much retarded by the want of skilful workmen: and it often happens that the capitals employed are not equal to the purposes of engaging workmen of a superior kind from Europe. Here, in cases worthy of it, the auxiliary agency of government would in all probability be useful. There are also valuable workmen in every branch who are prevented from emigrating solely by the want of means. Occasional aids to such persons, properly administered, might be a source of valuable acquisition to the States.

The propriety of stimulating by rewards the invention and introduction of useful improvements is admitted without difficulty. But the success of attempts in this way must evidently depend much on the manner of conducting them. It is probable that the plan of the dispensation of these rewards under some proper and judicious direction, which they may be accompanied by relative expences, will serve to give them the surest efficacy. It is not practicable to apportion by general rule specific compensations for discoveries of unknown and disproportionate utility.

The manner which any country may make of a fund of this nature to procure and import foreign improvements, is particularly obvious. Among these, the article of machines form a most important one.

The operation and utility of premiums have been adverted to together with the advantages which have resulted from their dispensation under the direction of certain public and private societies. Of this, some experience has been had in the instance of the Pennsylvania society for the promotion of manufactures and useful arts, but the funds of that association have been too contracted to produce more than a very small portion of the good to which the principles of it would have led. It may confidently be affirmed, that there is scarcely any thing which has been devised better calculated to excite a general spirit of improvement than the institutions of this nature. They are truly invaluable.

In countries where there is great private wealth much may be effected by the voluntary contributions of patriotic individuals; but in a community situated like that of the United States, the public purse must supply the deficiency of private resource. In what can it be so useful as in promoting and improving the efforts of industry?

BANK.

Connected with the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, is the bank of the United States, the happy effects, and benefits, of which, have been experienced to a very considerable degree. This bank was incorporated by act of congress, February 25th, 1791, by the name and stile of *The President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of the United States*. The amount of the capital stock is ten million dollars, one fourth of which is in gold and silver; the other three fourths in that part of the public debt of the United States, which, at the time of payment, bears an accruing interest of six per cent. per annum. Two millions of this capital stock of ten millions, is subscribed by the President in behalf of the United States. The stockholders are to continue a corporant body by the act, until the 4th day of March 1811; and are capable, in law, of holding property to an amount not exceeding, in the whole, fifteen million dollars, including the afore-said ten million dollars, capital stock. The corporation may not at any time owe, whether by bond, bill or note, or other contract, more than ten million dollars, over and above the monies then actually deposited in the bank for safe keeping, unless the contracting of any greater debt shall have been previously authorised by a law of the United States. The corporation is not at liberty to receive more than six per cent. per annum for or upon its loans or discounts, nor to purchase any public debt whatever, or to deal or trade, directly or indirectly, in any thing except bills of exchange, gold or silver bullion, or in the sale of goods really and truly pledged for money lent, and not redeemed in due time, or of goods which shall be the produce of bonds; they may sell any part of the public debt of which a stock shall be composed. Loans, not exceeding 100,000 dollars, may be made to the United States, and to particular states, for a sum not exceeding 50,000 dollars.

Officers for the purposes of discount and deposit only, may be established within the United States, upon the same terms and in the same manner, as shall be practised at the bank. These offices, called BRANCH BANKS, have been already

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

at Boston, New York, Baltimore, and
The faith of the United States, is pledged, that
shall be established by any future law of the
during the continuance of the above corpo-

MILITARY STRENGTH.

The governments of Europe, for the most part, though they
differ materially from each other, agree in keeping
a military force, the excuses for which, are the
ones they entertain of each other, and the necessity of pre-
serving a balance of power. To render these excuses plausible,
national prejudices and animosities have been artfully encourag-
ed, and the people blinded by these, have been brought to ac-
cede in the schemes of their governors, in creating a power
which being entirely at the disposal of the latter, has often been
used against the just rights of those whose property is exhaused
for its support. But if the policy of keeping standing armies
was fully investigated, it would be found to have its origin, not
in the jealousies of one nation with respect to another, but in
the tyrannic principles and fears of different governments, with
respect to their subjects at home. The fact is notorious, that
the origin of most of the old governments, has been in conquest
and usurpation. Few of them which subsist in Europe, have
originated where they ought, (from the people) the consequence
of which has been, that princes, anxiously concerned for the
preservation of their own power, and dreading that their sub-
jects should recover their just rights, have found it necessary to
detach a large part of them from the general mass, and by mili-
tary habits and rewards, to blind them to their own interests,
and to unite them more intimately to themselves. Standing ar-
mies are therefore unnecessary, and inconsistent in a republican
government; America of course has none. Their military
strength lies in a well-disciplined militia. According to the late
census, there were in the United States, eight hundred and four-
teen thousand men of sixteen years old and upwards, whites
and these have since rapidly increased. Suppose that the su-
perannuated, the officers of government, and the other classes of
people who are excused from military duty, amount to one hun-
dred and fourteen thousand, there will remain a militia
more than seven hundred thousand men. Of these a great part
are well-disciplined, veteran troops. Scarcely any
kingdom in Europe can bring into the field an army
of numbers or more formidable than can be raised
in the United States.

ve thousand regular troops have, however, been enlisted for : years, and an attempt has been made by the senate, on ac- of the present posture of affairs,* to increase that number steen thousand, but the House of Representatives have re- l to compli, rather chusing, in case of a war, to trust to the gy and exertions of the militia, than thus to risk the intro- on of a military standing force,

NAVAL STRENGTH.

arine strength. in a strict sense, the United States have ; many of their merchants vessels might, however, soon be erted into ships of war of considerable force, and their tion and resources will enable them to establish and support ry equal to that of any nation in the world, should they mine on so doing, and that they will deem it necessary to lish and support a naval power, there can be little doubt. adual habits of their citizens attach them to commerce, y will exercise it for themselves. Wars then we fear, must times be their lot; and all the wise can do, will be to avoid half of them which would be produced by their own follies, their acts of injustice: and to make for the other half the best orations they can. Of what nature, it may be asked, should e be? A land army would be useless for offence, and not the nor safest instrument of defence. For either of these pur- s, the sea is the field on which they should meet an Euro- enemy. On that element it is necessary they should there- possess some power. To aim at such a navy as the greater ns of Europe possess, would be a foolish and wicked waste he energies of their citizens. It would be to pull on their heads that load of military expence, which makes the Eu- 'EAN LABOURER GO SUPPERLESS TO BED, AND MOISTENS 'READ WITH THE SWEAT OF HIS BROW. It will be gh if they enable themselves to prevent insults from these ns of Europe which are weak on the sea, becaute circum- zes exist, which render even the stronger ones weak as to l. Providence has placed the richest and most defenceless xpean possessions at their door; has obliged their most pre- s commerce to pass as it were in review ~~before~~ the United s. To protect this, or to assail them, a small ~~part~~ only of ' naval force will ever be risked across the The ers to which the elements expose them there wn, and the greater dangers to which ~~they~~ are, were any general calamity to

They can attack them by detachment only; and it will suffice for the United States to make themselves equal to what they may detach. Even a smaller force than any of the nations of Europe may detach, will be rendered equal or superior by the quickness with which any check may be repaired with the Americans; while losses with European powers will be irreparable till too late. A small naval force then is sufficient for the States, and a small one is necessary. What this should be, we will not undertake to say; it should, however, by no means be so great as they are able to make it. Mr. Jefferson observes, that Virginia alone, can annually spare without distress, a million of dollars, or three hundred thousand pounds; suppose this sum to be applied to the creating a navy, a single year's contribution would build, equip, man, and send to sea, a force which would carry three hundred guns. The rest of the confederacy, exerting themselves in the same proportion, would equip in the same time fifteen hundred guns more, - so that one year's contributions would set up a navy of sixteen hundred guns. British ships of the line average seventy six guns, and the frigates thirty eight. Eighteen hundred guns then would form a fleet of thirty ships, eighteen of which might be of the line, and twelve frigates. Allowing eight men, the British allow, for every gun, their annual expenses, including maintenance, clothing, pay, and ordinary repairs, would be about twenty dollars, and eighteen men for every gun, or two million three hundred and twenty thousand dollars for the whole. This is only fifty cents a man's spare, even in, without deducting whether it were for a year's or a year's extra allowance to be applied, or would be necessary.

RELIGION.

The constitution of the United States covers in no one instance, no excellence then in providence against the making of any law, not a new law, of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and the constitutions of the respective States equally extend to provide in this respect, in their religious laws, as far as a parchment. And in this important subject, the American constitution is distinct from that of Europe, and from that of Great Britain. Religion in the United States is protected, this protection without the feeble aid of a law, and the civil power is not to be supported by a law, but by the power of God, and the Almighty God is the support.

Let us then, the liberty to each their own religion, the people to each be left, and let them be united in their common belief, and let the people determine themselves Christ-

A small portion of them are Jews; some plead the sufficiency of natural religion, and reject revelation as unnecessary and fabulous; and many, we have reason to believe, have yet no religion to choose. Christians profess their religion under various forms, and with different ideas of its doctrines, ordinances and precepts. The following denominations of Christians are or less numerous in the United States, viz. CONGREGATIONALISTS, PRESBYTERIANS, DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH, COFALIANIS, BAPTISTS, UNITARIANS, QUAKERS OR FRIENDS, METHODISTS, ROMAN CATHOLICS, GERMAN LUTHERANS, GERMAN CALVINISTS OR PRESBYTERIANS, MORAVIANS, TUNKERS, MENNONISTS, UNIVERSALISTS, and SHAK-

CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Of these the Congregationalists are the most numerous. In England alone, besides those which are scattered through the middle and southern States, there are not less than a thousand congregations of this denomination, viz.

In New Hampshire	-	-	-	-	200
Massachusetts	-	-	-	-	440
Rhode Island	-	-	-	-	18
Connecticut	-	-	-	-	197
Vermont (say)	-	-	-	-	150
Total	-	-	-	-	1000

It is difficult to say what is the present ecclesiastical constitution of the Congregational churches. Formerly their ecclesiastical proceedings were regulated, in Massachusetts, by the Cambridge Platform of church discipline, established by the synod in 1648; and in Connecticut, by the Saybrook Platform of discipline; but since the revolution, less regard has been paid to these constitutions, and in many instances they are wholly disused. Congregationalists are pretty generally agreed in this opinion, "Every church or particular congregation of visible saints, in proper order, being furnished with a Pastor or Bishop, and living together in truth and peace; has received from the Lord the full power and authority ecclesiastical within itself, regularly to administer all the ordinances of Christ, and is not under any ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever." Their churches, with few exceptions, disclaim the term *Independent*, as applicable to them, and claim a sisterly relation to each other.

in particular by a concurrent testimony against persons justured. To seek and accept help from, and afford help to, other, in case of divisions and contentions, whereby the peace of any church is disturbed; in matters of more than ordinary importance, as the ordination, installation, removal, and deposition of pastors or bishops; in doubtful and difficult questions and controversies, doctrinal or practical, that may arise; and for the rectifying of mal-administration, and healing of errors and disorders that are not healed among themselves. In taking notice of the spirit of love and faithfulness, of the troubles and disorders, errors and scandals of another church, and to administer to them when the case manifestly calls for it, though they should be to their own good and duty, as not to seek it. In admonishing another, when there is cause for it; and after a due trial by all means, patiently to withdraw from a church, or persons therein, obstinately persisting in error or scandal."

A confociation of churches was, at the period mentioned, considered by them as necessary to a communion of churches, the former being but an agreement to maintain the latter, and therefore a duty.—The confociation of churches they defined to be Their mutual and solemn agreement to exercise communion in the acts above recited, amongst themselves, with special reference to those churches which, by Providence, were placed in convenient vicinity, though with liberty reserved

from that order, fellowship, and harmony, in discipline, doctrines, and friendly advice and assistance in ecclesiastical matters, which formerly subsisted between them is matter of deep regret to many, not to say to most people of the denomination. A reformation, or a return to a practice conformable to the original principles of the Congregational churches, is an event more earnestly desired, than confidently expected by them.

Congregationalists are divided in opinion respecting the doctrines of the gospel, and the proper subjects of its ordinances. The body of them are Calvinists; a respectable proportion are what may be denominated Hopkensian Calvinists; besides these, some are Arminians, some Arians, a few Socinians, and a number who have adopted Doctor Chauncey's scheme of the final salvation of all men.

PRESBYTERIANS.

Next to the Congregationalists, Presbyterians are the most numerous denomination of Christians in the United States. They have a constitution by which they regulate all their ecclesiastical proceedings, and a confession of faith, which all church officers and church members are required to subscribe. Hence they have preserved a singular uniformity in their religious sentiments, and have conducted their ecclesiastical affairs with a great degree of order and harmony.

The body of the Presbyterians inhabit the middle and southern States, and are united under the same constitution. By this constitution, the Presbyterians who are governed by it, are divided into five Synods and seventeen Presbyteries; viz.—SYNOD OF NEW YORK, five presbyteries, ninety-four congregations and sixty-one settled ministers.—SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA, five presbyteries, ninety-two congregations, and sixty settled ministers, besides the ministers and congregations belonging to Baltimore presbytery.—SYNOD OF VIRGINIA, four presbyteries, seventy congregations, and forty settled ministers, exclusive of the congregations and ministers of Pennsylvania presbytery.—SYNOD OF THE CAROLINAS, three presbyteries, eighty-two congregations, and forty-two settled ministers, the ministers and congregations in Abington presbytery not included. If we suppose the number of congregations in the presbyteries which made no returns to their synods, to be one hundred, and the number of settled ministers in the same to be forty, the whole number of presbyterian congregations in this connection will be four hundred and thirty eight, which are supplied by two hundred and twenty-three settled ministers, and between seventy and eighty candidates, besides

a number of ordained ministers who have no particular charge. Each of the synods meet annually; besides which they have a joint meeting, by their commissioners, once a year, in general assembly, at Philadelphia.

The Presbyterian churches are governed by congregational, presbyterial, and synodical assemblies: these assemblies possess no civil jurisdiction. Their power is wholly moral or spiritual, and that only ministerial or declarative. They possess by their constitution the right of requiring obedience to the rules of their societies, and of excluding the disobedient from the privileges of the church: and the powers requisite for obtaining evidence and inflicting censure; but the highest punishment, to which their authority extends, is to exclude the contumacious and impenitent from the congregation to which they belong.

The Church Session, which is the congregational assembly of presbytery, consists of the minister or ministers and elders of a particular congregation. This body is invested with the spiritual government of the congregation; and have power to enquire into the knowledge and Christian conduct of all its members; to call before them offenders and witnesses, of their own denomination, to admonish, suspend, or exclude from church fellowship such as deserve these censures, to concert measures for promoting the spiritual interest of the congregation, and to appoint delegates to the higher judicatories of the church.

A Presbytery consists of all the ministers, and one ruling elder of each congregation, within a certain district. Three ruling elders, constitutionally convened, are competent to transact business. This body have cognizance of all things that require the advice of the particular churches within their bounds, which are not cognizable by the session. Also, they receive appeals of ordering and silencing appeals from the sessions; of ordaining and licensing candidates for the ministry; of ordering, silencing, removing, or judging ministers; of resolving questions of discipline; of condemning erroneous opinions, and of restoring the purity or peace of the church; of visiting particular churches, to enquire into their state, and redress grievances complained in them, of uniting or dividing churches, and of settling the people, and whatever else may be necessary for the concerns of the churches under their jurisdiction.

A Synod consists of several presbyteries. The synod receive appeals and judge of appeals, regularly brought before them, and give their judgement on all references made to them, of whatever kind, to correct and regulate the proceedings of presbyteries, to take effectual care that presbyteries observe the constitution of the church, &c.

The highest judicatory of the Presbyterian church is styled, **THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.** This grand Assembly consists of an equal delegation of bishops and elders from each presbytery within their jurisdiction, by the title of Commissioners to the General Assembly. Fourteen commissioners make a quorum. The General Assembly constitute the bond of union, peace, correspondence, and mutual confidence among all their churches; they have power to receive and issue all appeals and references which may regularly be brought before them from inferior judicatories; to regulate and correct the proceedings of the synods, &c. The General Assembly also belongs the power of consulting, advising, and judging in controversies respecting doctrine and discipline; of reproof, warning, or bearing testimony against error in doctrine, or immorality in practice in any church, presbytery, or synod; of corresponding with foreign churches; of putting a stop to schismatical contentions and disputations; of recommending and attempting a reformation of manners; of promoting charity, truth, and holiness, in all the churches; and also erecting new synods when they judge it necessary.

The confession of faith adopted by the Presbyterian church, embraces what are called the Calvinistic doctrines; and none who believe these doctrines are admitted into fellowship with their churches. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, holds a friendly correspondence with the General Association in Connecticut, by letter, and by admitting delegates from their respective bodies to sit in each other's general meetings.

Unconnected with the churches of which we have been speaking, there are four small presbyteries in New-England, who have a similar form of ecclesiastical government and discipline, and profess the same doctrines.

Besides these, there is the ASSOCIATE PRESBYTERY OF PENNSYLVANIA, having a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction in America, and belonging to the Associate Synod of Edinburgh, which they declare is the only ecclesiastical body, either in Britain or America, with which they are agreed concerning the doctrine and order of the church of Christ, and concerning the duty of confessing the truth, and bearing witness to it by a public testimony against the errors of the times. This connection is not to be understood as implicating subjection to a foreign jurisdiction; but is preserved for the sake of maintaining unity with their brethren in the profession of the Christian faith, and such an intercourse as might be of service to the interests of religion. This sect of Presbyteri-

to say, that there is now a form of the folk-plant
Dutch Church in the City of New Jersey, the
union of the members of the Dutch of Amsterdam, with
exclusively the people of the churches of both of them
far as the ecclesiastical union is concerned, as is now
between the Dutch Reformed Synod of New York and
Jersey, and the Church of North Holland and the church
freedom. The idea of their mutual exchange
year, and mutual aid to be given and received in dis-
persing their respective plants and church and plant.

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The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States has been in the process of revising its Book of Common Prayer since 1928. The revision was completed in 1938 and the new book was published in 1939. The revision was a result of the efforts of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in 1928, which authorized a committee to revise the Book of Common Prayer. The committee's work was completed in 1938, and the new book was published in 1939. The revision was a significant achievement, as it brought the Book of Common Prayer up to date and made it more accessible to the people. The new book was published in 1939 and has since been widely used by the Episcopal Church in the United States.

In October 1961, at another meeting of their com-
patriot union among all the Protestant Episcopal churches
of the United States of America, the group adopted a resolution
demanding adequate representation from the United States to represent

entitled to a representation of both the clergy and laity, or either of them, and may send deputies, not exceeding four of each order, chosen by the convention of the State.—That the bishops of the church, when three or more are present, shall, in their general conventions, form a separate house, with a right to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the house of deputies, composed of clergy and laity; and with a power to negative acts passed by the house of deputies, unless adhered to be four-fifths of the other house.—That every bishop shall confine the exercise of his episcopal office to his proper diocese.—That no person shall be admitted to holy orders, until examined by the bishop and two presbyters—and shall not be ordained until he shall have subscribed the following declaration—"I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."

They have not yet adopted any articles of religion other than those contained in the Apostles and Nicene Creeds. The number of their churches in the United States is not ascertained; in New England there are between forty and fifty; but in the Southern States, they are much more numerous. Four Bishops, viz. of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, have been elected by the conventions of their respective States, and have been duly consecrated. The former by the Bishops of the Scotch Church, the three latter, by the Bishops of the English Church. And these, in September 1793, united in the consecration of a fifth, elected by the convention of the State of Maryland.

BAPTISTS.

The Baptists, with some exceptions, are upon the Calvinistic plan, as to doctrines, and independents as to church government and discipline. Except those who are styled "open communion baptists," of whom there is but one association, they refuse to communicate in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper with other denominations; because they hold that immersion only is the true baptism, and that baptism is necessary to communion; it is, therefore inconsistent, in their opinion, to admit unbaptized persons to join with them in this ordinance: though they allow ministers of other denominations to preach to their congregations, and to assist in ordaining their ministers.

They have regular college establishments, and maintain a constant communication with each other by means of a journal and

half yearly associations.—These associations, as they year 1790, were as follows :

<i>Associations.</i>		<i>States in which they</i>
1	Bowdoinham —	Massachusetts
2	New Hampshire —	New Hampshire
3	Woodstock —	New Hampshire and Vermont
4	Vermont —	Vermont
5	Warren —	Massachusetts
6	Rhode Island —	Rhode Island and Massachusetts
7	Groton —	Connecticut
8	Stonington —	Rhode Island and Connecticut
9	Danbury —	Connecticut
10	Shaftsbury —	Massachusetts and New Hampshire
11	Philadelphia —	Pennsylvania
12	Redstone —	Ditto
13	Salisbury —	Maryland and Virginia
14	* Ketockton —	Virginia
15	* Chapawamsick —	Ditto
16	* Orange District —	Ditto
17	* Dover ditto —	Ditto
18	* Lower do.† & Kehuley —	Ditto and North Carolina
19	* Middle ditto —	Ditto
20	* Upper ditto —	Ditto
21	* Roanoke ditto —	Ditto and North Carolina
22	* South Kentucky —	Ditto
23	North Kentucky —	Ditto
24	Ohio —	Ditto
25	Holston —	North Carolina
26	Sandy Creek —	Ditto
27	Yadkin —	Ditto
28	Charleston —	South Carolina
29	Bethel —	Ditto
30	Georgia —	Georgia

Note—The nine Associations in the above list marked * meet in Committee by their representatives in Richmond in the month of May

† A separation of these Associations has been taken place, and thus the name of the Virginia Portsmouth Association

<i>Times of Meeting.</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Chs.</i>	<i>Members.</i>
r	—	8	500
Wednesday in June	—	7	500
Wednesday in September	—	14	950
Wednesday in October	—	6	500
after the first Wed. in Sept.	25	41	3400
Friday in September	—	15	500
Friday in June	—	8	1500
Wednesday in October	—	10	1000
Wednesday in September	—	14	870
Wednesday in June	—	10	1500
Friday in October	—	49	4100
Saturday in October	—	9	600
Saturday in August and October	6	14	1400
Friday in August	—	10	650
Wednesday in Sept.	—	7	850
Friday in October	—	22	4600
Friday in May and Oct.	—	36	5100
Saturday in May, & 2d in Oct.	45	51	5500
Friday in May and Oct.	—	24	2000
Saturday in May, & 1st in Oct.	11	18	1200
Friday in June, & 4th in Oct.	18	18	2200
Friday in May and October	15	14	1200
October	—	10	1100
—	—	4	300
Saturday in June, & 2d in Oct.	10	17	1200
Saturday in October	—	10	1200
Saturday in April & Sept.	11	14	800
Saturday in October	—	16	1850
Saturday in August	—	9	1200
Saturday in May and October	22	31	2700
	—	—	—
	452	533	50970
is not belonging to Associ-			
	100	150	8000
	—	—	—
	552	733	58970
Seventh Day Baptists	12	15	2000
	—	—	—
Total	564	748	6

Since the above period, accounts of six other associations reached England, and, according to an account taken by John Asplund, a minister of the baptist denomination, travelled through the United States, to ascertain their state. The statement of their churches, ministers and members, is as follows.

STATES.	MINISTERS.		
	CHURCHES	ordained	licensed
In New Hampshire	32	23	17
Massachusetts	107	95	31
Rhode Island	38	37	39
Connecticut	55	44	21
Vermont	34	21	15
New York	57	53	30
New Jersey	16	20	9
Pennsylvania	28	16	7
Delaware	7	9	1
Maryland	12	8	3
Virginia	207	157	109
Kentucky	42	40	21
Western Territory	1	—	—
North Carolina	94	81	76
Deceded Territory	18	15	6
South Carolina	68	48	28
Georgia	42	33	9
Total.	868	710	422

To this account, it is presumed, that about two thousand members, and forty-five churches, ought to be added, making the whole number of churches about nine hundred, and the members about sixty-seven thousand. But three times as many attend their meetings for public worship as have joined their churches, which, we may suppose, are sincere Baptists, these will make the whole number of that denomination in the United States two hundred and one thousand, a twenty-fifth part of the inhabitants.

The leading principles of the regular or particular Baptists.—The imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity; the inability of man to recover himself; effectual calling by sovereign grace; justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ; baptism by immersion, and that on profession of faith and repentance; congregational churches, their independency, and reception into the church upon evidence of sound conversion.

UNITARIANS.

The Unitarians, or as they are denominated, though not with strict propriety, Socinians, are far from being numerous in the United States, they have, however, received considerable additions of late from different parts of Great Britain; the generous attachment of this body of Christians, to the cause of civil and religious liberty, has marked them out as objects of the dread and vengeance of the British government, every manœuvre has been tried, and every influence exerted to sink them in the esteem of their countrymen, the consequence of which has been, that many of them have found it necessary to seek a residence in a country more congenial with their sentiments and views of the rights of mankind, and where they can enjoy their religious principles without political degradation. Among the characters which are an ornament to this class of Christians, and whom the ungrateful and unrelenting hand of persecution has driven to the hospitable shores of the United States, the names of PRIESTLEY, RUSSEL, and COOPER, deserve particular notice; the former of these characters has long been celebrated as a philosopher, and the avowed champion of the Unitarian Faith. In both these situations, however we may differ from him in opinion, his candour, zeal, and perseverance, entitle him to our admiration; but as the FRIEND OF MANKIND, he claims more than admiration—HE COMMANDS OUR ESTEEM—the direction of his philosophical pursuits to the benefit of his fellow creatures—the warmth and ability with which he has espoused and defended the cause of civil and religious liberty, the patience, fortitude, and resignation with which he has endured the most cruel and unjust persecutions—the discovery of the most amiable disposition to those who differed with, and even persecuted him, will endear his memory to posterity, and awaken the utmost abhorrence and indignation at that spirit of bigotry and party rage, which forced him from his country and friends, and obliged him, at an advanced period of life, to seek an asylum across the Atlantic: America will, however, value what Britain despised, and will no doubt amply reward him for all his past sufferings—his name will live in the affections of succeeding ages, while those of his persecutors will be consigned to the infamy they merit.

It will be unnecessary here to say any thing on the peculiar tenets of the Unitarians, as they have been of late so amply and ably discussed, and in a variety of forms, adapted to every class of

reader, we find ourselves put to a consideration of the people called Quakers.

QUAKERS.

The descendants of Quakers arise about the year 1648, and were first counted as a sect by their highly respected elder, GEORGE FOX. They emigrated to America in 1681. The first settlers of Pennsylvania were all of this denomination, and the number of their meetings in the United States at present, is about three hundred and twenty.

Their doctrinal tenets may be concisely expressed as follows:—In common with other Christians, they believe in One Eternal God, and in Jesus Christ the Messiah and Mediator of the new covenant. To Christ alone, in whose divinity they believe, they give the title of the Son of God, and not to the scriptures; yet they profess a high esteem for the Sacred writings, as subordinate to the Spirit who inspired them, and believe that they are able, through faith, to make men wise to salvation.—They reverence the excellent precepts of Scripture, and believe them practicable and binding on every Christian; and that in the life to come, every man will be rewarded according to his works. In order to enable mankind to put in practice these precepts, they believe, that every man coming into the world is endued with a measure of the Light, Grace, or Good Spirit of Christ, by which he is enabled to distinguish good from evil, and correct the disorderly passions and corrupt propensities of his nature, which mere reason is altogether insufficient to overcome—that this divine grace is, to those who sincerely seek it, an all-sufficient and present help in time of need—and that by it the snares of the enemy are detected, his allurements avoided, and deliverance experienced, through faith in its effectual operation, and the soul translated out of the kingdom of darkness into the marvellous light and kingdom of the Son of God.—Thus persuaded, they think this divine influence especially necessary to the performance of the highest act of which the human mind is capable, the worship of God in spirit and in truth; and therefore consider, as obstruction to pure worship, all forms which divert the mind from the secret influence of this uncti^on of the Holy One.—Though true worship is not confined to time or place, they believe it is incumbent on churches to meet often together, but dare not depend for acceptance on a formal repetition of the words and experience of others.—They think it their duty to wait in silence to have a true sight of their

For should wish for information on the subject, he is referred to the *General View of the Unitarian Doctrine*, &c.

condition bestowed on them ; and believe even a single sigh, arising from a sense of their infirmities and need of divine help to be more acceptable to God, than any performances which originate in the will of man.

They believe the renewed assistance of the light and power of Christ, which is not at command, nor attainable by study, but the free gift of God, to be indispensably necessary to a true gospel ministry—Hence arises their testimony against preaching for hire, and conscientious refusal to support any such ministry by tythes or other means. As they dare not encourage any ministry, but such as they believe to spring from the influence of the Holy Spirit ; so neither dare they attempt to restrain this influence to persons of any condition in life, or to the male sex—but allow such of the female sex as appear to be qualified, to exercise their gifts for the general edification of the church.

They hold that as there is one Lord and one faith, so his baptism is one in nature and operation, and that nothing short of it can make us living members of his mystical body ; and that baptism with water belonged to a dispensation inferior to the present. With respect to the Lord's Supper, they believe that communication between Christ and his church is not maintained by that nor any other external ordinance, but only by a real participation of his divine nature, through faith ; that this is the supper alluded to in Rev. iii. 20—and that where the substance is attained, it is unnecessary to attend to the shadow.

Believing that the grace of God is alone sufficient for salvation, they can neither admit that it is conferred on a few only, while others are left without it ; nor, thus asserting its universality, can they limit its operation to a partial cleansing of the soul from sin, even in this life—On the contrary they believe that God doth vouchsafe to assist the obedient to submit to the guidance of his pure spirit, through whose assistance they are enabled to bring forth fruits unto holiness, and to stand *perfect* in their present rank.

As to oaths, they abide literally by Christ's positive injunction, "SWEAR NOT AT ALL." They believe that "WARS AND FIGHTINGS" are, in their origin and effects, utterly repugnant to the Gospel, which breathes peace and good-will to men*. They also are firmly persuaded, that if the benevolence of the Gospel were generally prevalent in the minds of men, it would effectually

* During the late war, some of their number, contrary to this article of their faith thought it their duty to take up arms in defence of their country. This laid the foundation of a secession from their brethren, and they now form a separate congregation in Philadelphia, by the name of the "Resisting or fighting Quakers."

ally prevent them from oppressing much more from enslaving^{*} their brethren, of whatever complexion; and would even influence their treatment of the brute creation, which would no longer groan the victims of their avarice, or of their idle sense of pleasure.—They profess that their principles, which involve submission to the laws in all cases wherein conscience is not violated, are a security to the salutary purposes of government. But they hold that the civil magistrate has no right to interfere in matters of religion, and think persecution, in any degree unwarrantable. They reject the use of those names of the months and days, which, having been given in honour of the deities of the heathen, originated in their superstition; and the custom of speaking to a single person in the plural number, as having arisen also from motives of idolatry. Compliments, superfluity of apparel or furniture, outward shews of rejoicing or mourning, and observations of days and times, they deem incompatible with the simplicity and sincerity of a Christian life; and they condemn public diversions, gaming and other amusements of the world. They require no formal subscription to any articles, either as the condition of membership, or to qualify for the service of the church.

To effect the salutary purposes of discipline, MONTHLY, QUARTERLY, and YEARLY meetings are established. A monthly meeting is composed of several neighbouring congregations. Its business is to provide for the subsistence of the poor, and for the education of their offspring—to judge of the sincerity and fitness of persons appearing to be convinced of the religious principles of the society, and desiring to be admitted to membership; to excite due attention to the discharge of religious and moral duties; to deal with dissenting members—to appoint overseers to see that the rules of their discipline are put in practice—to allow of marriages, &c.†

* In the present struggle of liberality and humanity, against avarice and cruelty, in defence of the Blacks, the QUAKERS have had the signal honour of having first set the illustrious example of aiming at a total emancipation.

† Their mode of marrying is as follows—Those who intend to marry, appear together, and propose their intention to the monthly meeting, and if not succeeded by their parents or guardians, produce a written certificate of the consent, signed in the presence of witnesses. The meeting then appoints a committee to enquire whether they are clear of other engagements respecting marriage, and if at a subsequent meeting, to which the parties also come and declare the continuance of the intention, no objections are reported, they have the meeting's consent to solemnize their intended marriage. This is done in a public meeting for worship, towards the close of which the parties stand up and solemnly take each other for husband and wife. A certificate of the proceedings is then publicly read, and signed by the parties, and afterwards by the relations and others as witnesses, which closes the solemnity.

A quarterly meeting is composed of several monthly meetings. At this meeting are produced written answers from monthly meetings, to certain questions respecting the conduct of their members and the meeting's care over them. The accounts thus received, are digested and sent by representatives to the yearly meeting. Appeals from the judgment of monthly meetings are brought to the quarterly meetings.

The yearly meeting has the general superintendence of the society in the country in which it is established.* The business of this meeting is to give forth its advice—make such regulations as appear to be requisite, or excite to the observance of those already made, &c. Appeals from the judgment of quarterly meetings are here finally determined; and a brotherly correspondence, by epistles, is maintained with other yearly meetings.

As they believe women may be ~~rightly~~ called to the work of the ministry, they also think they may share in the Christian discipline. Accordingly *they* have monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings of their own sex; held at the same time, and in the same place with those of the men; but separately and without the power of making rules.

Their elders and ministers have meetings peculiar to themselves. These meetings, called meetings of ministers and elders, are generally held in the compass of each monthly, quarterly, and yearly meeting—for the purpose of exciting each other to the discharge of their several duties—of extending advice to those who may appear weak, &c. They also, in the intervals of the yearly meetings, give certificates to those ministers who travel abroad in the work of the ministry.

The yearly meeting, held in London, in 1675, appointed a meeting to be held in that city, for the purpose of advising or assisting in cases of suffering for conscience sake, called a meeting for sufferings, which is yet continued. It is composed of Friends under the name of correspondents, chosen by the several quarterly meetings, who reside in and near the city. This meeting is entrusted with the care of printing and distributing books, and with the management of its stock, and considered as a standing committee of the yearly meeting. In none of their meetings have they a President, as they believe Divine wisdom alone ought to preside; nor has any member a right to claim pre-eminence over the rest.

* The Quakers have, in all, *sixteen* yearly meetings. One in London, to which come representatives from Ireland. The other six are in the United States: 1. New-England. 2. New-York. 3. New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, 4. Maryland, Virginia, 6. The Carolinas and Georgia.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

METHODISTS.

The Methodist denomination of Christians arose in England in 1739, and made their first appearance in America about 1744, or 1745, and have since that time increased in numbers and influence. Their general style is, "The United Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church." They consider themselves to be "A company of men having the form of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch one another in love, that they may help each other to work their salvation." Each society is divided into classes of persons, one of whom is styled the Leader, whose business it is to see each person in his class once a week, in order to enquire how their souls prosper, to advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort as occasion may require, and to receive contributions for the relief of Church and Poor. In order to admission into the societies they require only one condition, viz. "A desire to be saved from the wrath to come, i. e. a desire to be saved from their sins."

It is expected of all who continue in their societies, that they should evidence their desire of salvation, by doing no harm, avoiding all manner of evil, by doing all manner of good, they have ability and opportunity, especially to the household of faith; employing them preferably to others, buying of one another, *unless they can be served better elsewhere*, and helping one another in business. — Also by attending upon all the ordinances of God; such as public worship, the supper of the Lord, family, and private prayer, searching the scriptures, and fasting or abstinence. The late Mr. John Wesley is considered the father of this class of Methodists, who, as they deny some of the leading Calvinistic doctrines, and hold some of the peculiar tenets of Arminius, may be called ARMINIAN METHODISTS. The late Mr. Whitefield was the leader of the CALVINISTIC METHODISTS, who are not very numerous in the United States, the greater part being now formed into independent Calvinistic churches, or mixed with Congregationalists and Presbyterians.

In 1788, the number of *Wesleyan* Methodists in the United States stood as follows:

Georgia	-	-	2011	Delaware	-	-	12
South Carolina	-	-	3366	Pennsylvania	-	-	17
North Carolina	-	-	6779	New Jersey	-	-	17
Virginia	-	-	14,356	New York	-	-	17
Maryland	-	-	11,017				
				Total			49,181

Since this estimate of their numbers was taken, some few scattering societies have been collected in different parts of the New England States, and their numbers increased in other parts; so that in 1790, the whole connexion amounted to fifty-seven thousand six hundred and twenty-one. To superintend the methodist connexion in America, they had, in 1788, two bishops, thirty elders, and fifty deacons.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

The whole number of ROMAN CATHOLICS in the United States is estimated at about fifty thousand; one half of which are in the State of Maryland. Their peculiar and leading doctrines and tenets are too generally known to need a recital here. They have a BISHOP, who resides in Baltimore, and many of their congregations are large and respectable.

GERMAN LUTHERANS AND CALVINISTS.

The German inhabitants in these states, who principally belong to Pennsylvania and New York, are divided into a variety of sects; the principal of which are LUTHERANS, CALVINISTS, MORAVIANS, TUNKERS, and MENNONISTS. Of these the German Lutherans are the most numerous. Of this denomination, and the German Calvinists, who are next to them in numbers, there are upwards of sixty ministers in Pennsylvania—and the former have twelve, and the latter six churches in the state of New York. Many of their churches are large and splendid, and in some instances furnished with organs. These two denominations live together in the greatest harmony, often preaching in each other's churches, and sometimes uniting in the erection of a church, in which they alternately worship.

MORAVIANS.

The MORAVIANS are a respectable body of Christians in these States. Of this denomination, there were, in 1788, about one thousand three hundred souls in Pennsylvania; viz. at Bethlehem, between five and six hundred, which number has since increased—at Nazareth, four hundred and fifty—at Litiz, upwards of three hundred. Their other settlements, in the United States, are at Hope, in New Jersey, about one hundred souls; at Wachovia, on Yadkin river, North Carolina, containing six churches. Besides these regular settlements, formed by such only as are members of the brethren's church, and live together in good order and harmony, there are in different parts of Pennsylvania, M.

TUNKERS.

The TUNKERS are so called in derision, from the word TUNK, *to put a morsel in sauce*. The English word that conveys the proper meaning of Tunkers is *Sops or Dippers*. They have been also called Tumblers from the manner in which they perform baptism, which is by putting the person, while kneeling, head first under water, so as to resemble the motion of the body in the action of tumbling. The Germans sound the letters *t* and *b* like *d* and *p*; hence the words Tunkers and Tumblers, have been corruptly written Dunkers and Dumplers.

The first appearing of these people in America was in the year 1719, when about twenty families landed in Philadelphia, and dispersed themselves in various parts of Pennsylvania. They are what are called General Baptists, and hold the doctrine of general redemption and general salvation. They use great plainness of dress and language, *and will neither swear nor fight, nor go to law, nor take interest for the money they lend*. They commonly wear their beards—keep the first day Sabbath, except one congregation—have the Lord's Supper with its ancient attendants of Love-feasts, with washing of feet, kiss of charity, and right hand of fellowship. They anoint the sick with oil for their recovery, and use the trine immersion, with laying on of hands and prayer, even while the person baptised is in the water. Their church government and discipline are for the most part similar with those of the English Baptists, except that every brother is allowed to speak in the congregation; and their best speaker is usually ordained to be their minister. They have deacons, and deaconesses, from among their ancient widows, and exhorters, who are all licensed to use their gifts stately. On the whole, notwithstanding their peculiarities, they appear to be HUMBLE, WELL-MEANING CHRISTIANS, and have acquired the character of the *harmless** Tunkers.

Their principal settlement is a Ephrata, sometimes called Tunkers Town, in Lancaster county, sixty miles westward of Philadelphia. It consists of about forty buildings, of which three are places of worship: one is called *Sharon*, and adjoins the sister's apartment as a chapel; another, belonging to the brother's apartment, is called *Bethany*. To these the brethren and sisters resort, separately to worship morning and evening, and sometimes in the night. The third is a common church, called *Zion*, where all in the settlement meet once a week for public worship.

* It would be exceedingly happy for mankind, if this spirit could be bestowed on the professed followers of every other religious persuasion.

The brethren have adopted the White Friar's dress, with alterations; the sisters that of the nuns; and many of both sexes have taken the vow of celibacy. All, however, do not keep the vow. When they marry, they leave their cells and join among the married people. They subsist by cultivating lands, by attending a printing office, a grist mill, a paper mill, oil mill, &c. and the sisters by spinning, weaving, sewing, &c. They at first slept on board couches, but now on beds, and are otherwise abated much of their former severity. This congregation keep the seventh day Sabbath. Their singing is charming, owing to the pleasantness of their voices, the variety of parts, and the devout manner of performance. Besides this congregation at Ephrata, there were, in 1770, fourteen others in various other parts of Pennsylvania, and some in Maryland. In the whole, exclusive of those in Maryland, amounted to upwards of two thousand souls.

MENNONISTS.

The MENNONISTS derive their name from Menno Simon, a native of Witmaas in Germany, a man of learning, born in the year 1505, in the time of the reformation by Luther and Calvin. He was a famous Roman Catholic preacher, till about the year 1531, when he became a Baptist. Some of his followers came into Pennsylvania from New-York and settled at German-town as early as 1690. This is at present their principal congregation and the mother of the rest. Their whole number, in 1770, in Pennsylvania, was upwards of four thousand, divided into thirteen churches, and forty-two congregations, under the care of fifteen ordained ministers, and fifty-three licensed preachers.

The Mennonists do not, like the Tunkers, hold the doctrine of general illumination, yet like them, *they will neither swear nor fight, nor bear any civil office, nor go to law, nor take interest for the money they lend*; many, however, break this last rule. Some of them wear their beards; wash each others feet, &c. and all use plainness of speech and dress. Some have been expelled their societies for wearing buckles in their shoes, and having pocket-holes in their coats. Their church government is democratical. They call themselves the HARMLESS CHRISTIANS, REVENCABLE CHRISTIANS, and WEAPONLESS CHRISTIANS. They are Baptists rather in name than in fact; for they do not use immersion. Their common mode of baptism is this; the person to be baptized kneels; the minister holds his hands over him, into which the deacon pours water, which runs through upon the head of the person kneeling. After this, follows imposition of hands and prayer.

UNIVERSALISTS.

The denomination stiled UNIVERSALISTS, though their schemes are very various, may properly enough be divided into two classes, viz. Those who embrace the scheme of Dr. Chauncey, exhibited in his book entitled "The Salvation of all Men;" and the disciples of Mr. Winchester and Mr. John Murray.

A judicious summary of Dr. Chauncey's sentiments, has been given in H. Adam's View of Religions, as follows :

"That the scheme of revelation has the happiness of all mankind lying at bottom, as its great and ultimate end; that it gradually tends to this end; and will not fail of its accomplishment, when fully completed. Some, in consequence of its operation, as conducted by the Son of God, will be disposed and enabled, in this present state, to make such improvements in virtue, the only rational preparative for happiness, as that they shall enter upon the enjoyment of it in the next state. Others who have proved incurable under the means which have been used with them in this state, instead of being happy in the next, will be awfully miserable; not to continue so finally, but that they may be convinced of their folly, and recovered to a virtuous frame of mind: and this will be the effect of the future torments upon many; the consequence whereof will be their salvation, they being thus fitted for it. And there may be yet other states, before the scheme of God may be perfected, and mankind universally cured of their moral disorders, and in this way qualified for, and finally instated in, eternal happiness. But however many states some of the individuals of the human species may pass through, and of however long continuance they may be, the whole is intended to subserve the grand design of *universal happiness*, and will finally terminate in it; insomuch, that the *Son of God and Saviour of men* will not deliver up his trust into the hands of his *Father*, who committed it to him, till he has discharged his obligations in virtue of it; having finally fixed all men in heaven, when *God will be All in All.*"

The number of this denomination is not known. The open advocates of this scheme are few; though the number is larger who embrace the doctrine of the salvation of all men, upon principles somewhat similar, but variously differing from those on which the above-mentioned scheme is grounded.

Article *Universalists*, where the reader may find also a summary of the arguments for and against his scheme.

The latter class of Universalists have a new scheme, different essentially from that of the former, which they reject as inconsistent and absurd: and they cannot conceive how they can embrace it, can, "with any degree of propriety, be called Universalists, on Apostolic principles, as it does not appear that they have any idea of being saved by, or in the Lord, with an everlasting, or with any salvation." Hence they call them "PHARISÆICAL UNIVERSALISTS, who are willing to justify themselves.*

It is difficult to say what is the present scheme of the denomination of which we are now speaking; for they differ not only from all other Universalists, and from each other, but even from themselves at different periods. The reader, however, may form an idea of some of their tenets from what follows, collected from the letter referred to in the note. This letter, written by a man of first rate talents, and the head of the denomination, and professing to rectify mistakes respecting doctrines propagated under the Christian name—to give the character of a *Consistent Universalist*—and to acquaint the world with their sentiments, we have reason to conclude, gives as true an account of their scheme as can be obtained.

From this letter it appears, that they believe "that Religion of *some sort or other*, is a public benefit;" and that every person is at liberty, and is bound to support what he conceives to be the *true Religion*. That public worship on *every first day of the week*, is an incumbent duty on *all* real lovers of divine truth—that prayer, as it indicates trust in, and dependence on God, is a part of his worship—They believe that the *Deceiver*, who beguiled Eve, and not our *first parents* themselves, did the deed which brought *ruin and death* on all the human race—That there are two classes of fallen sinners—the *Angels* who kept not their first estate, and the *human race*, deceived by the former, and *consequently* destroyed consequent thereon,—that a *just God* in the law given by *Moses*, has denounced death and the curse on *every one* who *disobeyed* the law, and *transgressed* the law—but that the *same God* was manifested in the flesh to be the *friend of every man*, and *to save the world*, to *redeem them from all iniquity*, for the law, being *not a covenant of life*—that he *loved* *every man*, being a Saviour, not of a few only, but of *all men*—and that the declaration of this is the *Gospel*. They believe that when God denounces on the human race, woes, wrath, tribulation, death, damnation, &c. in the Scriptures, he speaks in his legislative capacity, as the just God who will by

* Mr. Watson's Universalist Friend, vol. 1, p. 41 printed in Boston, 1837.

means clear the guilty—that when he speaks of mercy, grace, peace, of life as the gift of God, and salvation in whole or in part, he speaks in the character of the *just God and Saviour*,—that the former is the language of the law; the latter is the language of the Gospel.

They believe that the Prince of Peace came to save the *human nature* from the power and dominion of the *Devil*, and his works—that he came to destroy the latter, that he might save the former—That “Sin is the work of the Devil—that he is the *Worker* and *Doer* of whatever gives offence”—That Jesus, as the Saviour of the world, shall separate from his kingdom, both the *evil Worker* and his evil works; the *evil Worker* in the character of *goats*—the *evil works* in the character of *tares*. They suppose that what is wicked in mankind, is represented by the *evil seed* sown by the *evil One* in *human nature*, and that “when the trower of the evil seed, and all the evil seed sown, shall be separated from the seed which God sowed, then the seed which is properly God’s seed, will be like him who sowed it, *pure and holy*.”

They consider all ordinances as *merely shadows*; yet they celebrate the Lord’s Supper, by eating and drinking wine—and some of them suppose that *every* time they eat bread and drink wine, they comply with our Lord’s injunction, “Do this in remembrance of me.” Various other opinions prevail among them respecting this ordinance, and that of baptism. They admit of but *one* baptism, the baptizer Jesus Christ; the elements made use of, the Holy Ghost and fire”—yet they are willing, in order to avoid contention, “to become all things to all men,” and to baptize INFANTS BY SPRINKLING, OR ADULTS BY IMMERSION—or to omit these signs altogether, according as the opinions of parents may vary upon this subject—Some think it proper to *dedicate* their children to the Lord, by putting them into the arms of the minister, to be by him presented to Christ, to be baptized with his baptism, in the name of the Trinity, the minister at the same time to bless them in the words in which God commanded Aaron and his sons to bless the children of Israel—“The Lord bless thee, &c.” It appears in short, that their notions respecting these ordinances are various, and with many, vague and unsettled.

They believe in a judgment *past* and a judgment to come—that the *past* judgment is either that in which the world was in the second Adam, according to the word of the Saviour “the judgment of this world—now is the Prince of Peace and judgment executed on *them* and on *this* nature, according to the righteous judgment

which every man is to exercise upon himself, according to the words "*judge yourselves and ye shall not be judged*"—"The judgment to come is that in which all who have not judged themselves—all unbelievers of the human race, and all the fallen angels, shall be judged by the Saviour—but these two churches, viz. unbelievers of the human race, and the fallen angels, shall be placed, the former on the right, the latter on the left hand of their Judge; the one under the denomination of *sheep*, for whose liberation the Saviour laid down his life—the other under the denomination of *goats*, who are the accursed, whose nature be perished." "The human nature," i. e. the *sheep* or unbelievers of the human race, "as the offspring of the everlasting Father, and the ransom of the Lord—shall be brought, by divine power, into the kingdom prepared for them, before the foundation of the world—the other nature, i. e. the goats, or fallen angels, "will be sent into the fire prepared for them."* From which it appears that it is their opinion, that unbelievers of the human race, or *sheep*, and the fallen angels, or goats, will be the only classes of creatures concerned in the awards of the last judgment—and that the righteous, or believers in Christ, will not then be judged, having previously judged themselves†—"But the rest of mankind," say they, "will be the subjects of this judgment, when our Saviour shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel; and they shall then be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and the glory of his power." Their inferences from, and exposition of this passage, are peculiar, and will serve to give the reader an idea of their manner of explaining other parallel passages of Scripture. From this awful revelation of the Saviour, to take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel, they infer this consequence, they shall then be made to know God, and obey the gospel. The everlasting destruction, from the presence of the Lord and the glory of his

* The reader will doubtless notice that the plural pronoun *them*, is used twice and to express the singular noun *human nature* and *Prince of this world*, as the *human nature*, &c. shall be brought into the kingdom prepared for *them*, the *other nature* will be sent into the fire prepared for *them*, the *Prince of this world* shall be cast into, and judgment be executed on *them*. This is a pleonasm, appearing peculiar to a Jewish nation.

† In the following passage, the contrary seems to be asserted. Speaking of the last judgment it is said, "Here, instead of head and members being judged, as it were, by the head Christ, the divine nature, the members are considered as their own best characters—good and evil, or better and unbeliever, or children of light, and children of darkness—and judged by their own head."

with which they *shall* be punished, they suppose is sufficient, in consequence of the *evolution* of the destruction, *previous* to this awful period—and that they suffer no punishment *after* it—for “it is not said,” they say, “they shall be *eternally* punished with destruction.” From their idea of *evolutionary* punishment and *suffering* the eternal fire, thus, “Were it possible to find a calvary never would be extinguished, but remain in the strictest sense the word, *everlasting* or *eternal*—should any member of the pass through that burning flame, though but a moment had been thus spent in passing through, yet even in that it would suffer the pain of eternal fire.” But whether or not it is possible that there should be such a fire, or that any shall be doomed to suffer the punishment of eternal fire, in passing through it, I do not find expressly asserted, highly probable that they do.

I do not suppose that “all mankind will be on a level in the day of death, but that they who die in unbelief, will be forever, and rise to the resurrection of damnation, or damnation; and when the books shall be opened, and the small and great, shall be judged out of the things written in the books—every mouth shall be stopped, and all be made guilty before God; and while conscious of guilt, want of a Saviour—they shall call on the rocks and mountains to fall on them to hide them from the wrath of the Lord; but that in this judgment the judge is the Saviour—they are judged by *their own head*,” and as the head of every army—all of course must be acquitted and saved.

When they believe that the Devil is the *author* or *author* of sin, that gives offence, yet they assert that “all men are sinners, and come short of the glory of God”—his is the same as what Christ suffered, “was considered by the Father, as none and suffered by every man in his own name and that every man is as much interested in what Christ did, as they were in what the first Adam did.” This idea appears to be incongruous with any future judgment. The *Supper of the Lord*, therefore “does not himself up—any more than a man can himself—dominion—of—

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

as members of civil society—and as Christians. As were many of them, they hold, that “they must follow nature, or they will sink beneath the level of the beasts of the field,”—and yet they affirm that “all the righteousness found in the best of mere human nature is but a filthy rag.”—That as members of civil society they must submit to the laws, or if thought too severe, they may avoid them by a removal from the state.”—That as Christians they must be under the direction of Christ, and do whatsoever he commands them; and these are his commandments, “that we believe in him and love one another.”

This denomination of Universalists, are not very numerous in the United States, some are in Pennsylvania—some in different parts of New-York, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and New-Hampshire; but the body of them are in Boston, and Gloucester, in Massachusetts. They have several constituted churches, which are governed by an ecclesiastical constitution, formed in 1780, by a convention of their ministers at Philadelphia.

SHAKERS.

This is a small and singular sect of Christians, which have sprung up in America as lately as 1774; when a few of this sect went from England to New-York, and there being joined by a few others, they settled at Nisquemia, above Albany, which is their principal settlement: a few others are scattered in different parts of the country.

The head of this party, while she lived,* was Anna Lee, styled the Elect Lady. Her followers asserted, that she was the woman spoken of in the twelfth chapter of the Revelations, and that she spoke seventy-two tongues: and although these tongues were unintelligible to the living, she conversed with the dead who understood her language. They alledged also that she was the mother of all the Elect; that she travelled for the whole world—that no blessing could descend to any person but only by and through her, and that in the way of her being possessed of their sins, by their confessing and repenting of them, one by one, according to her direction.

Their leading doctrinal tenets, as given by one of their own denomination, are, “That the first resurrection is already come, and now is the time to judge themselves. That they have power to heal the sick, to raise the dead, and cast out devils. That they

* This woman asserted, that she should never die; but notwithstanding her predictions and assertions to the contrary, she died in 1784; and was succeeded by one James Whitaker, who also died in 1787. Joseph Meacham, who has attained the reputation of a prophet among them, is at present their leader.

have a correspondence with angels, the spirits of the saints and their departed friends. That they speak with divers kind of tongues in their public assemblies. That it is lawful to practise *vocal music* with *dancing* in the Christian churches, if it be practised in praising the Lord. That their church is come out of the order of natural generation, to be as Christ was; and that those who have wives are as though they had none. That by these means heaven begins upon earth, and they thereby lose their earthly and sensual relation to Adam the first, and come to be transparent in their ideas, in the bright and heavenly visions of God. That some of their people are of the number of the hundred and forty-four thousand, who were redeemed from the earth, and were not defiled with women. That the word everlasting, when applied to the punishment of the wicked, means only a *limited* period, *except in the case of those who fall from their church*; and that for such there is no forgiveness, neither in this world nor that which is to come. That it is unlawful to swear, game, or use compliments—and that water baptism and the Lord's Supper are abolished. That Adam's sin is not imputed to his posterity—and that the doctrines of election and reprobation are to be rejected."

The discipline of this denomination is founded on the supposed perfection of their leaders. The Mother, or the Blest Lady, it is said, obeys God through Christ. *European* elders obey her. *American* labourers, and common people obey them: while confession is made of every secret thing, from the eldest to the youngest. The people are made to believe that they are seen through and through in the gospel glads of perfection, by their teachers, who behold the state of the dead, and innumerable worlds of spirits good and bad.

These people are generally instructed to be very industrious, and to bring in according to their ability, to keep up the meeting. They vary in their exercises. Their heavy dancing, as it is called, is performed by a perpetual springing from the house floor, about four inches up and down, both in the mens and womens apartment, moving about with extraordinary transport, singing sometimes one at a time, sometimes more.

This elevation affects the nerves, so that they have intervals of *trembling*, as if they were in a strong fit of the sometimes clap hands and leap so as to strike the joists. They throw off their outside garments and spend their strength very cheerfully this speaker often calls for attention; when some harangue, and then fall to dancing that their dancing is the token of the

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

of the new *Toussaint* flag, and denotes the victory over sin. One of the postures which prevail among them, is turning round very swift for an hour or two. This, they say, is to show the great power of God.

They sometimes fall on their knees and make a sound like the roaring of many waters, in groans and cries to God, as they say, for the wicked world who persecute them.*

J F W. C.

The Jews are not numerous in the United States. They have, however, synagogues at Savannah, Charleston, (South-Carolina) Philadelphia, New-York, and Newport. Besides those who reside at these places, there are others scattered in different towns in the United States.

The Jews in Charleston, among other peculiarities in burying their dead, have this: After the funeral dirge is sung, and just before the corpse is deposited in the grave, the coffin is covered, and a small box of earth taken from the grave, is carried by a attendant to the head of the coffin, and there is no powder. The box is then placed on the ground, and the coffin kept for a few moments, till the earth has been scattered on the corpse. It is then lowered into the grave, and the head end of the coffin is covered with earth, so that it may be raised at any time.

The conduct of the war is such that the Government before need
 to be supplied. It is necessary to be able to return to the
 front line when the situation demands it. The reasons of
 this are. And the Government must be prepared of their
 side to be able to meet the situation. It is necessary to be
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1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1990; 263: 2503-2506.

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT

OF THE

INDEPENDENCE

OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In addition to what we have already written of the discovery and settlement of North America, we shall give a brief history of the late war with Great Britain, with a sketch of the events which preceded and prepared the way for the revolution. This general view of the history of the United States will serve as a suitable introduction to the particular histories of the several States, which will be given in their proper places.

America was originally peopled by uncivilized nations, who lived mostly by hunting and fishing. The Europeans, who first visited these shores, treating the natives as wild beasts of the forest, which have no property in the woods where they roam, planted the standard of their respective nations, where they first landed, and in their names claimed the country by right of discovery.

Henry the Seventh of England, ordered to John Cabot three sons a commission to navigate all parts of the world, with the purpose of discovering islands, continents, and provinces, either in America or elsewhere, which were then unknown to the Europeans. Cabot, who was a Genoese, and a subject of the Republic of Venice, sailed in the name of England, and discovered the coast of North America in 1492.

immemorial occupancy. From what time the Aborigines had resided therein, or from what place they had come thither, were questions of doubtful solution, but it was clear that they had long been sole occupants of the country. In that state no European prince could derive a title to the soil by discovery, because that can give a right only to lands which either have never been owned or possessed, or which, after being owned or possessed, have been voluntarily ceded. The right of the Indian nations to the soil in their possession was founded in nature. It was the free and liberal gift of God to them, and such as no foreigner could rightfully acquire. The blinded superstition of the times regarded the Deity as a local God of Christians, and not as the common Father of all men and savages. The pervading influence of philosophy and truth, has, since that period, given us better notions of the rights of mankind, and of the obligations of morality. These rights and obligations unquestionably are not confined to particular modes of religion, but extended universally to Jews and Gentiles, to Christians and Infidels.

Unfounded, however, as the claims of European nations to American territories were, they severally proceeded upon them. By tacit consent they adopted as a new principle of international law, that the countries which each explored should be the absolute property of the discoverer. While they thus proceeded, the rights of the Indians were entirely overlooked.

James of American territory belonging to neither, occasioned a long and bloody war between France and England.

Queen Elizabeth and James the First denied the authority of the Pope of Rome to give away the country of infidels, and so far adopted the fatal distinction between the rights of heathens and the rights of Christians, as to make it the foundation of their respective grants. They freely gave away what belonged to them with no other proviso, than that "the lands and districts so granted, be not previously occupied and by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state."

An English patent which was given for the purpose of settling the country discovered by the Cabots, was granted by Elizabeth to Sir Humphry Gilbert, in 1578, but this did not survive. In 1584, the licenced Walter Raleigh, "to settle heathen lands not inhabited by Christian people," and to him in fee all the soil "within two hundred leagues of the coast where his people should make their dwellings and plantations."

Under his auspices an inconsiderable colony took possession of a part of the American coast, which now forms the state of Virginia. In honour of the Virgin Queen his sovereign, to the whole country the name of Virginia. Their first and several others who followed them, were either destroyed by the natives, removed by succeeding navigators, or perished leaving any behind to tell their melancholy story, were never more heard of. No permanent settlement was made till the reign of James the First.

For more than a century, was the English American continent peopled and parcelled out or sold in small portions. Little did the wisdom of the two preceding centuries foresee the consequences both good and evil, that were to result from the old world from discovering and colonizing the new. Little did they foresee the immense floods of gold and silver which were to be poured into Europe, the subsequent increase of population, the prodigious extension of commerce, arts, and navigation, and the influence of the whole on the progress of the human mind. Little did they foresee the accumulation of goods and wealth, and the consequent luxury and dissipation, which were to be the lot of the European colonies. Little did they foresee the great evils which were to be the lot of the African colonies, and the many other evils which were to be the lot of the American colonies.

But when we view the injurious consequences which have resulted from the discovery of America, we must not forget to view the good which have resulted from it. We must not forget that the discovery of America has been the cause of the greatest benefits which have ever been conferred on the human race. We must not forget that the discovery of America has been the cause of the greatest benefits which have ever been conferred on the human race.

occupancy and use of other nations. It was considered that settlements might be there formed for the advantage of those who should migrate thither, as well as of the Mother Country; and the rights and interests of the native proprietors were, all but entirely, deemed of no account.

What was the extent of obligations by which colonists were bound to the Mother Country is a subject of nice discussion. Whether these arose from the compact and the constitution, or from compact, is a question connected with many others. While the friends of the colonies contended that the king of England had a property in the colonies of America, by virtue of a right derived from prior discovery, and that his subjects, by migrating from one part of the empire to another, did not lessen their obligations to the supreme power of the nation, it was inferred, that the colonies to English America continued to owe the same obedience to the king and parliament, as if they had never quitted their native country. But if as others contended, the Indians were the only lawful proprietors of the country in which the colonies had placed them, and they sold their right to emigrants, and the emigrants, had a right to leave their native country, and the colonies had obtained chartered permission to do so, it follows, from the premises, that the obligations of the colonists to their Mother Country must have resulted more from compact, and the prospect

the right of the sovereigns of England to the soil of America was ideal, and contrary to natural justice, and if no one can give what is not his own, their charters were on several accounts : nullity. In the eye of reason and philosophy, they could give no right to American territory. The only validity which such grants could have, was, that the grantees had from their sovereign a permission to depart from their native country, and negotiate with the proprietors for the purchase of the soil, and thereupon to acquire a power of jurisdiction subject to his crown. These were the opinions of many of the settlers in New-England. They looked upon their charters as a voluntary compact between their sovereign and themselves, by which they were bound neither to be subject to, nor seek protection from any other prince, nor to make any laws repugnant to those of England : but did not consider them as inferring an obligation of obedience to a parliament, in which they were unrepresented. The prospects of advantage which the emigrants to America expected from the protection of their native sovereign, and the prospect of aggrandisement which their native sovereign expected from the extension of his empire, made the former very solicitous for charters, and the latter very ready to grant them. Neither reasoned clearly on their nature, nor well understood their extent. In less than eight years one thousand five hundred miles of the sea coast were granted away, and so little did they who gave, or they who accepted of charters, understand their own transactions, that in several cases the same ground was covered by contradictory grants, and with an absurdity that can only be palliated by the ignorance of the parties, some of the grants extended to the South Sea, over a country whose breadth is yet unknown, and which to this day is unexplored.

Ideal as these charters were, they answered a temporary purpose. The Colonists reposed confidence in them, and were excited to industry on their credit. They also deterred European powers from disturbing them, because, agreeable to the late law of nations, relative to their appropriation of newly discovered Heathen countries, they inferred the protection of the sovereign who gave them. They also opposed a barrier to open and gross encroachments of the mother country on the rights of the colonists : a particular detail of these is not now necessary. Some general remarks may, nevertheless, be made on the early periods of colonial history, as they cast light on the late revolution. Long before the declaration of independance, several of the colonies on different occasions declared, that they ought not to be taxed but by their own provincial assemblies, and that they considered subjection to acts of a British Parliament, in which

they had no representation, as a grievance. It is also worth of being noted, that of the thirteen colonies, formed into one at the end of the war, no one (Georgia excepted) was settled at the expense of government. Towards the settlement of the southern frontier, considerable sums had at different times been granted by parliament, but the twelve more northern provinces had been wholly settled by private adventurers, without any advances from the national treasury. It does not appear, from existing records, that any compensation for their lands was ever made to the Aborigines of America by the crown or parliament of England; but policy, as well as justice, led the colonists to purchase and pay for what they occupied. This was done at almost every settlement, and they prospered most, who by justice and kindness took the greatest pains to conciliate the good-will of the natives.

It is in vain to look for well-balanced constitutions in the early periods of colonial history. Till the revolution in the year 1688, a period subsequent to the settlement of the colonies, England herself can scarcely be said to have had a fixed constitution. At that eventful æra the line was first drawn between the privileges of subjects, and the prerogatives of sovereigns. The legal and constitutional history of the colonies, in their early periods, therefore, affords but little instruction. It is sufficient in general to observe, that in less than eighty years from the first permanent English settlement in North-America, the two original patents granted to the Plymouth and London Companies were divided, and subdivided, into twelve distinct and unconnected provinces, and in fifty years more a thirteenth, by the name of Georgia, was added to the southern extreme of previous establishments.

To each of these, after various changes, there was ultimately granted a form of government resembling, in its most essential parts, as far as local circumstances would permit, that which was established in the parent state. A minute description of constitutions, which no longer exist, would be both tedious and unprofitable. In general, it may be observed, that agreeable to the spirit of the British constitution, ample provision was made for the liberties of the inhabitants. The prerogatives of royalty and dependance on the mother country, were but feebly impressed on the colonial forms of government. In some of the provinces the inhabitants chose their governors, and all other public officers, and their legislatures were under little or no controul. In others, the crown delegated most of its power to particular persons, who were also invested with the property of the soil. In those which were most immediately dependent on the king, the

exercised no higher prerogatives over the colonists than over their fellow subjects in England, and his power over the provincial legislative assemblies was not greater than what he was constitutionally vested with, over the House of Commons in the mother country. From the acquiescence of the parent state, the spirit of her constitution, and daily experience, the colonists grew up in a belief, that their local assemblies stood in the same relation to them, as the parliament of Great-Britain to the inhabitants of that island. The benefits of legislation were conferred on both, only through these constitutional channels.

It is remarkable, that though the English possessions in America were far inferior in natural riches to those which fell to the lot of other Europeans, yet the security of property and of liberty, derived from the English constitution, gave them a consequence to which the colonies of other powers, though settled at an earlier day, have not yet attained. The wise and liberal policy of England towards her colonies, during the first century and half, after their settlement, had a considerable influence in exalting them to this pre-eminence. She gave them full liberty to govern themselves by such laws as the local legislatures thought necessary, and left their trade open to every individual in her dominions. She also gave them the amplest permission to pursue their respective interests in such manner as they thought proper, and reserved little for herself, but the benefit of their trade, and that of a political union under the same head. The colonies, founded by other powers, experienced no such indulgencies. Portugal and Spain burdened theirs with many vexatious regulations, gave encouragement only to what was for their own interest, and punished whatever had a contrary tendency. France and Holland did not adopt such oppressive maxims, but were, in fact, not much less rigorous and coercive. They parted, as it were, with the propriety of their colonies to mercantile associations, which sold to the colonists the commodities of Europe, at an enormous advance, and took the produce of their lands at a low price, and, at the same time, discouraged the growth of any more than they could dispose of, at excessive profits. These oppressive regulations were followed with their natural consequence: the settlements thus restricted advanced but slowly in population and in wealth.

The English Colonies participated in that excellent form of Government with which their parent isle was blessed, and which has raised it to an admirable height of agriculture, commerce and manufactures. After many struggles, it had been acknowledged to be essential to the constitution of Great-Britain that

the people could not be compelled to pay any taxes, nor be bound by any laws, but such as had been granted or enacted with the consent of themselves, or of their representatives. It was also one of their privileges, that they could not be affected either in their property, their liberties, or their persons, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of their peers.

From the operation of these general principles of liberty, and the wise policy of Great-Britain, her American settlements increased in number, wealth and resources, with a rapidity which surpassed all previous calculations. Neither ancient nor modern history can produce an example of Colonies governed with equal wisdom, or flourishing with equal rapidity. In the short space of one hundred and fifty years their numbers increased to three millions, and their commerce to such a degree, as to be more than a third of that of Great-Britain. They also extended their settlements fifteen hundred miles on the sea coast, and three hundred to the westward. Their rapid population, though partly accelerated by the influx of strangers, was principally owing to internal causes. In consequence of the equality of fortune and simplicity of manners, which prevailed among them, their inhabitants multiplied far beyond the proportion of old nations, corrupted and weakened by the vices of wealth, and above all, of vanity, than which, perhaps, there is no greater enemy to the increase of the human species.

The good effects of a wise policy and equal government were not only discernible in raising the Colonies of England to a pre-eminence over those of other European powers, but in raising some among themselves to greater importance than others. Their relative population and wealth were by no means correspondent to their respective advantages of soil and climate. From the common disproportion between the natural and artificial wealth of different countries, it seems to be a general rule, that the more nature does for any body of men, the less they are disposed to do for themselves.

The New-England provinces, though possessed of comparatively a barren country, were improved much faster than others, which were blessed with a superior soil and milder climate. Their first settlers were animated with a high degree of that religious fervor which excites to great undertakings: they also settled their vacant lands on principles of the wisest policy. Instead of granting large tracts to individuals, they sold the soil in small farms, to those who personally cultivated the same. Instead of disseminating their inhabitants over an extensive country, they formed successive settlements, in townships of six miles square. They also made such arrangements, in these townships, as co-extended the blessings of education and of religious instruction with their

Settlements. By these means industry and morality were propagated, and knowledge was generally diffused.

In proportion to their respective numbers, it is probable that **no other country** in the world contained more sober orderly citizens, and fewer who were profligate and abandoned. Those high crimes which are usually punished with death, were so rare in **New-England**, that many years have elapsed, in large populous settlements, without a single execution. Their less fertile soil disposed them to a spirit of adventure, and their victorious industry rose superior to every obstacle. In carrying on the whale fishery, they not only penetrated the deepest frozen recesses of **Hudson's Bay**, and **Davis' Straits**; but pierced into the opposite regions of polar cold. While some of them were striking the harpoon on the coast of **Africa**, others pursued their gigantic game near the shores of **Brazil**. While they were yet in their infancy as a political society, they carried on this perilous business to an extent exceeding all that the perseverance of **Holland**, the activity of **France**, or the vigour of **English enterprize**, had ever accomplished. A spirit of liberty prompted their industry, and a free constitution guarded their civil rights. The country was settled with yeomanry, who were both proprietors, and cultivators, of the soil. Luxury was estranged from their borders. Enervating wealth and pinching poverty were both equally rare. Early marriages and a numerous offspring, were common—thence, population was rapid, and the inhabitants generally possessed that happy state of mediocrity, which favours the improvement both of mind and body.

New-York joined **New-England**, but did not increase with equal rapidity. A few, by monopolizing large tracts of lands reduced many to the necessity of being tenants, or of removing to other provinces, where land could be obtained on more favourable terms. The increase of population, in this province, was nevertheless great, when compared with that of old countries. This appears from the following statement of their numbers at different periods. In 1756, the province of **New-York** contained eighty-three thousand two hundred and thirty-three whites, and in 1771, one hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-four, an increase of nearly two for one, in the space of fifteen years.

Pennsylvania was at first settled under the auspices of the celebrated **William Penn**, who introduced a number of industrious inhabitants, chiefly of the sect of **Quakers**. The population of this country advanced equally with that of the **New-England provinces**. Among the inducements operating on foreigners to settle in **Pennsylvania** was a most excellent form of provincial

HISTORY OF THE

government, which secured the religious as well as the civil rights of its inhabitants. While the Mother Country laboured under an oppressive ecclesiastical establishment, and while penalties of the same kind were sanctioned by law, in some of the American provinces, perfect liberty of conscience, and an exact equality of all sects, was in every period, a part of the constitution of Pennsylvania.

Quaker simplicity, industry, and frugality, contributed, in like manner, to the flourishing of that province. The habits of that plain people corresponded, admirably, with a new country and with republican constitutions. Opposed to idleness and extravagance, they combined the whole force of religion, customs and laws, to exile these vices from their society. The first Quaker settlers were soon followed by Germans, whose industry was not inferior to their own. The emigrants from our countries who settled in Pennsylvania, followed these good examples, and industry and frugality became predominant virtues over the whole province.

The policy of a Loan-Office was also eminently beneficial. The proprietaries of Pennsylvania sold their lands in small tracts, and on long credit. The purchasers were indulged with the liberty of borrowing, on interest, paper bills of credit, out of the Loan-Office, on the mortgage of their lands. Perhaps there never was an institution which contributed more to the happiness of the people, or to the flourishing of a new country, than this Land Loan-Office scheme. The province being enriched by the clear interest of its loaned paper, was thereby enabled to defray the expences of government with moderate taxes. The industrious farmer was furnished with the means of cultivating and stocking his farm. These improvements, by increasing the value of the land, not only established the credit of the paper, but enabled the borrower, in a few years, to pay off the original loan with the productions of the soil. The progressive improvement of Pennsylvania may be estimated from the increase of its trade. In the year 1704, that province imported goods from the Mother Country, amounting in value only to eleven thousand four hundred and ninety-nine pounds sterling, but in 1778, to the value of five hundred and seven thousand nine hundred and nine pounds, an increase of nearly fifty for one, in little more than half a century.

In Maryland and Virginia, a policy less favourable to population and somewhat different from that of Pennsylvania, took place. The church of England was incorporated with the first settlement of Virginia, and in the lapse of time, it also became the established religion of Maryland. In both these provi-

Before the American revolution, that church possessed a legal pre-eminence, and was maintained at the expence, not only of its own members, but of all other denominations. This deterred great numbers, especially of the Presbyterian denomination, who had emigrated from Ireland, from settling within the limits of these governments, and fomented a spirit of discord between those who belonged to, and those who dissented from the established church.

The first emigrants from England for colonising America, left the Mother Country at a time when the dread of arbitrary power was the predominant passion of the nation. Except the very modern charter of Georgia, in the year 1732, all the English Colonies obtained their charters and their greatest number of European settlers, between the years 1603 and 1688. In this period a remarkable struggle between prerogative and privilege commenced, and was carried on till it terminated in a revolution highly favourable to the liberties of the people. In the year 1621, when the English House of Commons claimed freedom of speech, "as their ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance transmitted to them from their ancestors;" King James the First replied, "that he could not allow of their style, in mentioning their ancient and undoubted rights, but would rather have wished they had said, that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of their sovereign." This was the opening of a dispute which occupied the tongues, pens, and swords, of the most active men in the nation, for a period of seventy years. It is remarkable that the same period is exactly co-incident with the settlement of the English Colonies. James, educated in the arbitrary sentiments of the divine right of Kings, conceived his subjects to be his property, and that their privileges were matters of grace and favour flowing from his generosity. This high claim of prerogative excited opposition in support of the rights of the people. In the progress of the dispute, Charles the First, son of King James, in attempting to levy ship-money, and other revenues without consent of Parliament, involved himself in a war with his subjects, in which, after various conflicts, he was brought to the block and suffered death as an enemy to the constitution of his country. Though the monarchy was restored under Charles the Second, and transmitted to James the Second, yet the same arbitrary maxims being pursued, the nation, tenacious of its rights, invited the Prince of Orange to the sovereignty of the island, and expelled the reigning family from the throne. While these spirited exertions were made, in support of the liberties of the parent isle, the English Colonies, were settled, and chiefly with inhabitants of that class of people, which was most

hostile to the claims of prerogative. Every transaction in that period of English history, supported the position that the people have a right to resist their sovereign, when he invades their liberties, and to transfer the crown from one to another, when the good of the community requires it.

The English Colonists were from their first settlement in America, devoted to liberty, on English ideas, and English principles. They not only conceived themselves to inherit the privileges of Englishmen, but though in a colonial situation, actually possessed them.

After a long war between King and Parliament, and a Revolution—these privileges were settled on the following fundamental principles: "That it was the undoubted right of English subjects, being freemen or freeholders, to give their property, only by their own consent. That the House of Commons exercised the sole right of granting the money of the people of England, because that House alone, represented them. The taxes were the free gifts of the people to their rulers. That the authority of sovereigns was to be exercised only for the good of their subjects. That it was the right of the people to meet together, and peacefully to consider of their grievances, to petition for a redress of them, and to do, when not lawfully grievances were redressed, to seek relief, on the basis of petitions and remonstrances, by forcible means."

Opposition of this kind gradually prevailed, particularly among the Colonists, as soon as a determined spirit of opposition to all encroachments on their rights, than would probably have taken place, had they emigrated from the Mother Country in the preceding century, when the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and the divine right of kings, were generally received.

The attachment to their Mother Country, which was diminished in the first emigrants to America, by being removed to a great distance from his influence, was still farther diminished in their descendants. When the American revolution commenced, the descendants of the Colonists were for the most part, the third and fourth, and sometimes the fifth or sixth generation, from the original emigrants. In the same degree as they were removed from the parent stock, they were weaned from that partial attachment, which bound their forefathers to the place of their nativity. The affection for the Mother Country, as far as it was a national passion, wore away in successive generations, till at last it had scarce any existence.

The mercantile intercourse, which connects different countries, was, in the early periods of the English Colonies, far short of that degree, which is necessary to perpetuate a friendly union,

Had the first great colonial establishments been made in the Southern Provinces, where the suitableness of native commodities would have maintained a brisk and direct trade with England—the constant exchange of good offices between the two countries would have been more likely to perpetuate their friendship. But as the Eastern Provinces were the first, which were thickly settled, and they did not for a long time cultivate an extensive trade with England, their descendants speedily lost the fond attachment, which their forefathers felt to their Parent State. The bulk of the people in New-England knew little of the Mother Country, having only heard of her as a distant kingdom, the rulers of which had, in the preceding century, persecuted and banished their ancestors to the woods of America.

The distance of America from Great-Britain generated ideas in the minds of the Colonists favourable to liberty. Three thousand miles of ocean separated them from the Mother Country. Seas rolled, and months passed, between orders and their execution. In large governments the circulation of power is enfeebled at the extremities. This results from the nature of things, and is the eternal law of extensive or detached empire. Colonists, growing up to maturity, at such an immense distance from the seat of government, perceived the obligation of dependence much more feebly, than the inhabitants of the parent isle, who not only saw, but daily felt, the fangs of power. The wide extent and nature of the country contributed to the same effect. The natural seat of freedom is among high mountains and pathless deserts, such as abound in the wilds of America.

The religion of the Colonists also nurtured a love for liberty. They were chiefly Protestants, and all Protestantism is founded on a strong claim to natural liberty, and the right of private judgment. A majority of them were of that class of men, who, in England, are called Dissenters. Their tenets being the Protestantism of the Protestant religion, are hostile to all interference of authority in matters of opinion, and predispose to a jealousy for civil liberty. They who belonged to the Church of England were for the most part independents, as far as church government and hierarchy were concerned. They used the liturgy of that church, but were without bishops, and were strangers to those systems, which make religion an engine of state. That policy, which unites the lowest curate with the greatest metropolitan, and connects both with the sovereign, was unknown among the Colonists. Their religion was their own, and neither imposed by authority nor made subservient to political purposes. Though there was a variety of sects, they all agreed in the communion of liberty, and all reprobated the courtly doctrines of passive obedience, and non-



remains of the feudal system have occasioned an order of men superior to that of the commonality, but, as few of that class migrated to the Colonies, they were settled with the yeomanry. Their inhabitants, unaccustomed to that distinction of ranks, which the policy of Europe has established, were strongly impressed with an opinion, that all men are by nature equal. They could not easily be persuaded that their grants of land, or their civil rights, flowed from the munificence of Princes. Many of them had never heard of Magna Charta, and those who knew the circumstances of the remarkable period of English history, when that was obtained, did not rest their claims to liberty and property on the transactions of that important day. They looked up to Heaven as the source of their rights, and claimed, not from the promises of kings, but from the parent of the universe. The political creed of an American Colonist was short but substantial. He believed that God made all mankind originally equal: that he endowed them with the rights of life, property, and as much liberty as was consistent with the rights of others. That he had bestowed on his vast family of the human race, the earth for their support, and that all government was a political institution between men naturally equal, not for the aggrandizement of one, or a few, but for the general happiness of the whole community. Impressed with sentiments of this kind, they grew up, from their earliest infancy, with that confidence which is well calculated to inspire a love for liberty, and a predilection in favor of independence.

In consequence of the vast extent of vacant country, every Colonist was, or easily might be, a freeholder. Settled on lands of his own, he was both farmer and landlord—producing all the necessities of life from his own grounds, he felt himself both free and independent. Each individual might hunt, fish, or fowl, without injury to his neighbours. These immunities which, in old countries, are guarded by the sanction of penal laws, and monopolized by a few, are the common privileges of all in America. Colonists, growing up in the enjoyment of such rights, felt the restraint of law more feebly than they, who are educated in countries, where long habits have made submission familiar. The mind of man naturally relishes liberty—wherever from the extent of a new and unsettled country, some abridgements thereof are necessary, and others impracticable, this natural desire of freedom strengthened, and the independent mind revels at the idea of objection.

The Colonists were also preserved from the contagion of ministerial influence by their distance from the metropolis. Remote
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from the seat of power and corruption, they were not over-awed by the one, nor dissuaded by the other. Few were the means of detaching individuals from the interest of the public. High offices were neither sufficiently numerous nor lucrative to purchase many adherents, and the most valuable of these were conferred on natives of Britain. Every man occupied that trade only, which his own industry, or that of his near ancestors, had secured him. Each individual being cut off from all means of rising to importance, but by his personal talents, was encouraged to make the most of those with which he was endowed. Projects of this kind excited emulation, and produced an enterprising laborious set of men, not easily overcome by difficulties, and full of projects for bettering their condition.

The enervating opulence of Europe had not yet reached the colonists. They were destitute of gold and silver, but abounded in the riches of nature. A sameness of circumstances and occupations created a great sense of equality, and disposed them to union in any common cause, from the success of which, they might expect to partake of equal advantages.

The Colonies were communities of separate independent individuals, under no general influence, but that of their personal feelings and opinions. They were not led by powerful families, nor by great officers in church or state. Residing chiefly on lands of their own, and employed in the wholesome labours of the field, they were in a great measure strangers to luxury. Their wants were few, and among the great bulk of the people for the most part, supplied from their own grounds. Their enjoyments were neither far-fetched, nor dearly purchased, and were so moderate in their kind, as to leave both mind and body unimpaired. Inured from their early years to the toils of a country life, they dwelled in the midst of rural plenty. Unacquainted with ideal wants, they delighted in personal independence. Removed from the pressures of indigence, and the indulgence of affluence, their bodies were strong, and their minds vigorous.

The great bulk of the British colonists were farmers, or planters, who were also proprietors of the soil. The merchants, mechanics, and manufacturers, taken collectively, did not amount to one-fiftieth of the whole number of the inhabitants. While the cultivators of the soil depend on nothing but Heaven and their own industry, other classes of men contract more or less of servility, from depending on the caprice of their customers. The excess of the farmers over the collective numbers of all the other inhabitants, gave a cast of independence to the manners of the people, and diffused the exalting sentiments, which have always predominated among those who are cultivators of the

rounds: these were farther promoted by their moderate stances, which deprived them of all superfluity for idle-
r effeminate indulgence.

provincial constitutions of the English colonies nurtured
of liberty. The king and government of Great Britain
o patronage in America, which could create a portion of
rent and influence, sufficient to counteract that spirit in
r assemblies, which, when left to itself, ill brooks any
ty that interferes with its own.

inhabitants of the colonies from the beginning, especially
w England, enjoyed a government which was but little
f being independent. They had not only the image, but
stance of the English constitution. They chose most of
magistrates, and paid them all. They had in effect the sole
on of their internal government. The chief mark of their
ination consisted in their making no laws repugnant to the
f their mother country; in their submitting to have such
they made to be repealed by the king; and their obeying
restrictions as were laid on their trade by Parliament. The
were often evaded, and with impunity. The other small
were scarcely felt, and for a long time were in no respects
us to their interests.

er these favourable circumstances, colonies in the new
had advanced nearly to the magnitude of a nation, while
atest part of Europe was almost wholly ignorant of their
s. Some arbitrary proceedings of governors, proprietary
ties, or democratical jealousies, now and then interrupted
itical calm which generally prevailed among them, but
nd other occasional impediments of their prosperity, for
st part, soon subsided. The circumstances of the country
d but little scope for the intrigues of politicians, or the
nce of demagogues. The colonists being but remotely
by the bustlings of the old world, and having but few
of ambition or contention among themselves, were ab-
in the ordinary cares of domestic life, and for a long time
ed from a great proportion of those evils, which the go-
too often experience from the passions and follies of
n. But all this time they were rising higher, and though
sible of it, growing to a greater degree of political con-
ce.

of the first events which, as an evidence of their increas-
importance, drew on the colonies a share of public atten-
as the taking of Louisbourg, in the year 1745, from
while that country was at war with Great Britain. This

enterprise was projected by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, and undertaken by the sole authority of the legislature of that colony. It was carried by only a single vote to make the attempt, but after the adoption of the measure, there was an immediate union of all parties, and all were equally zealous in carrying it into execution. The expedition was committed to General Pepperell, and upwards of five thousand men were speedily raised for the service, and put under his command. This force arrived at Casco on the 4th of April, a British marine force from the West Indies, commanded by Commodore Warren, which arrived in the same month, acted in concert with these land forces. Their combined operations were carried on with so much judgment, that on the 17th of June the fortress capitulated.

The war in which Louisbourg was taken, was scarcely ended when another began, in which the colonies were distinguished parties. The reduction of that fortress, by colonial troops, may have given both to France and England, enlarged ideas of the value of American territory, and might have given rise to the eagerness for extending the boundaries of their respective colonies which soon after, by a collision of claims to the same ground, laid the foundation of a bloody war between the two nations. It is neither possible nor necessary to decide on the rights of either to the lands about which this contest began. It is certain that the prospects of convenience and future advantage had much more influence on both, than the considerations of equity. As the contending powers considered the rights of the native inhabitants of no account, it is not wonderful that they should not agree in settling their own. The war was brought on in the following manner: about the year 1749, a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land in the neighbourhood of the Ohio, was made out in favour of certain persons in Westminster, London, and Virginia, who had associated under the title of the Ohio Company. At this time France was in possession of the country, on both sides of the mouth of the Mississippi, as well as of Canada, and wished to form a communication between these two extremities of her territories in North America. She was, therefore, alarmed at the scheme in agitation by the Ohio Company inasmuch as the land granted to them lay between her northern and southern settlements. Remonstrances against British encroachments as they were called, having been made in vain by the Governor of Canada, the French, at length, in 1753, seized some British subjects who were trading among the Twightwees, a nation of Indians near the Ohio, as intruders on the land of his Most Christian Majesty, and sent them to a fort on the south side of Lake Erie. The Twightwees, by way of retaliation for capturing British in-

ders, whom they deemed their allies, seized three French traders, and sent them to Pennsylvania. The French persisting in their claims to the country on the Ohio, as part of Canada, strengthened themselves by erecting new forts in its vicinity, and at length began to seize and plunder every British trader found on any part of that river. Repeated complaints of these violences being made to the Governor of Virginia, it was at length determined to send a suitable person to the French commandant near the Ohio, to demand the reason of his hostile proceedings, and to insist on his evacuating a fort he had lately built. Major Washington, being then but little more than twenty-one years of age, offered his service, which was thankfully accepted. The distance to the French settlement was more than four hundred miles, and one half of the rout led through a wilderness, inhabited only by Indians. He nevertheless set out in an uncommonly severe season, attended only by one companion. From Winchester, he proceeded on foot, with his provisions on his back. When he arrived and delivered his message, the French commandant refused to comply, and claimed the country as belonging to the King his master, and declared that he should continue to seize and lend as prisoners to Canada, every Englishman that should attempt to trade on the Ohio, or any of its branches. Before Major Washington returned, the Virginians had sent out workmen and materials, to erect a fort at the conflux of the Ohio, and the Manongahela. While they were engaged in this work the French came upon them, drove them out of the country, and erected a regular fortification on the same spot. These spirited proceedings overset the schemes of the Ohio Company, but its members both in England and America were too powerful to brook the disappointment. It was therefore resolved to instruct the Colonies to oppose with arms the encroachments of the French on the British territories, as these western lands were called. In obedience to these instructions, Virginia raised three hundred men, put them under the command of Colonel Washington, and sent them on towards the Ohio. May 28, 1754, an engagement between them and a party of French took place, in which the latter were defeated. On this Mr. de Villier, the French commandant, marched down with nine hundred men, besides Indians, and attacked the Virginians. Colonel Washington made a brave defence, behind a small unfinished intrenchment, called Fort Necessity; but at length accepted of honourable terms of capitulation.

From the eagerness discovered by both nations for these lands, it occurred to all, that a rupture between France and England could not be far distant. It was also evident to the rulers of the

latter, that the Colonies would be the most convenient centre of operation for repelling French encroachments. To draw forth their Colonial resources, in an uniform system of operations, then, for the first time, became an object of public attention. To digest a plan for this purpose, a general meeting of the Governors, and most influential members of the Provincial Assemblies, was held at Albany in 1754. The commissioners, at this congress, were unanimously of opinion, that an union of the Colonies was necessary, and they proposed a plan to the following effect, "that a grand council should be formed of members, to be chosen by the Provincial Assemblies, which council, together with a Governor, to be appointed by the Crown, should be authorised to make general laws, and also to raise money from all the Colonies for their common defence." The leading members of the Provincial Assemblies were of opinion, that if this plan was adopted, they could defend themselves from the French, without any assistance from Great Britain. This plan, when sent to England, was not acceptable to the Ministry, and in lieu thereof they proposed, "that the Governors of all the Colonies attend by one or two members of their respective councils," which was for the most part of Royal appointment, "should from time to time concert measures for the whole of the Colonies: erect fort and raise troops with a power to draw upon the British treasury in the first instance; but to be afterwards reimbursed by a tax to be laid on the Colonies by an act of Parliament." This was as much diminished by the Colonies, as the former plan had been by the British Ministry. The principle of some general power, operating on the whole of the Colonies, was still kept in mind though dropped for the present.

The ministerial plan laid down above was transmitted to Governor Shirley, and by him communicated to Dr. Franklin, and his opinion thereon requested. That ingenious patriot sent to the Governor an answer in writing, with remarks upon the proposed plan, in which, by his strong reasoning powers, on the first view of the new subject, he anticipated the substance of a controversy, which for twenty years employed the tongues, pens, and records of both countries.

The policy of opposing the encroachments of the French in the British Colonies was generally approved both in England and America. It was therefore resolved to take effectual measures for driving them from the Ohio, and also for reducing Niagara, Crown-Point, and the other posts, which they held within the limits claimed by the King of Great Britain.

To effect the first purpose, General Braddock was sent from Ireland to Virginia, with two regiments, and was there joined

many more, as amounted in the whole, to two thousand hundred men. He was a brave man, but destitute of the qualifications of a great officer. His haughtiness disgusted Americans, and his severity made him disagreeable to the troops. He particularly slighted the country militia, and Virginia officers. Colonel Washington begged his permission before him, and scour the woods with his provincial troops, were well acquainted with that service, but this was re-

The General with one thousand four hundred men pushed incautiously, till he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, by whom he was defeated, and mortally wounded, 9, 1755. The regulars, as the British troops at that time called, were thrown into confusion, but the provincials used to Indian fighting, were not so much disconcerted. They continued in an unbroken body under Colonel Washington, and by covering the retreat of the regulars, prevented their being cut off entirely.

Notwithstanding these hostilities, war had not yet been formally declared. Previous to the adoption of that measure, Britain, contrary to the usages of nations, made prisoners of war a thousand French sailors. This heavy blow for a long time rippled the naval operations of France, but at the same time inspired her with a desire to retaliate, whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. For two or three years after M. de Mordaunt's defeat, the war was carried on against France without success: but when Mr. Pitt was placed at the head of the Ministry, public affairs assumed a new aspect. Victory followed where, crowned the British arms, and, in a short time, the French were dispossessed, not only of all the British territories on which they had encroached, but also of Quebec, the heart of their ancient province, Canada.

In the course of this war, some of the colonies made exertions beyond their reasonable quota, to merit a re-imbursement from the national treasury, but this was not universally the case. A succession of internal disputes, together with their greater political security, the necessary supplies had not been raised in some by others of the Provincial Assemblies. That a British Army should depend on colony legislatures, for the execution of their plans, did not well accord with the vigorous and decisive measures of Mr. Pitt: but it was not prudent, by any innovation, to alter the system of the Colonies, during a war, in which, from local circumstances, their exertions were peculiarly beneficial. The advantages that would result from an ability to draw forth the

Colonies, by the same authority, which was exercised by the Mother Country, might in

ous desire to carry into effect the plans of Great-Britain, in reducing the power of France.

In the prosecution of this war, the advantages which Great-Britain derived from the Colonies were severely felt by her enemies. Upwards of four hundred privateers, were fitted out of the ports of the British Colonies successful in their depredations on French property. They not only ravaged the islands belonging to his most Christian Majesty, but made frequent captures on the coast of France. Besides distressing France by privateering, the Colonies furnished more than a thousand eight hundred men, to co-operate with the British forces in North-America. They also sent powerful fleets of men and provisions, out of their own limits which, together with the reduction of Martinique, and of the Havannah, the success of their privateers—the co-operation of their land forces, the convenience of their harbours, and their contiguous situation to the West-India islands, made the Colonies great acquisitions to Great-Britain, and formidable advantages to France. From the importance the latter had much to fear. Their connection with Great-Britain threatened the subversion of the French and American possessions of France.

After hostilities had raged nearly eight years, in 1763 a general peace was concluded, on terms, by which France ceded to Great-Britain. The Spaniards having also

ness, when without a rival, and with a growing vent for her manufactures, and increasing employment for her marine, threatened to destroy that balance of power, which European sovereigns have for a long time endeavoured to preserve. Kings are republicans with respect to each other, and behold with democratic jealousy, any one of their order towering above the rest. The aggrandizement of one, tends to excite the combination, or, at least, the wishes of many, to reduce him to the common level. From motives of this kind, a great part of Europe not long since combined against Venice; and soon after against Louis XIVth of France. With the same suspicious eye was the naval superiority of Great-Britain viewed by her neighbours. They were, in general, disposed to favour any convulsion which promised a diminution of her overgrown power.

The addition to the British empire of new provinces, equal in extent to old kingdoms, not only excited the jealousy of European powers, but occasioned doubts in the minds of enlightened British politicians, whether or not such immense acquisitions of territory would contribute to the felicity of the Parent State. They saw, or thought they saw, the seeds of disunion planted in the too widely extended empire. Power, like all things human, has its limits, and there is a point beyond which the longest and sharpest sword fails of doing execution. To combine in one uniform system of government, the extensive territory then subjected to the British sway, appeared, to men of reflection, a work of doubtful practicability: nor were they mistaken in their conjectures.

The seeds of discord were soon planted, and speedily grew up to the rending of the empire. The high notions of liberty and independence, which were nurtured in the Colonies, by their local situation, and the state of society in the new world, were increased by the removal of hostile neighbours. The events of the war had also given them some experience in military operations, and some confidence in their own ability. Foreseeing their future importance, from the rapid increase of their numbers, and extension of their commerce, and being extremely jealous of their rights, they readily admitted, and with pleasure embraced, ideas and sentiments which were favourable to independence. While combustible materials were daily collecting in the new world, a spark to kindle the whole was produced in the east. Nor were there wanting those who, from a jealousy of Great-Britain, helped to fan the flame.

From the first settlement of English America, till the close of the war of 1755, the conduct of Great-Britain towards her

longer affords an useful lesson to those who are disposed to imitate. From that era, it is equally worthy of the attention of those who wish for the reduction of great empires to limits. In the first period, Great-Britain regarded the provinces as instruments of commerce. Without charging herself with the management of their internal police, or seeking a revenue from them, she contented herself with a monopoly of their trade. She treated them as a judicious mother does her dutiful children, and shared in every privilege belonging to her native sons. They slightly felt the inconveniences of subordination. Such was the catalogue of grievances with which even democratical historians charged the Parent State, antecedent to the period before mentioned. The following appear to have been the chief. An act of the British Parliament for prohibiting the cutting down of oak and tar trees, not being within a fence or enclosure, and other acts which operated against colonial manufactures. By one of these, it was made illegal after the 24th of June, 1750, for the Colonists, any mill or other engine for slitting or turning iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or furnace for making steel. By another, hatters were restrained from taking more than two apprentices at a time, or any for more than seven years, and from employing negroes in the business. The Colonists were also prohibited from transporting hats, home manufactured woollens, from one province to another. These regulations were for the most part evaded, but if carried into execution, would have been slightly inconvenient, and to a few. The articles, the manufacturing of which were prohibited, could be purchased at a cheaper rate from England and the hands who made them, could be as well employed in agriculture.

Though these restrictions were a species of affront, by implying, that the Colonists had not sense enough to distinguish their own interest, and though they seemed calculated to restrain their native talents, and to keep them in a constant state of inferiority, without any hope of arriving at those advantages which, by the native riches of their country, they were prone to aspire to; yet if no other grievances had been superadded to these, existed in 1763, these would have been soon forgotten, for oppression was neither great, nor universal. The good results to the colonies, from their connection with Great-Britain, infinitely outweighed the evil.

Till the year 1763, the colonial regulations seemed to have no other object but the common good of the whole empire; exceptions to the contrary were few, and had no appearance of system. When the approach of the Colonies to manhood was

more capable of resisting impositions, Great-Britain changed the ancient system, under which her Colonies had long flourished. When policy would rather have dictated relaxation of authority, she rose in her demand, and multiplied her restraints.

From the conquest of Canada, in 1759, some have supposed, that France began secretly to lay schemes for wresting those Colonies from Great-Britain which she was not able to conquer. Others alledge, that from that period the Colonists, released from all fears of dangerous neighbours, fixed their eyes on independence, and took sundry steps preparatory to the adoption of that measure. Without recurring, to either of these opinions, the known selfishness of human nature is sufficient to account for that demand on the one side, and that refusal on the other, which occasioned the revolution. It was natural for Great-Britain to wish for an extension of her authority over the Colonies, and equally so for them, on their approach to maturity, to be more impatient of subordination, and to resist every innovation, for increasing the degree of their dependence.

The sad story of Colonial oppression commenced in the year 1764. Great-Britain then adopted new regulations respecting her Colonies, which after disturbing the ancient harmony of the two countries for about twelve years, terminated in the dismemberment of the empire.

These consisted in restricting their former commerce, but more especially in subjecting them to taxation, by the British Parliament. By adhering to the spirit of the navigation act, in the course of a century, the trade of Great-Britain had increased far beyond the expectation of her most sanguine sons, but by rigidly enforcing the strict letter of the same, in a different situation of public affairs, effects directly the reverse were produced.

From the enterprising commercial spirit of the colonists, the trade of America, after filling all its proper channels, swelled out on every side, and overflowed its proper banks with a rich redundancy. In the cure of evils, which are closely connected with the causes of national prosperity, vulgar precaution ought not to be employed. In severely checking a contraband trade, which was only the overflowing of an extensive fair trade, the remedy was worse than the disease.

For some time before and after the termination of the war of 1755, a considerable intercourse had been carried on between the British and Spanish Colonies, consisting of the manufactures of Great-Britain, imported by the former, and sold by the latter; by which the British Colonies acquired gold and silver, and were enabled to make remittances to the Mother Country. This trade, though it did not clash with the spirit of the British navigation

laws, was forbidden by their letter. On account of the advantage which all parties, and particularly Great-Britain, reaped from the intercourse, it had long been winked at by persons in power, but at the period before mentioned, some new regulations were adopted, by which it was almost destroyed. This was effected by armed cutters, whose commanders were enjoined to take the utmost notice of house calls, and to act in the capacity of revenue officers. So sudden a stoppage of an accustomed and beneficial commerce by an unusually rigid execution of old laws, was a serious blow to the Northern Colonies. It was their misfortune, that though they stood in need of vast quantities of British manufactures, the country produced very little that afforded a direct remittance to pay for them. They were, therefore, under a necessity of looking elsewhere, a market for their produce, and by a circuitous route, acquiring the means of supporting their credit with the Mother Country. This they found by trading with the Spanish and French Colonies in their neighbourhood. From them they acquired gold, silver, and valuable commodities, the ultimate profits of which centered in Great-Britain. This intercourse gave life to business of every denomination, and established a reciprocal circulation of money and merchandize, to the benefit of all parties concerned. Why a trade essential to the Colonies, and which, so far from being detrimental, was indirectly advantageous to Great-Britain, should be so narrowly watched and so severely restrained, could not be accounted for by the Americans, without supposing that the rulers of Great-Britain were void of their adventurous commercial spirit, and of their increasing number of seamen. Their actual sufferings were great, but their apprehensions were greater. Instead of viewing the Parent State as they had long done, in the light of an affectionate mother, they conceived her, as beginning to be influenced by the narrow views of an illiberal splendour.

After the 10th of September, 1764, the trade between the British, Dutch, French, and Spanish Colonies, was in some degree regulated, but in such a manner, that brought no relief to the Colonies, but was accompanied with such enormous duties, as were equivalent to a prohibition. The preamble to the act for this purpose was, "Whereas it is just and necessary, that a revenue be raised in America, for defraying the expences of defence, protection, and securing the same, We, the Commons, &c. towards raising the same, have and grant unto your Majesty, the sum of £100,000, followed a perception of duties upon foreign cloths, sugar, indigo, and coffee, of foreign produce, upon all wines, except French, upon all wrought silk, and all catines, and upon every gallon of molasses and treacle, being the produce of a colony not under the dominion of his Majesty). It was also added, that the moneys arising from the importation of these

ticles into the Colonies, should be paid into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, there to be entered separate, and reserved to be disposed of by Parliament towards defraying the necessary expences of defending, protecting, and securing America. Till that act passed, no act avowedly for the purpose of revenue, and with the ordinary title and recital of such, was to be found in the parliamentary statute book. The wording of it made the Colonists fear, that the Parliament would go on, in charging them with such taxes as they pleased, and for the support of such military force as they should think proper. The act was the more disgusting, because the monies arising from it were ordered to be paid in specie, and regulations were adopted, against colonial paper money. To obstruct the avenues of acquiring gold and silver, and at the same time to interdict the use of paper money, appeared to the Colonists as a farther evidence that their interests were either misunderstood or disregarded. The imposition of duties, for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, was considered as a dangerous innovation, but the methods adopted for securing their collection, were resented as arbitrary and unconstitutional. It was enacted by Parliament, that whenever offences should be committed against the acts, which imposed them, the prosecutor might bring his action for the penalty in the courts of admiralty, by which means the defendant lost the advantage of being tried by a jury, and was subjected to the necessity of having his case decided upon by a single man, a creature of the Crown, whose salary was to be paid out of forfeitures adjudged by himself; and also according to a course of law, which exempted the prosecutor from the trouble of proving his accusation, and obliged the defendant, either to evince his innocence, or to suffer. By these regulations, the guards which the constitution had placed round property, and the fences which the ancestors of both countries had erected against arbitrary power, were thrown down, as far as they concerned the Colonists, charged with violating the laws, for raising a revenue in America.

They who directed public affairs in Great Britain feared, that if the collection of these duties was enforced only in the customary way, payment would be often eluded. To obviate that disposition which the Colonists discovered to screen one another, in disobeying offensive acts of Parliament, regulations were adopted, bearing hard on their constitutional rights. Unwilling as the Colonists were to be excluded by the imposition of enormous duties, from an accustomed and beneficial line of business, it is not wonderful that they were disposed to represent the intentions of the mother country in the most unfavourable view. The heavy losses to which many individuals were subjected, and the general distress of the mercantile

veral of the oldest Colonies, soured the minds of many. To the Mother Country should infringe her own constitution, to cramp the commerce of her Colonies, was a fruitful subject of declamation; but these murmurings would have evaporated in words, had Great Britain proceeded to no farther innovation. Instead of this, she adopted the novel idea of raising from the Colonies an efficient revenue, by direct internal taxes, laid by the authority of her Parliament.

Though all the Colonists disrelished, and many, from the pressure of actual sufferings, complained of the British restrictions on their manufactures and commerce, yet a great majority was disposed to submit to both. Most of them acknowledged that the exercise of these powers was incident to the sovereignty of the Mother Country, especially when guarded by an implied compact that they were to be only used for the common benefit of the empire. It was generally allowed, that as the planting of colonies was not designed to erect an independent government, but to extend an old one, the Parent State had a right to restrain their trade in every way, which conduced to the common emolument.

They for the most part considered the Mother Country as authorized to name ports and nations, to which alone their merchandise should be carried, and with which alone they should trade; but the novel claim of taxing them without their consent, was universally reprobated, as contrary to their natural, chartered, and constitutional rights. In opposition to it, they not only avowed the general principles of liberty, but ancient usage. During the first hundred and fifty years of their existence, they had been left to tax themselves, and in their own way. If there were any exceptions to this general rule, they were too inconsiderable to mention. In the war of 1755, the events of which were fresh in the recollection of every one, the Parliament had in no instance attempted to raise either men or money in the Colonies by its own authority. As the claim of taxation on one side, and the refusal of it on the other, was the very hinge on which the revolution turned, it merits a particular discussion.

Colonies were formerly planted by unlike nations, to keep their enemies in awe, to give vent to a surplus of inhabitants, or to discharge a number of discontented and troublesome citizens. But in modern ages, the spirit of violence, being in some measure slackened in commerce, colonies have been settled, by the nations of Europe, for the purposes of trade. These were to be attained by their raising, for the Mother Country, such commodities as she did not produce, and supplying themselves from her with such things as they wanted. In subserviency to these views, Great Britain planted Colonies, and made laws, obliging them to

carry to her all their products which she wanted, and all their raw materials which she chose to work up. Besides this restriction, she forbade them to procure manufacturers from any other part of the globe, or even the products of European countries, which could rival her, without being first brought to her ports. By a variety of laws she regulated their trade, in such a manner, as was thought most conducive to their mutual advantage, and her own particular welfare. This principle of commercial monopoly run through no less than twenty-nine acts of Parliament, from 1660 to 1764. In all these acts the system of commerce was established, as that, from which alone, their contributions to the strength of the empire were expected. During this whole period, a parliamentary revenue was no part of the object of colonization. Accordingly, in all the laws which regarded them, the technical words of revenue laws were avoided. Such have usually a title purporting their being "grants," and the words "give and grant," usually precede their enacting clauses. Although duties were imposed on America by previous acts of Parliament, no one title of "giving an aid to his Majesty, or any other of the usual titles to the revenue acts, was to be found in any of them. They were intended as regulations of trade, and not as sources of national supplies. Till the year 1764, all stood on commercial regulation and restraint.

While Great Britain attended to this first system of colonization, her American settlements, though exposed in unknown climates, and unexplored wildernesses, grew and flourished, and in the same proportion the trade and riches of the Mother Country increased. Some estimate may be made of this increase, from the following statement; the whole export trade of England, including that to the Colonies, in the year 1704, amounted to £6,509,000 Sterling: but so immensely had the Colonies increased, that the exports to them alone in the year 1772, amounted to £6,022,132 Sterling, and they were yearly increasing. In the short space of sixty-eight years, the Colonies added nearly as much to the export commerce of Great Britain, as she had grown to by a progressive increase of improvement in 1700 years. And this increase of colonial trade was not at the expence of the general trade of the kingdom, for that increased in the same time from six millions to sixteen millions.

In this auspicious period, the Mother Country contented herself with exercising her supremacy in superintending the general concerns of the Colonies, and in harmonising the commercial interest of the whole empire. To this the most of them bowed down with such a filial submission as demonstrated that they, though

not subjected to parliamentary taxes, could be kept in due subordination, and in perfect suberviency to the grand views of colonization.

Immediately after the peace of Paris, 1763, a new scene was opened. The national debt of Great Britain then amounted to one hundred and forty-eight millions, for which an interest of nearly five millions was annually paid. While the British Minister was digesting plans for diminishing this amazing load of debt, he conceived the idea of raising a substantial revenue in the British Colonies, from taxes laid by the Parliament of the Parent State. On the one hand it was urged, that the late war originated on account of the Colonies—that it was reasonable, more especially as it had terminated in a manner so favourable to their interest, that they should contribute to the defraying the expenses it had occasioned. Thus far both parties were agreed; but Great Britain contended, that her Parliament, as the supreme power, was constitutionally vested with an authority to lay them on every part of the empire. This doctrine, plausible in itself, and conformable to the letter of the British constitution, when the whole dominions were represented in one assembly, was reprobated in the Colonies, as contrary to the spirit of the same government, when the empire became so far extended, as to have many distinct representative assemblies. The colonists believed that the chief excellence of the British constitution consisted in the right of the subjects to grant, or withhold taxes, and in their having a share in enacting the laws by which they were to be bound.

They conceived, that the superiority of the British constitution, to other forms of government was, not because their supreme council was called a Parliament, but because the people had a share in it by appointing members, who constituted one of its constituent branches, and without whose concurrence, no law, binding on them, could be enacted. In the Mother Country, it was asserted to be essential to the unity of the empire, that the British Parliament should have a right of taxation over every part of the royal dominions. In the Colonies, it was believed, that taxation and representation were inseparable, and that they could neither be free nor happy if their property could be taken from them without their consent. The common people in America reasoned on this subject in a summary way. "If a British Parliament," said they, "in which we are unrepresented, and over which we have no controul, can take from us any part of our property, by direct taxation, they may take as much as they please, and we have no remedy for any thing that remains, but a forbearance on their part, less likely to be exerted in our favour, as they lighten themselves of the burthens of government, in the same proportion

that they impose them on us." They well knew, that communities of mankind, as well as individuals, have a strong propensity to impose on others, when they can do it with impunity, and, especially, when there is a prospect, that the imposition will be attended with advantage to themselves. The Americans, from that jealousy of their liberties which their local situation nurtured, and which they inherited from their forefathers, viewed the exclusive right of laying taxes on themselves, free from extraneous influence, in the same light as the British Parliament views its peculiar privilege of raising money, independent of the crown. The Parent State appeared to the Colonists to stand in the same relation to their local legislatures, as the monarch of Great-Britain to the British Parliament. His prerogative is limited by that palladium of the peoples' liberty, the exclusive privilege of granting their own money. While this right rests in the hands of the people their liberties are secured. In the same manner reasoned the Colonists, "in order to be styled freemen, our local assemblies, elected by ourselves, must enjoy the exclusive privilege of imposing taxes upon us." They contended, that men settled in foreign parts to better their condition, and not to submit their liberties—to continue the equals, not to become the slaves of their less-adventurous fellow-citizens, and that by the novel doctrine of parliamentary power, they were degraded from being the subjects of a king, to the low condition of being subjects of subjects. They argued, that it was essentially involved in the idea of property, that the possessor had such a right therein, that it was a contradiction to suppose any other man, or body of men, possessed a right to take it from him without his consent. Precedents, in the History of England, justified this mode of reasoning. The love of property strengthened it, and it had a peculiar force on the minds of Colonists, three thousand miles removed from the seat of government, and growing up to maturity, in a new world, where, from the extent of country, and the state of society, even the necessary restraints of civil government were impatiently borne. On the other hand, the people of Great-Britain revolted against the claims of the Colonists. Educated in habits of submission to parliamentary taxation, they conceived it to be the height of contumacy for their Colonists to refuse obedience to the power, which they had been taught to revere. Not adverting to the common interest which existed between the people of Great-Britain and their representatives, they believed, that the same right existed, although the same community of interests was wanting. The pride of an opulent, conquering nation, aided this mode of reasoning. "What," said they, "shall we, who have so lately humbled France and Spain, be dictated to by our Colo-

hills? Shall our subjects, educated by our care, and defended by our arms, presume to question the rights of Parliament, in which we are obliged to submit?" Reflections of this kind, congenial to the natural vanity of the human heart, operated to extend the idea that the people of Great-Britain spoke of their Colonies and their Colonists, as a kind of possession annexed to their persons. The love of power and of property on the one side of the Atlantic were opposed by the same powerful passions on the other.

The disposition to tax the Colonies was also strengthened by exaggerated accounts of their wealth. It was said, that the American planters lived in affluence, and with inconsiderable taxes while the inhabitants of Great-Britain were borne down by such oppressive burdens as to make bare subsistence a matter of extreme difficulty." The officers who had served in America during the late war, contributed to this delusion. Their observations were founded on what they had seen in cities, and at a time, when large sums were spent by government, in support of fleets and armies, and when American commodities were in great demand. To treat with attention those who came to fight for them, and also to gratify their own pride, the Colonists had made a parade of their riches, by frequently and sumptuously entertaining the gentlemen of the British army. These, judging from what they saw, without considering the general state of the country, concurred in representing the Colonists as very able to contribute largely towards defraying the common expences of the empire.

The charters, which were supposed to contain the principles on which the Colonies were founded, became the subject of serious investigation on both sides. One clause was found to run through the whole of them, except that which had been granted to Mr. Penn; this was a declaration, "that the emigrants to America should enjoy the same privileges, as if they had remained, or had been born within the realm;" but such was the subtilty of disputants, that both parties construed this general principle so as to favour their respective opinions. The American patriots contended, that as English freeholders could not be taxed but by representatives, in choosing whom they had a vote, neither could the Colonists: but it was replied, that if the Colonists had remained in England, they must have been bound to pay the taxes imposed by Parliament. It was therefore inferred, that though taxed by that authority, they lost none of the rights of native Englishmen remaining at home. The partisans of the Mother Country could see nothing in charters, but security against taxes by local authority. The Americans, adhering to the spirit more than to the letter, viewed their charters as a shield against all taxes, not imposed by representatives of their own choice. This

construction they contended to be expressly recognized by the charter of Maryland. In that, King Charles bound both himself and his successors, not to assent to any bill, subjecting the inhabitants to internal taxation by external legislation.

The nature and extent of the connection between Great-Britain and America was a great constitutional question, involving many interests, and the general principles of civil liberty. To decide this, recourse was in vain had to parchment authorities, made at a distant time, when neither the grantors nor grantees of American territory had in contemplation any thing like the present state of the two countries.

Great and flourishing Colonies, daily increasing in numbers, and already grown to the magnitude of a nation, planted at an immense distance, and governed by constitutions resembling that of the country from which they sprung, were novelties in the history of the world. To combine Colonies, so circumstanced, in one uniform system of government with the Parent State, required a great knowledge of mankind, and an extensive comprehension of things. It was an arduous business, far beyond the grasp of ordinary statesmen, whose minds were narrowed by the formalities of laws, or the trammels of office. An original genius, unfettered with precedents, and exalted with just ideas of the rights of human nature, and the obligations of universal benevolence, might have struck out a middle line, which would have secured as much liberty to the Colonies, and as great a degree of supremacy to the Parent State, as their common good required: But the helm of Great-Britain was not in such hands. The spirit of the British constitution on the one hand revolted at the idea, that the British Parliament should exercise the same unlimited authority over the unrepresented Colonies, which it exercised over the inhabitants of Great Britain. The Colonists on the other hand did not claim a total exemption from its authority. They in general allowed the Mother Country a certain undefined prerogative over them, and acquiesced in the right of Parliament to make many acts, binding them in many subjects of internal policy, and regulating their trade. Where parliamentary supremacy ended, and at what point colonial independency began, was not ascertained. Happy would it have been had the question never been agitated, but much more so, had it been compromised by an amicable compact, without the horrors of a civil war.

The English Colonies were originally established, not for the sake of revenue, but on the principles of a commercial monopoly. While England pursued trade and forgot revenue, her commerce increased at least fourfold. The Colonies took off the manufac-

which gave a general alarm. By them the right, the equity, and even the necessity of taxing the Colonies was finally avowed. These resolutions being considered as the effect of a new revenue, were deemed an introduction to evils of much greater magnitude. They opened a wound of oppression, broad in extent, and endless in duration, were nevertheless not immediately followed by any legislative measure, and an invitation was given to the Americans to try any other mode of taxation that might be equivalent in effect to the first, without any objection, not only to the fact, but the principle, and let all their assemblies, though petitioned to resist it. An American revenue was in every popular measure. The chief favour of it was to it to command and increase the voice of petitions to the Crown. The equity of compelling the Americans to contribute to the common expenses of the empire satisfied many, who, enquiring into the policy or justice of taxing their unrepresented fellow-subjects, readily attended to the measures adopted by Parliament for this purpose. The prospect of easing the burdens, at the expense of the Colonists, dazzled the gentlemen of landed interest, so as to keep out of their view the probable consequences of the innovation.

The omnipotence of Parliament was so familiar a phrase both sides of the Atlantic, that few in America, and still fewer in Great Britain, were prepared to resist its influence, and the Colonies were left to the mercy of the British Parliament.

merica had been for some time determined upon, they were unwilling to give it up. Impelled by a partiality for a long cherished idea, Mr. Grenville brought into the House of Commons his long expected bill, for laying a stamp duty in America. March, 1765. By this, after passing through the usual forms, it was enacted, that the instruments of writing which are in daily use among a commercial people, should be null and void, unless they were executed on stamped paper or parchment, charged with a duty imposed by the British Parliament.

When the bill was brought in, Mr. Charles Townsend concluded a speech in its favour, with words to the following effect, "And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence, till they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they judge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?" To which Colonel Barré replied, "They planted by your care? No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and, among others, to the cruelty of a savage foe the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of the earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends—They nourished up by your indulgence? They grew up by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies, to some members of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them.—Men whose behaviour on many occasions, has caused the blood of these sons of liberty to recoil within them.—Men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some, with my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.—They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your exchequer. And believe me, remember I this day told you for that same spirit of freedom which animated that people at first will accompany them still; but prudence forbids me to explain myself farther. God knows, I do not at this time speak from any motives of party heat; what I deliver

the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior general knowledge and experience the respect'ble body of the House may be, yet I claim to know more of America than of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any truly British people, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will defend them, if ever they should be violated: but the subject is a large one—I will say no more."

During the debate on the bill, the supporters of it much on the Colonies being virtually represented in a manner as Leeds, Halifax, and some other towns were. A reference to this plea was a virtual acknowledgement, that ought not to be taxation without representation. It was that the connexion between the elections and non-elections in Parliament in Great Britain was so interwoven, from both equally liable to pay the same common tax, as to give a parity of property to the latter; but with respect to taxes, the British Parliament, and the Colonies, the interests of the parties was reversed. Instead of both parties bearing a proportionable share of the financial burden, what was on the one, was exactly counterbalanced from the other.

The bill met with no opposition in the House of Lords on the 22d of March, 1765, it received the royal assent. The night after it passed, Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Charles' son, "The sun of liberty is set, you will light up the candle of industry and economy." Mr. Trenchard answered, "He is apprehensive that other lights will be the consequence foretold the opposition that is now to be placed. On us suggested from authority, that the Stamp Acters would tent from Great Britain, but I learned from a young American the Colony agents were doing to put out proper persons the purpose. They generally demanded their friends, affords a presumptive proof that they supposed the act have gone down. In this opinion they were far from singular. That the Colonies would be obliged to the Stamp act, was at first common to both in E and America. The friends of the Stamp act, flattered selves that the Colonies would be obliged upon the drawings, and the Colonies would be obliged to the law, would the Colonies have ever taken to the Stamp paper consequently to put the Colonies in the wrong: they thought that it was a law which would be executed itself. By the of the Stamp act, it was not so, it was the first day of the year, a great deal more than ever in this after its

his gave the Colonists an opportunity for leisurely canvassing a new subject, and examining it fully on every side. In the first part of this interval, struck with astonishment, they lay in great consternation, and could not determine what course to pursue. By degrees they recovered their recollection. Virginia led the way in opposition to the stamp act. Mr. Patrick Henry carried into the House of Burgesses of that Colony, the following resolutions, which were substantially adopted :

Resolved, That the first adventurers, settlers of this his Majesty's Colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them and inherited to their posterity, and all other his Majesty's subjects, now inhabiting in this his Majesty's said Colony, all the liberties, privileges, and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

Resolved, That by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the Colonies aforesaid are declared, and entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of citizens, and natural subjects, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding, and were within the realm of England.

Resolved, That his Majesty's loyal people, of this his ancient Colony, have enjoyed the rights of being thus governed by their own assembly, in the article of taxes, and internal police, and at the same have never been forfeited, or violated up, but have been constantly recognized by the king and people of Britain.

Resolved, therefore, That the general assembly of this Colony, together with his Majesty, or his substitutes, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power, to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this Colony, and that any attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatsoever, than the general assembly aforesaid, is illegal, and unconstitutional, and unjust, and with a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American Liberty.

Resolved, That his Majesty's loyal people, the inhabitants of this Colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatever in them, other than the laws or ordinances of the general assembly aforesaid.

Resolved, That any person who shall by force or violence, effect or endeavour, that any portion of power or authority in the general assembly of this Colony, be removed, or any power to raise, or lay or tax taken out of the said Colony, shall be deemed an enemy to this his Majesty's Colony.

Upon reading these resolutions, the boldness and novelty of an affected one of the members to such a degree, that he cried, "Treason! Treason!" They were nevertheless, well re-

ceived by the people, and immediately forwarded to the other provinces. They circulated extensively, and gave a spring to all the discontented. Till then, indeed, most were of opinion, that the act would be quietly adopted. Murmurs, indeed, were common, but they seemed to be such, as would soon die away. The countenance of so respectable a Colony as Virginia, confirmed the wavering and emboldened the timid. Opposition to the stamp act, from that period, assumed a bolder face. The fire of liberty blazed forth from the press: some well judged publications set the rights of the Colonists on a plain, but strong point of view. The tongues and the pens of the well-informed citizens laboured in kindling the latent sparks of patriotism. The flame spread from breast to breast, till the conflagration became general. In this business, New-England had a principal share. The inhabitants of that part of America, in particular, considered their obligations to the mother country for past favours, to be very inconsiderable. They were fully informed, that their forefathers were driven by persecution to the woods of America, and had there, without any expence to the parent state, effected a settlement, and made a nation. Their attachment for the invasion of their accustomed right of taxation was not so much mitigated by the recollection of late favours, as it was heightened by the tradition of ancient wrongs, to which their ancestors, by the rulers of Great Britain, had been subjected. The descendants of the exiled patriots of the 13th century, opposed the stamp act with the courage with which their forefathers were accustomed, when they resisted themselves against the arbitrary impositions of the rule of Rome.

The heavy burdens, which the operation of the stamp act would have imposed on the Colonists, together with the precedents which would establish of future impositions, furnished the American patriots with arguments, calculated as well to move the passions, as to convince the judgment of their Fellow Colonists. In general, they exclaimed, that the Parliament has a right to levy the Stamp duties, then must, by the same authority, lay on any other taxes, and extend them, without end, till their rapacity has exhausted the Colonies to the extreme. We cannot at present dispute, whether the Colonies, who so justly boast away European power. Their rights and their power are independent of us, and will rest with the same serenity where to stop, in transferring the expences of government from their own to our shoulders.

It was known to the friends of America, that news-papers were the subject of a heavy stamp duty. Printers, when uninfluenced by government, have generally arranged themselves on

the side of liberty, nor are they less remarkable for attention to the profits of their profession. A stamp duty, which openly invaded the first, and threatened a great diminution of the last, provoked their united zealous opposition. They daily presented to the public, original dissertations, tending to prove, that if the stamp act was suffered to operate, the liberties of America were at an end, and their property virtually transferred to their Trans-Atlantic fellow-subjects. The writers among the Americans, seriously alarmed for the fate of their country, came forward, with essays, to prove, that agreeable to the British Constitution, taxation and representation were inseparable, that the only constitutional mode of raising money from the Colonists was by acts of their own legislatures, that the Crown possessed no farther power than that of requisition, and that the parliamentary right of taxation was confined to the Mother Country, and there originated, from the natural right of man, to do what he pleased with his own, transferred by consent from the electors of Great-Britain to those whom they chose to represent them in parliament. They also insisted much on the misapplication of public money by the British ministry. Great pains were taken to inform the Colonists of the large sums annually bestowed on pensioned favourites, and for the various purposes of bribery. Their passions were enflamed by high-coloured representations of the hardship of being obliged to pay the earnings of their industry into a British treasury, well known to be a fund for corruption.

The writers on the American side were opposed by arguments, drawn from the unity of the Empire; the necessity of one supreme head, the unlimited power of parliament, and the great numbers in the Mother Country, who, though legally disqualified from voting at elections, were, nevertheless, bound to pay the taxes imposed by the representatives of the nation. To these objections it was replied, that the very idea of subordination of parts excluded the notion of simple, undivided unity. That as England was the head, she could not be the head and the members too—that in all extensive empires, where the dead uniformity of servitude did not prevent, the subordinate parts had many local privileges and immunities—that between these privileges and the supreme common authority, the line was extremely nice: but nevertheless, the supremacy of the head had an ample field to exercise, without arrogating to itself the disposal of the property of the unrepresented subordinate parts. To the assertion, that the power of parliament was unlimited, the Colonists replied, that before it could constitutionally exercise that power, it must be constitutionally formed, and that, therefore, it must be

least, in one of its branches, be constituted by the people on whom it exercised unlimited power. That with respect to Great-Britain, it was so constituted—with respect to America it was not. They therefore inferred, that its power ought not to be the same over both countries. They argued also, that the delegation of the people was the source of power in regard to taxation, and as that delegation was wanting in America, they concluded, the right of parliament to grant away their property could not exist. That the defective representation in Great-Britain should be urged as an argument for taxing the Americans without any representation at all, proved the overreaching nature of power. Instead of convincing the Colonists of the propriety of their submission, it demonstrated the wisdom of their resistance; for, said they, "one invasion of natural right is made the justification of another, much more injurious and oppressive."

The advocates for parliamentary taxation laid great stress on the rights, supposed to accrue to Great-Britain, on the score of having raised up and protected the English settlements in America at great expence. It was, on the other hand, contended by the Colonists, that in all the wars which were common to both countries, they had taken their full share, but in all their own dangers, in all the difficulties belonging separately to their situation, which did not immediately concern Great-Britain, they were left to themselves, and had to struggle through a hard infancy; and in particular, to defend themselves, without any aid from the Parent State, against the numerous savages in their vicinity. That when France had made war upon them, it was not on their own account, but as appendages to Great-Britain. The confining their trade for the exclusive benefit of the Parent State, was an ample compensation for her protection, and a sufficient equivalent for their exemption from parliamentary taxation. That the taxes imposed on the inhabitants of Great-Britain were incorporated with their manufactures, and ultimately fell on the Colonists, who were the consumers.

The advocates for the stamp act also contended, that as the Parliament was charged with the defence of the Colonies, it ought to possess the means of defraying the expences incurred thereby. The same argument had been used by King Charles the First, in support of ship money; and it was now answered in the same manner, as it was by the patriots of that day. "That the people who were defended or protected were the fittest to judge of and to provide the means of defraying the expences incurred on that account." In the mean time, the minds of the Americans underwent a total transformation. Instead of their late peaceable and steady attachment to the British nation, they were

daily advancing to the opposite extreme. A new mode of displaying resentment against the friends of the stamp act began in Massachusetts, and was followed by the other Colonies. A few gentlemen hung out, early in the morning, August 14, on the limb of a large tree, towards the entrance of Boston, two effigies, one designed for the stamp master, the other for a jack boot, with a head and horns peeping out at the top. Great numbers both from town and country came to see them. A spirit of enthusiasm was diffused among the spectators. In the evening the whole was cut down and carried in procession by the populace shouting "liberty and property for ever; no stamps." They next pulled down a new building, lately erected by Mr. Oliver the stamp master. They then went to his house, before which they beheaded his effigy, and at the same time broke his windows. Eleven days after, similar violences were repeated. The mob attacked the house of Mr. William Storey, deputy register of the court of admiralty—broke his windows—forced into his dwelling house, and destroyed the books and files belonging to the said court, and ruined a great part of his furniture. They next proceeded to the house of Benjamin Hallowel, Comptroller of the customs, and repeated similar excesses, and drank and destroyed his liquors. They afterwards proceeded to the house of Mr. Hutchinson, and soon demolished it. They carried off his plate, furniture, and apparel, and scattered or destroyed manuscripts and other curious and useful papers which for thirty years he had been collecting. About half a dozen of the meanest of the mob were soon after taken up and committed, but they either broke jail, or otherwise escaped all punishment. The town of Boston condemned the whole proceeding, and for some time, private gentlemen kept watch at night, to prevent further violence.

Similar disturbances broke out in the adjacent Colonies, nearly about the same time. On the 27th August, 1765, the people in New-Port in Rhode-Island, exhibited three effigies intended for Messrs. Howard, Moffatt, and Johnston, in a cart with halters about their necks, and after hanging them on a gallows for some time, cut them down and burnt them, amidst the acclamations of thousands. On the day following, the people collected at the house of Mr. Martin Howard, a lawyer, who had written in defence of the right of parliament to tax the Americans, and demolished every thing that belonged to it. They proceeded to Dr. Moffatt's, who, in conversation, had supported the same right, and made a similar devastation of his property.

In Connecticut they exhibited effigies in sundry places, and afterwards committed them to the flames.

HISTORY OF THE

In New-York, the stamp master having resigned, the stamp papers were taken into Fort George, by Lieutenant Governor Colden, Nov. 1. The people, disliking his political sentiments, broke open his stable, took out his coach, and carried it in triumph through the principal streets to the gallows. On one end of this they suspended the effigy of the Lieut. Governor, having in his right hand a stamped bill of lading, and in the other a figure of the devil. After some time, they carried the apparatus to the gate of the fort, and from thence to the bowling-green, under the muzzles of the guns, and burned the whole amid the acclamations of many thousands. They went thence to Mayor James's house, stripped it of every article, and consumed the whole, because he was a friend to the stamp act.

The next evening the mob re-assembled, and insisted upon Lieutenant Governor delivering the stamped papers into their hands, and threatened, in case of a refusal, to take them by force. After some negotiation, it was agreed that they should be delivered to the corporation, and they were deposited in the city hall. Ten boxes of the same, which came by another conveyance, were burned.

The stamp act was not less odious to many of the inhabitants of the British West-India islands, than to those on the continent of North America. The people of St. Kitts obliged the stamp officer and his deputy to resign. Barbadoes, Canada, and Halifax, submitted to the act.

But when the ship which brought the stamp papers to Philadelphia, first appeared round Gloucester Point, all the vessels in the harbour hoisted their colours half mast high. The bells were rung muffled till evening, and every countenance added to the appearance of sincere mourning. A large number of people assembled, and endeavoured to procure the resignation of John Hughes, the stamp distributor. He held out long, but at length found it necessary to comply.

As opportunities offered, the assemblies generally passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right to lay taxes on their constituents. The people, in their town meetings, instructed their representatives, to oppose the stamp act. As a specimen of these, the instructions given to Thomas Forster, their representative, by the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Plymouth, are subjoined. In these the yeomanry of the country spoke the determined language of freedom. After expressing the highest esteem for the British constitution, and setting forth their grievances, they proceeded as follows :

"You, Sir, represent a people, who are not only descended from the first settlers of this country, but inhabit the very spot they first possessed. Here was first laid the foundation of the

British empire, in this part of America, which, from a very small beginning, has increased and spread in a manner very surprising, and almost incredible, especially, when we consider, that all this has been effected without the aid or assistance of any power on earth; that we have defended, protected, and secured ourselves against the invasions and cruelties of savages, and the subtlety and inhumanity of our inveterate and natural enemies, the French; and all this without the appropriation of any tax by stamps, or stamp acts, laid upon our fellow subjects, in any part of the King's dominions, for defraying the expence thereof. This place, Sir, was at first the asylum of liberty, and we hope, will ever be preserved sacred to it, though it was then no more than a barren wilderness, inhabited only by savage men and beasts. To this place our fathers, (whose memories be revered) possessed of the principles of liberty in their purity, disdained slavery, fled to enjoy those privileges, which they had an undoubted right to, but were deprived of, by the hands of violence and oppression, in their native country. We, Sir, their posterity, the freholders, and other inhabitants of this town, legally assembled for that purpose; possessed of the same sentiments, and retaining the same ardour for liberty, think it our indispensable duty, on this occasion, to express to you these our sentiments of the stamp act, and its fatal consequences to this country, and to enjoin upon you, as you regard not only the welfare, but the very being of this people, that you (consistent with our allegiance to the King, and relation to the government of Great Britain) disregarding all proposals for that purpose, exert all your power and influence in opposition to the stamp act, at least till we hear the success of our petitions for relief. We likewise, to avoid disgracing the memories of our ancestors, as well as the reproaches of our own consciences, and the curses of posterity, recommend it to you, to obtain if possible, in the honourable house of representatives of this province, a full and explicit assertion of our rights, and to have the same entered on their public records, that all generations yet to come may be convinced, that we have not only a just sense of our rights and liberties, but that we never, with submission to Divine providence, will be slaves to any power on earth."

The expediency of calling a continental Congress to be composed of deputies from each of the provinces, had early occurred to the people of Massachusetts. The assembly of that province passed a resolution in favour of that measure, and fixed on New-York as the place, and the second Tuesday of October, 1765, as the time for holding the same. Soon after, they sent circular letters to the speakers of the several assemblies, requesting their concurrence.

This first advance towards continental union was seconded by South-Carolina, before it had been agreed to by any Colony to the southward of New-England. The example of this province had a considerable influence in recommending the measure to others who were divided in their opinions, on the propriety of it.

The assemblies of Virginia, North-Carolina, and Georgia, were prevented by their Governors, from sending a deputation to Congress. Twenty-eight deputies from Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South-Carolina, met at New-York; after mature deliberation agreed on a declaration of their rights and on a statement of their grievances. They asserted in first terms, their exemption from all taxes, not imposed by their own representatives. They also concurred in a petition to the King and memorial to the House of Lords, and a petition to the House of Commons. The Colonies that were prevented from sending their representatives to this Congress, forwarded petitions similar to those which were adopted by the deputies which attended.

While a variety of legal and illegal methods were adopted to oppose the stamp act, the first of November on which it was to commence its operation, approached. This in Boston was ushered in by a funeral tolling of bells. Many shops and stores were shut. The effigies of the planners and friends of the stamp act were carried about the streets in public derision, and then torn in pieces by the enraged populace. It was remarkable that though a large crowd was assembled, there was not the least violence or disorder.

At Portsmouth in New-Hampshire, the morning of Nov. 1st was ushered in with tolling all the bells in town. In the course of the day, notice was given to the friends of liberty to attend a funeral. A coffin neatly ornamented, inscribed with the word *Liberty* in large letters, was carried to the grave. The funeral procession began from the state house, attended with two unadorned drums. While the inhabitants who followed the coffin went in motion, minute guns were fired, and continued till the coffin arrived at the place of interment. Then an oration in favour of the deceased was pronounced. It was scarcely ended before the corpse was taken up, it having been perceived that some remains of life were left, at which the interment was immediately altered to "Liberty revived." The bells immediately exchanged their melancholy for a more joyful sound, and satisfaction appeared in every countenance. The whole was conducted with decency, and without injury or insult to any man's person or property.

In Maryland, the effigy of the stamp master, on one side of

was written, "Tyranny," on the other, "Oppression," across the breast, "Damn my country, I'll get money," was written through the streets from the place of confinement to the gaol, and from thence to the pillory. After suffering various indignities, it was first hanged, and then burnt.

A general aversion to the stamp act was, by similar methods, everywhere demonstrated. It is remarkable, that the demonstrations of the populace on these occasions, were carried on with decorum and regularity. They were not ebullitions of a lawless mob, but for the most part planned by leading men of power and influence, who were friends to peace and order. Knowing well that the bulk of mankind are more led by their passions than by their reason, conducted the public exhibitions on principle, with a view of making the stamp act and its friends ridiculous and odious.

Though the stamp act was to have operated from the first of November, yet legal proceedings in the court were carried on as usual.

Vessels entered and departed without stamped papers. Printers boldly printed and circulated their newspapers, and a sufficient number of readers, though they used common sense in defiance of the act of parliament. In most departments, by common consent, business was carried on as though no stamp act existed. This was accompanied by spirited resolutions to resist all consequences, rather than submit to use the paper contrary to law. While these matters were in agitation, the Colonists entered into associations against importing British manufactures. All the stamp act should be repealed. In this manner British manufactures were made to operate against British tyranny. Agreeably to the free constitution of Great Britain, the subject was at liberty to buy, or not to buy, as he pleased. By suspending their purchases till the repeal of the stamp act, the Colonists turned the interest of merchants and manufacturers to solicit for repeal. They had usually taken off to great a proportion of manufactures, that the sudden stoppage of all their orders, amounting annually to several millions sterling, threw some thousands of the Mother Country out of employment, and induced them, in regard to their own interest, to advocate the measure for by America. The petitions from the Colonies were supported by petitions from the merchants and manufacturers of Britain. What the former prayed for as a matter of right, connected with their liberties, the latter advocated from motives of immediate advantage. In order to remedy the deficiency of British goods, the Colonists began to erect a variety of domestic manufactures. In a little time, large quantities of iron and common cloths were brought to market, and various

though dearer, and of a worse quality, were cheerfully preferred to similar articles imported from Britain. That wool might not be wanting, they entered into resolutions to abstain from eating lambs. Foreign elegancies were generally laid aside. The women were as exemplary as the men in various instances of self-denial. With great readiness, they refused every article of decoration for their persons, and of luxury for their tables. These restrictions, which the Colonists had voluntarily imposed on themselves, were so well observed, that multitudes of artificers in England were reduced to great distress, and some of their most flourishing manufactures were, in a great measure at a stand. An association was entered into by many of the sons of liberty, the name given to those who were opposed to the stamp act, by which they agreed "to march with the utmost expedition, at their own proper cost and expence, with their whole force, to the relief of those that should be in danger from the stamp act, or its promoters and abettors, or any thing relative to it, on account of any thing that may have been done in opposition to its obtaining." This was subscribed by so many in New York and New England, that nothing but a repeal could have prevented the immediate commencement of a civil war.

From the decided opposition to the stamp act, which had been adopted by the Colonies, it became necessary for Great Britain to enforce or repeal it. Both methods of proceeding had supporters. The opposers of a repeal urged arguments, drawn from the dignity of the nation, the danger of giving way to the clamours of the Americans, and the consequences of weakening parliamentary authority over the Colonies. On the other hand, it was evident, from the determined opposition of the Colonies, that it could not be enforced without a civil war, by which, in every event, the nation must be a loser. In the course of these discussions, Dr. Franklin was examined at the bar of the House of Commons, and gave extensive information on the state of American affairs, and the impolicy of the stamp act, which contributed much to remove prejudices, and to produce a disposition that was friendly to a repeal.

Some speakers of great weight, in both Houses of Parliament, denied their right of taxing the Colonies. The most distinguished supporters of this opinion were Lord Camden in the House of Peers, and Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons. The former, in strong language said, "My position is this, I repeat it, I will maintain it to my last hour. Taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It is more, it is itself an eternal law of nature. For whatever is a man's own is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it

from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury ; whoever does it, commits a robbery." Mr. Pitt, with an original boldness of expression, justified the Colonists in opposing the stamp act. " You have no right," said he, " to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow subjects so lost to every sense of virtue, as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." He concluded with giving his advice, that the stamp act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately.—that the reason for the repeal be assigned, that it was founded on an erroneous principle. " At the same time," said he, " let the sovereign authority of this country over the Colonies, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever ; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent." The approbation of this illustrious statesman, whose distinguished abilities had raised Great-Britain to the highest pitch of renown, inspired the Americans with additional confidence, in the rectitude of their claims of exemption from parliamentary taxation, and emboldened them to farther opposition, when at a future day, as shall be hereafter related, the project of an American revenue was resumed. After much debating, and two protests in the House of Lords, and passing an act " for securing the dependence of America on Great-Britain," the repeal of the stamp act was finally carried March 18, 1766. This event gave great joy in London. Ships in the river Thames displayed their colours, and houses were illuminated all over the city. It was no sooner known in America, than the Colonists resumed their resolutions, and recommenced their mercantile intercourse with the Mother Country. They presented their homespun cloaths to the poor, and imported more largely than ever. The churches resounded with thanksgivings, and their public and private rejoicings knew no bounds. By letters, addresses, and other means, almost all the Colonies shewed unequivocal marks of acknowledgement and gratitude. So sudden a calm recovered after so violent a storm, is without a parallel in history. By the judicious sacrifice of one law, the parliament of Great-Britain procured an acquiescence in all that remained.

There were enlightened patriots, fully impressed with an idea, that the immoderate joy of the Colonists was disproportioned to the advantage they had gained.

The stamp act, though repealed, was not repealed on American principles. The preamble assigned as the reason thereof, " That

the collecting the several duties and revenues, as by the said ~~act~~ was directed, would be attended with many inconveniences, ~~and~~ productive of consequences dangerous to the commercial interest of these kingdoms." Though this reason was a good one in England, it was by no means satisfactory in America. At the same time that the stamp act was repealed, the absolute, unlimited supremacy of parliament was, in words, asserted. The opposers of the repeal contended for this as essential; the friends of that measure acquiesced in it to strengthen their party, and make sure of their object. Many of both sides thought, that the dignity of Great Britain required something of the kind to counterbalance the loss of authority, that might result from her yielding to the clamours of the Colonists. The act for this purpose was called the Declaratory Act, and was in principal more hostile to American rights, than the stamp act: for it annulled those resolutions and acts of the Provincial Assemblies, in which they had asserted their right to exemption from all taxes, not imposed by their own representatives; and also enacted, "That the parliament at London, and of which it might be proved, power to bind the Colonies, in all cases whatsoever."

The bulk of the Americans, intoxicated with the advantage they had gained, overlooked this statute, which, in one comprehensive view, not only deprived them of liberty and property, but of every right incident to humanity. They considered it as a violation of the honour of parliament, in repealing an act, which had been their shield and sanction, and flattered themselves it would remain a dead letter, and that although the right of taxation was in word retained, it would never be exercised. Unwilling to quarrel about the pretensions of ideal supremacy, they retained a sort of good humour with the Parent State.

The repeal of the stamp act, in a relative connection with its circumstances and consequences, was the first direct step towards independence. The claims of the two countries were now more manifestly at variance, but a foundation was laid for their extension to the period, to the impossibility of a compromise. The claim of the present Great-Britain receded from enforcing a direct authority over her colonies, a numerous party, adhering to the system, flattered themselves for more favourable circumstances to enter into, and at the same time the Colonists, more enlightened on the subject, and more fully convinced of the rectitude of their claims, were encouraged to oppose it, under whatsoever name it should appear, or under whatsoever disguise it should be clothed.

Thus, while the advantage they had gained, from that day forward, instead of feeling themselves dependent on Great-Bri-

tain, they conceived that, in respect to commerce, she was dependent on them. It inspired them with such high ideas of the importance of their trade, that they considered the Mother Country to be brought under greater obligations to them, for purchasing her manufactures, than they were to her for protection and the administration of civil government. The Freemen of British America, impressed with the exalting sentiments of patriotism and of liberty, conceived it to be within their power, by future combinations, at any time to convulse, if not to bankrupt, the nation from which they sprung.

Opinions of this kind were strengthened by their local situation, favouring ideas, as extensive as the unexplored continent of which they were inhabitants. While the pride of Britons revolted at the thought of their Colonies refusing subjection to that Parliament which they obeyed, the Americans with equal haughtiness exclaimed "shall the petty island of Great-Britain, scarce a speck on the map of the world, controul the free citizens of the great continent of America?"

These high sounding pretensions would have been harmless, or at most, spent themselves in words, had not a ruinous policy, untaught by recent experience, called them into serious action. Though the stamp act was repealed, an American revenue was still a favourite object with many in Great-Britain. The equity and the advantage of taxing the Colonists by parliamentary authority were very apparent to their understandings, but the mode of effecting it, without hazarding the public tranquillity, was not so obvious. Mr. Charles Townsend, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, pawned his credit to accomplish what many so earnestly desired. He accordingly brought into parliament, in 1767, a bill for granting duties in the British Colonies on glass, paper, painters colours, and tea, which was afterwards enacted into a law. If the small duties imposed on these articles had preceded the stamp act, they might have passed unobserved: but the late discussions occasioned by that act, had produced amongst the Colonists, not only an animated conviction of their exemption from parliamentary taxation, but a jealousy of the designs of Great-Britain. The sentiments of the Americans on this subject bore a great resemblance to those of their British countrymen of the preceding century, in the case of ship money. The amount of that tax was very moderate, little exceeding twenty thousand pounds. It was distributed upon the people with equality, and expended for the honour and advantage of the kingdom, yet all these circumstances could not reconcile the people of England to the imposition. It was entirely arbitrary. "By the same reason,"

aided by, "any other tax may be imposed." In like manner the Americans considered these small duties in the nature of an entering wedge, designed to make way for others, which would be greater and heavier. In a relative connection with late acts of Parliament, respecting domestic manufactures and foreign commerce, laws for imposing taxes on British commodities exported to the Colonies, formed a complete circle of oppression, from which there was no possibility of escaping. The Colonists had been, previously, restrained from manufacturing certain articles for their own consumption. Other acts confined them to the exclusive sale of British merchandise. The addition of duties put them wholly in the power and discretion of Great-Britain. "We are not," said they, "permitted to import from any nation, other than our own Parent State, and have been some in cases by her restrained from manufacturing for ourselves, and she claims a right to do so in every instance which is incompatible with her interest. To these restrictions we have hitherto submitted, but she now rises in her demands, and imposes duties on those commodities, the purchasing of which, elsewhere than at her market, her law forbids, and the manufacturing of which for our own use, she may, any moment she pleases, restrain. If her right is valid to lay a small tax, it is equally so to lay a large one, for from the nature of the case, she must be guided exclusively by her own opinions of our ability, and of the propriety of the duties she may impose. Nothing is left for us but to complain and pay." They contended that there was no real difference between the principle of these new duties and the stamp act, they were both designed to raise a revenue in America, and in the same manner. The payment of the duties imposed by the stamp act, might have been eluded by the total disuse of stamped paper, and so might the payment of these duties, by the total disuse of those articles on which they were laid, but in neither case, without great difficulty. The Colonists were therefore reduced to the hard alternative of being obliged totally to disuse articles of the greatest necessity in human life, or to pay a tax without their consent. The fire of opposition, which had been smothered by the repeal of the stamp act, burned afresh against the same principle of taxation, exhibited in its new form. Mr. Dickenson, of Pennsylvania, on this occasion presented to the public a series of letters signed the Farmer, proving the extreme danger which threatened the liberties of America, from their acquiescence in a precedent which might establish the claim of parliamentary taxation. They were written with great animation, and were read with uncommon avidity. Their reasoning was

so convincing, that many of the candid and disinterested citizens of Great Britain acknowledged that the American opposition to parliamentary taxation was justifiable. The enormous sums which the stamp act would have collected, had thoroughly alarmed the Colonists for their property. It was now demonstrated by several writers, especially by the *Pennsylvania Farmer*, that a small tax, though more specious, was equally dangerous, as it established a precedent which eventually annihilated American property. The declaratory act, which at first was the subject of but a few comments, was now dilated upon as a foundation for every species of oppression: and the small duties lately imposed were considered as the beginning of a train of much greater evils.

Had the Colonists admitted the propriety of raising a parliamentary revenue among them, the erection of an American board of commissioners for managing it, which was about this time instituted at Boston, would have been a convenience rather than an injury; but united as they were in sentiments, of the contrariety of that measure to their natural and constitutional rights, they ill brooked the innovation. As it was coeval with the new duties, they considered it as a certain evidence that the project of an extensive American revenue, notwithstanding the repeal of the stamp act, was still in contemplation. A dislike to British taxation naturally produced a dislike to a board which was to be instrumental in that business, and occasioned many insults to its commissioners.

The revenue act of 1767 produced resolves, petitions, addresses, and remonstrances, similar to those with which the Colonists opposed the stamp act. It also gave rise to a second association for suspending farther importations of British manufactures, till these offensive duties should be taken off. Uniformity, in these measures, was promoted by a circular letter from the Assembly of Massachusetts to the speakers of other Assemblies. This stated the petitions and representations, which they had forwarded against the late duties, and strongly pointed out the great difficulties, that must arise to themselves and their constituents, from the operation of acts of parliament imposing duties on the unrepresented American Colonies, and requested a reciprocal free communication on public affairs. Most of the Provincial assemblies, as they had opportunities of deliberating on the subject, approved of the proceedings of the Massachusetts Assembly, and harmonized with them in the measures which they had adopted. In resolves, they stated their rights in firm but decent language; and in petitions, they prayed for a repeal of the late acts, which they considered as infringements on their liberties.

It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the Minister who performed these duties, hoped that they would be regarded as regulations of trade. He might also presume, that as they amounted only to an inconsiderable sum, they would not give any offence. The circular letter of the Massachusetts Assembly, which laid the foundation for united petitions against them, gave, therefore, the greatest offence. Lord Hillsborough, who had lately been appointed Secretary of State for the American department, wrote to the governors of the respective provinces, urging them to exert their influence, to prevent the assemblies from taking notice of it, and he called on the Massachusetts Assembly to rescind their proceedings on that subject. This measure was injudicious and irritating. To require a public body to rescind a resolution, for sending a letter which was already sent, passed, and acted upon, was a bad specimen of the wisdom of a new minister. To call a vote, for sending a circular letter to invite the assemblies of the neighbouring colonies to congregate together in the pursuit of legal measures to obtain a redress of grievances, "a flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace," appeared to the Colonists a very injudicious application of harsh epithets to their constitutional right of petitioning. To threaten a new house of assembly with dissolution, in case of their disagreeing to rescind an act of a former assembly which was execratory, but executed, clashed no less with the dictates of common sense, than the constitutional rights of British Colonists. The proposition for rescinding was negatived, by a majority of ninety-two to seventeen. The assembly was immediately dissolved, as had been threatened. This procedure of the new Secretary was considered by the Colonists as an attempt to suppress communication of sentiment between them, and to prevent their united supplications from reaching the royal ear. It answered no one valuable purpose, but naturally tended to mischief.

The bad humour, which from successive irritation already much prevailed, was about this time, June 10. 1768, wrought up to a high pitch of resentment and violence, on occasion of the seizure of Mr. Hancock's sloop Liberty, for not having entered all the wines she had brought from Madeira. The popularity of her owner, the name of the sloop, and the general assent given to the board of commissioners and parliamentary taxation, concurred to inflame the minds of the people. They refused the removal of the sloop from the wharf, as implying an apprehension of a rescue. They used every means in their power to interrupt the officers in the execution of their business; and numbers swore that they would be revenged. Mr. Harrison the lecturer, Mr. Hollowell the comptroller, and Mr. Irvine the

r of imports and exports, were so roughly handled, as to their lives in danger. The windows of some of their houses broken, and the boat of the collector was dragged through town, and burned on the common. Such was the temper and disposition of many of the inhabitants, that the commissioners of the customs thought proper to retire on board the Romney in case of war; and afterwards to Castle William. The commissioners, from the first moment of their institution, had been an enemy to the people of Boston. This, though partly owing to their active zeal in detecting smugglers, principally arose from a jealousy which existed in the minds of the inhabitants, against the board and an American revenue. The declaratory act of 1766, that revenue act of 1767; together with the pomp and expence of this board, so disproportionate to the small income and present duties, conspired to convince not only the few who were benefited by smuggling, but the great body of enlightened men, that farther and greater impositions of parliament would be intended. In proportion, as this opinion gained ground, the inhabitants became more disrespectful to the executive officers of the revenue, and more disposed, in the frenzy of passion, to commit outrages on their persons and property. The constant bickering that existed between them and the inhabitants, together with the steady opposition given by the latter to the discharge of the official duties of the former, induced the commissioners and friends of the American revenue, to solicit the stationing of a regular force, to be stationed at Boston. In compliance with their wishes, his Majesty ordered two regiments and armed vessels to repair thither, for supporting and assisting the officers of the customs in the execution of their duty. This increased the active exertion of that turbulent spirit, which since the passing the late revenue laws had revived, but it added to the pre-existing causes thereof.

When it was reported in Boston, that one or more regiments were ordered there, a meeting of the inhabitants was called, and a committee appointed to request the Governor to issue precepts convening a general assembly. He replied, "that he could not comply with their request, till he had received his Majesty's orders for that purpose." The answer being reported, September 13, some spirited resolutions were adopted. In particular, it was voted, that the select men of Boston should write to the select men of other towns, to propose, that a convention be held, consisting of representatives from each, to meet at Faneuil-hall, in Boston, on the next instant. It was afterwards voted, "That as there is apprehension in the minds of many, of an approaching war w

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France, those inhabitants, who are not provided, be required to furnish themselves forthwith with arms."

Ninety-six towns, and eight districts, agreed to the measures made by the inhabitants of Boston, and appointed deputies to a convention, but the town of Hatfield refused its concurrence. When the Deputies met, they conducted themselves with moderation, disclaimed all legislative authority, advised the people to pay the greatest deference to government, and to wait for a redress of their grievances from his Majesty's wisdom and moderation. After stating to the world the causes of their meeting, and an account of their proceedings, they dissolved themselves, after a short session, and went home.

Within a day after the convention broke up, the enemy's regiments arrived, and were peaceably received. Hints had been thrown out by some idle people that they should not be expected to come on shore. Preparations were made by the army of the north of war in the harbour, to fire on the town, if opposition had been made to their landing, but the crisis of appeal to arms was not yet arrived. It was hoped by some that the folly and rage of the Bostonians would have led them to rash measure, and thereby have afforded an opportunity for giving them some naval and military correction, but both prudence and policy induced them to adopt a more temperate line of conduct.

While the contention was kept alive by the successive irritations, which have been mentioned, there was, particularly in Massachusetts, a species of warfare carried on between the governors, and the provincial assemblies. Each watched the other with all the jealousy, which strong distrust could inspire. The latter regarded the former as instruments of power, and sought to pay their court to the Mother Country, by curbing the spirit of American freedom, and the former kept a strict eye on the latter, lest they might smooth the way to independence, at which they were charged with aiming. Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, virtually challenged the assembly to a dispute, on the ground of the controversy between the two countries. This was accepted by the latter, and the subject discussed with all the subtilty of argument, which the ingenuity of either party could suggest.

The war of words was not confined to the Colonies. When the American assemblies passed resolutions, asserting their right to tax their constituents, the Parliament by resolution asserted their unlimited supremacy in and over the Colonies. While the former, in their public acts, disclaimed all dependence, they were successively represented in parliament

resolves, royal speeches, and addresses from Lords and Commons, as being in a state of disobedience to law and government, and as having proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and manifesting a disposition to throw off all subordination to Great-Britain.

In February, 1769, both Houses of Parliament went one step beyond all that had preceded. They then concurred in a joint address to his Majesty, in which they expressed their satisfaction in the measures his Majesty had pursued—gave the strongest assurances, that they would effectually support him in such farther measures as might be found necessary to maintain the civil magistrates in a due execution of the laws, in Massachusetts-Bay, and beseeched him “to direct the governor to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information, touching all treasons or misprisions of treasons committed within the government, since the 30th day of December, 1767; and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons who were most active in the commission of such offences, to one of the secretaries of state, in order that his Majesty might issue a special commission for enquiring of, hearing, and determining, the said offences, within the realm of Great-Britain, pursuant to the provisions of the statute of the 35th of King Henry the 8th.” The latter part of this address, which proposed the bringing of delinquents from Massachusetts, to be tried at a tribunal in Great-Britain, for crimes committed in America, underwent many severe animadversions.

It was asserted to be totally inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution, for in England a man charged with a crime, had a right to be tried in the country in which his offence was supposed to have been committed. “Justice is regularly and impartially administered in our court,” said the Colonists, “and yet by direction of Parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there to be tried in a distant land, by a jury of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages which result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money.”

The House of Burgesses of Virginia met soon after official accounts of the joint addresses of Lords and Commons on this subject reached America; and in a few days after their meeting, passed resolutions expressing “their exclusive right to tax their constituents, and their right to petition their Sovereign for redress of grievances, and the lawfulness of procuring the concurrence of the other Colonies in praying for the royal interposition in favour of the violated rights of America; and that all trials for treason, or for any crime whatsoever, committed in that Colony;

the former, and might now have closed the dispute and honourably reconciled, without a formal relinquishment of claims. Neither the reservation of the duty on tea, by Parliament, nor the exceptions made by the Colonists, saving no tea, on which a duty was imposed, would, if been left to their own operation, have disturbed the harmony of the two countries. While a fresh irritant wounds might have healed, and not a tear been left behind.

These two abortive attempts to settle a parliamentary America, caused a fermentation in the minds of the Colonists, gave birth to many inquiries respecting their natural rights and reasonings on this subject produced a high liberty, and a general conviction that there could be no taxation for their property, if they were to be taxed at the discretion of the British Parliament, in which they were unrepresented, and which they had no control. A determination not to concede this new claim of taxation, but to keep a strict watch, might be established in some disguised form, took possession of their minds.

It commonly happens in the discussion of doubtful points between states, that the ground of the original dispute changes. When the mind is employed in investigating a subject, others associated with it, naturally present themselves. In the course of inquiries on the subject of parliamentary taxation, the restriction on the trade of the Colonists—the need

preserve it by deceit."

These assurances were received with transports of joy Virginians. They viewed them as pledging his Majesty's word, that the late design for raising a revenue in America was abandoned, and never more to be resumed. The Assembly in answer to Lord Botetourt, expressed the thus: "We are sure our most gracious sovereign, under every change may happen in his confidential servants, remain immutable in the way of truth and justice, and be incapable of deceiving his faithful subjects; and we esteem Lordship's information not only as warranted, but even as by the royal word."

How far these solemn engagements with the Americans observed, subsequent events will demonstrate. In a perspective on them, most of the Colonists returned to their habits of good humour, and flattered themselves that future Parliament would undertake to give or grant away property.

From the royal and ministerial assurances given in America in the year 1760, and the subsequent repeal in 1763 five sixths of the duties which had been imposed in 1760, together with the consequent renewal of the mercantile intercourse between Great Britain and the Colonies, many hoped contention between the two countries was finally closed, the provocation against Mr. Edmund's appearances lessened, and the Americans were inclined to regard them as

o Great Britain. They, on the other hand, were accus-
tomed to look upon the soldiers as instruments of tyranny, sent
to drag them out of their liberties.

Local insults fanned the tempers, and mutual injuries
kindled the passions, of the opposite parties: besides, some
persons who thought it an indignity to have troops quartered
among them, were constantly exciting the towns-people to quarrel
with the soldiers.

On the 2d of March, a fray took place near Mr. Gray's shop
between a private soldier of the 29th regiment and an inhabitant.
The former was supported by his comrades, the latter by
the townsmen, till several on both sides were involved in the
confusion. On the 5th a more dreadful scene was presented.
The soldiers, when under arms, were pressed upon, insulted, and
abused by a mob armed with clubs, sticks, and snowballs cover-
ed with ice; they were also dared to fire. In this situation, one of
the soldiers who had received a blow, in resentment fired at the
aggressor. This was followed by a single discharge from
the soldiers. Three of the inhabitants were killed, and five were
seriously wounded. The town was immediately in commotion,
and the temper, force, and number of the inhabitants, that
prevented an engagement to remove the troops out of the town,
with the advice of moderate men, prevented the town from
falling on the soldiers. The killed were buried in one
grave in a most respectful manner, to express the indignation
of the inhabitants at the slaughter of their brethren by soldiers
quartered among them, in violation of their civil liberties. Preston
was taken into custody, and the party which were on the
other side, were committed to jail, and afterwards tried. The
jury found six of the men were acquitted. Two were brought in
for manslaughter. It appeared on the trial, that the soldiers
were first insulted, threatened, and pressed, before they fired,
and so proved, that only seven guns were fired by the soldiers.
These circumstances induced the jury to make a
special verdict. The result of the special verdict was, that
Adam and John Quincy, the two who were taken into custody,
on the charge of manslaughter, were found guilty, and
sentenced to death. The other two were acquitted. The
verdict was a great triumph for the townsmen, and
vent of their tempers, and of their indignation at the
and were more than sufficient to prevent any further
array of arms, and to prevent any further violence. The
were found guilty of manslaughter, and were sentenced
to the same punishment as the two who were found guilty
of manslaughter. The sentence was a great triumph for
the townsmen, and was more than sufficient to prevent
of a bloody war—

variety of such topics were presented to the public view, in their most pleasing and alarming forms. These annual orations kindled fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning in incessant flame.

The obstacles to returning harmony, which have already been mentioned, were increased, by making the governor and council in Massachusetts independent of the province. Formerly they had been paid by yearly grants from the Assembly, but about the time provision was made for paying their salaries by the crown. This was resented as a dangerous innovation, as an insult to their charters, and as destroying that balance of power which is essential to free governments. That the crown should pay the salary of the chief justice, was represented by the Assembly as a species of bribery, tending to bias his judicial determinations. They made it the foundation for impeaching Mr. Justice Otis before the Governor, but he excepted to their proceedings as unconstitutional. The Assembly, nevertheless, gained two points: they rendered the governor more odious to the inhabitants, and increased the public respect for themselves, as the counterpart of the British House of Commons, and as guardians of the rights of the people.

A personal animosity between Lieut. Governor Hutchinson and some distinguished patriots in Massachusetts, contributed to perpetuate a flame of discontent in that province after it had elsewhere visibly abated. This was worked up, in the year 1773, to a high pitch, by a singular combination of circumstances. Some letters had been written in the course of the dispute, by Governor Hutchinson, Lieut. Governor Oliver, and others, in Boston to persons in power and office in England, which contained a very unfavourable representation of the state of public affairs, and tended to show the necessity of coercive measures, and of changing the chartered system of government, to secure the obedience of the province. These letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, agent of the province, who transmitted them to Boston. The indignation and animosity which was excited on the receipt of this, knew no bounds. The House of Assembly agreed on a petition and remonstrance to his Majesty, in which they charged their Governor and Lieut. Governor with being betrayers of the interests of the people they governed, and of giving private parties and false information. They also, Jan. 29, 1774, declared their enclosures to the Colonies, and prayed for justice against them, and for their speedy removal from their places. These resolutions were carried through by a majority of eighty to ten.

After an hearing before that board, in which Dr. Franklin relented the province of Massachusetts, the Governor and Council were acquitted. Mr. Wedderburne, who defended the accused royal servants, in the course of his pleadings, assailed Dr. Franklin in the severest language, as the center of the disputes between the two countries. It was no reflection on this venerable sage, that being the agent of Massachusetts, he conceived it his duty to inform his constituents of all matters written on public affairs, calculated to overturn their chartered constitution. The age, respectability, and high literary character of the subject of Mr. Wedderburne's philippic, turned the attention of the public on the transaction. The insult offered to one of their public agents, and especially to one who was both idol and ornament of his native country, sunk deep in the minds of the Americans. That a faithful servant, whom they loved and almost adored, should be insulted for discharging his official duty, rankled in their hearts. Dr. Franklin was also immediately dismissed from the office of deputy post-master general, which he held under the crown. It was not only by his transgression of these letters that he had given offence to the British ministry, but by his popular writings in favour of America. Two of these, in particular, had lately attracted a large share of public attention, and had an extensive influence on both sides the Atlantic. The one purported to be an edict from the king of Great-Britain, for taxing the inhabitants of Great-Britain, as dependent emigrants from his dominions. The other was entitled, "Rights reducing a great empire to a family home." In each tract he depicted the claims of the Mother-Country, and the prejudices of the British minister, with the severity of pregnant truth. For ten years there had now been but little intermission to the disputes between Great-Britain and her colonies. Then a peace-claimant had never once been admitted into the grounds. From which followed the repeal of the Stamp Act, and the removal of the duties imposed on the tea imported from Great-Britain. The indignity which had been offered to the American agents at London, was not forgotten; and the same indignities were repeated at New-York. The attention of the people of Massachusetts was directed to the conduct of the British agents—these agents were called upon to explain their conduct—and they refused to do so. The attention of the people of Massachusetts was directed to the conduct of the British agents—these agents were called upon to explain their conduct—and they refused to do so.

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the two countries being thus irreconcilably at variance, the partial peace which followed the treaty of 1763 was only a truce to disturbance from which the nations were destined to emerge less than a century later. The treaty of 1763 presented a renewal of the old controversy, the independence of America being one of the points at issue. The dispute about the Mississippi was connected with the British claims to the whole of Europe, which placed the claims of the United States in a very peculiar position. Each of the two countries claimed the same territories on either side of the Mississippi, and the question in the future would be decided by a treaty between a non-influenced government and all other commodities of the continent. The United States went into America, the British went into Europe. This was finally settled by the Congress of 1763, which agreed to pay a large sum of money to the government for which compensation was to be made in other respects, they were exempted from any duty payable in Britain on goods exported to the several ships freighted by the government to North America, and proper arrangements were to be made. The Americans now perceived that the treaty was to be enforced, which they could not have done before, and they were to be

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

the same warmth, and manifested the same resolution to the mother-country.

In the midst of this contest three ships laden with tea arrived at Boston; but so much were the captains alarmed at the disposition which seemed to prevail among the people, that they offered, if they could obtain the proper discharges from the treasury, custom-house, and governor, to return to Britain without landing their cargoes. The parties concerned, however, they durst not order the tea to be landed, refused to give the discharges required. The ships, therefore, would have been obliged to remain in the harbour: but the people, apprehending that if they remained there the tea would be landed in quantities, and disposed of in spite of every endeavour to prevent it, resolved to destroy it at once. This resolution was carried out with equal speed and secrecy. The very evening after the mentioned discharges had been refused, a number of restless like Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships, and took to the tea their whole cargoes, consisting of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea: after which they retired without giving any further disturbance, or doing any more damage, than was destroyed in other places, though the same spirit was here manifested. At Philadelphia the pilots were ordered to conduct the vessels up the river: and at New York, when the governor called some tea to be landed under the protection of a man of war, he was obliged to deliver it up to the people, to prevent its being sold.

The destruction of the tea at Boston, which happened in November 1773, was the immediate prelude to the disasters attending the American Revolution. The Government finding themselves every where despised, resolved to enforce their authority by all possible means: and as Boston had been the principal scene of the late outrages, it was determined to punish that city in any manner. Parliament was acquainted by a message from the King with the undisciplined behaviour of the city of Boston, and of all the colonies, recommending at the same time the measures and spirit of exertion necessary to be taken to suppress the rebellion in its source, and to punish the offenders. The Americans, by their repeated disobedience to the laws of their parliament, had shown a total want of regard to the rights of their parliament. It was now proposed to send a fleet to Boston, equal to the power of the colonies, to compel them to submit to the laws of the parliament, and to show them the spirit of the British government. The fleet was sent, and the city of Boston was blockaded. The fleet was sent, and the city of Boston was blockaded.

that the other had been; and it was predicted, that instead of having any tendency to reconcile or subdue the Americans, it would infallibly exasperate them beyond any possibility of reconciliation. The petitions against it, presented by the colonists, pointed out the same consequences in the strongest terms, and in the most positive manner declared that the Americans would never submit to it; but such was the insatiation among every rank and degree of men, that it never was imagined the Americans would dare to resist the parent state openly, but in the end would submit implicitly to her commands. In this confidence a third bill was proposed for the impartial administration of justice on such persons as might be employed in the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay. By this act it was provided, that should any persons acting in that capacity be indicted for murder, and not able to obtain a trial in the province, they might be sent by the governor to England, or to some other colony, if necessary, to be tried for the supposed crime.

These three bills having passed so easily, the ministry proposed a fourth, relative to the government of Canada; which, it was said, had not been settled on any proper plan. By this bill the extent of that province was greatly enlarged; its affairs were put under the direction of a council, in which Roman Catholics were to be admitted; the Roman Catholic clergy were secured in their possessions, and the usual perquisites from those of their own profession. The council above mentioned were to be appointed by the crown, to be removable at its pleasure; and to be invested with every legislative power, excepting that of taxation.

No sooner were these laws made known in America, than they cemented the union of the colonies beyond any possibility of dissolving it. The assembly of Massachusetts Bay had passed a vote against the judges accepting salaries from the crown, and put the question, Whether they would accept them as usual from the general assembly? Four answered in the affirmative; but Peter Oliver the chief-justice refused. A petition against him, and an accusation, were brought before the governor; but the latter refused the accusation, and declined to interfere in the matter, but as they still insisted for what they called justice against Mr. Oliver, the governor thought proper to put an end to the matter by dissolving the assembly.

In this situation of affairs a new alarm was occasioned by the news of the port-bill. This had been totally unexpected, and was received with the most extravagant expressions of displeasure among the populace; and while these continued, the new governor, General Gage, arrived from England. He had been chosen

in this office on account of his being well acquainted in America, and generally agreeable to the people; but human wisdom could not now point out a method by which the flame could be allayed. The first act of his office as governor was to remove the assembly to Salem, a town seventeen miles distant, in consequence of the late act. When this was intimated to the assembly, they replied by requesting him to appoint a day of public humiliation for deprecating the wrath of heaven, but met with a refusal. When met at Salem, they passed a resolution, declaring the necessity of a general congress composed of delegates from all the provinces, in order to take the affairs of the colonies at large into consideration; and five gentlemen, remarkable for their opposition to the British measures, were chosen to represent that of Massachusetts Bay. They then proceeded with all expedition to draw up a declaration, containing a detail of the grievances they laboured under, and the necessity of exerting themselves against lawless power; they set forth the disregard shown to their petitions, and the attempts of Great-Britain to destroy their ancient constitution; and concluded with exhorting the inhabitants of the colony to obstruct, by every method in their power, such evil designs, recommending at the same time a total renunciation of every thing imported from Great-Britain till a redress of grievances could be procured.

Intelligence of this declaration was carried to the governor on the very day that it was completed; on which he dissolved the assembly. This was followed by an address from the inhabitants of Salem in favour of those of Boston, and concluding with these remarkable words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, and to all feelings of humanity. could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

It had been fondly hoped by the ministerial party at home, that the advantages which other towns of the colony might derive from the annihilation of the trade of Boston would make them readily acquiesce in the measure of shutting up that port, and then rejoice in it then otherwise; but the words of the address now mentioned seemed to preclude all hope of this kind; and subsequent transactions soon manifested it to be totally vain. When did intelligence arrive of the remaining bill of 1774, then the cause of Boston became the cause of the colonies. The port-bill had already occa-

tax any colony in an arbitrary manner was in reality as upon the whole, and must ultimately end in the ruin of the

The provinces of New York and Pennsylvania, however, strenuous in the act, being so closely connected with Great Britain, that the giving it truly appeared a matter of the most serious magnitude, as to be thought of but after every other method had failed, intelligence of the remonstrance bills respecting Boston, he spread a fresh alarm throughout the continent, and **fixe** who had seemed to be the most wavering. The **prop** giving up all commercial intercourse with Britain was agreed, contributions for the misbruits of Boston were in every quarter; and every every day received address naming them for the heroic courage with which they b then enemy.

The Bostonians on their part were not wanting in their end to promote the general cause. An agreement was framed, on imitation of former times, they called a Solemn League Covenant. By this the subscribers most religiously bound themselves to break off all communication with Britain after the 1st of August ensuing, until the obnoxious acts were repealed; the same time they engaged neither to purchase nor to goods imported after that time, and to renounce all con

held that the law allowed subjects to meet in order to consider of their grievances, and associate for relief from oppression.

Preparations were now made for holding the general congress so often proposed. Philadelphia, as being the most central and considerable town, was pitched upon for the place of its meeting. The delegates of whom it was to be composed were chosen by the representatives of each province, and were in number from two to seven for each colony, though no province had more than one vote. The first congress which met at Philadelphia, in the beginning of September 1774, consisted of fifty-one delegates. The novelty and importance of the meeting excited an universal attention; and their transactions were such as could not but tend to render them respectable.

The first act of congress was an approbation of the conduct of Massachusetts Bay, and an exhortation to continue in the same spirit with which they had begun. Supplies for the suffering inhabitants, whom indeed the operation of the port-bill had reduced to great distress, were strongly recommended; and it was declared, that in case of attempts to enforce the obnoxious acts by arms, all America should join to assist the town of Boston: and should the inhabitants be obliged, during the course of hostilities, to remove farther up the country, the losses they might sustain should be repaired at the public expence.

They next addressed General Gage by letter: in which, having stated the grievances of the people of Massachusetts colony, they informed him of the fixed and unalterable determination of all the other provinces to support their brethren, and to oppose the British acts of parliament; that they themselves were appointed to watch over the liberties of America; and intreated him to desist from military operations, lest such hostilities might be brought on as would frustrate all hopes of reconciliation with the parent state.

The next step was to publish the following declaration of their rights.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

The good people of the several Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent, and Suffolk in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, alarmed at the arbitrary proceedings of the British Parliament and Administration, having severally elected deputies to meet and sit in General Congresses in the city of Philadelphia, and those deputies so chosen being assembled on the 5th day of September, after reading several necessary preli-

minities, proceeded to take into their most serious consideration the best means of attaining the redress of grievances. In the full place, they, as Englishmen, and as their ancestors, in like cases, have ever done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, MET TOGETHER.

That the inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and the several Charters or Compacts, have the following Rights:—

Resolved, *unanimously*, 1. That they are entitled to life, liberty, and property; and have never sold it to any foreign power;—whenever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

Resolved, *&c.* That our ancestors were, at the time of their emigration from the Mother-Country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities, of free and natural-born subjects within the realm of England.

Resolved, v. c. 3. That, by such emigration, they neither forfeited, surrendered, nor lost, any of the foregoing rights.

[illegible]

at the law allowed subjects to meet in order to consider grievances, and associate for relief from oppression.

Provisions were now made for holding the general congress proposed. Philadelphia, as being the most central and able town, was pitched upon for the place of its meeting. The delegates of whom it was to be composed were chosen representatives of each province, and were in number ten to eleven for each colony, though no province had more than one vote. The first congress which met at Philadelphia

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The first act of congress was an approbation of the conduct of the first day, and an exhortation to continue in the same spirit which they had begun. Supplies for the suffering cities, who in consequence of the operation of the port-bill had received great distress, were strongly recommended; and it was resolved that in case of attempts to enforce the obnoxious acts by force, the Americans should join to assist the town of Boston; and that the inhabitants be obliged, during the course of hostilities, to furnish up the country, the losses they might sustain to equal the public expense.

The next act was read General Gage's letter; in which, having read the grievances of the people of Massachusetts colony, he affirmed that the fixed and inviolable determination of the British provinces to support their brethren, and to oppose all attempts of parliament; that they themselves were applied to for aid, and that the liberties of America and interested with them in their operations, left such hostilities might be prosecuted, and frustrate all hopes of reconciliation with America.

The congress then published the following declaration of independence.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

the committing any offence described in the said Act out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

Also the three Acts passed in the last Session of Parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts-Bay, and that which is intitled, "An Act for the better administration of justice, &c."

Also the Act passed in the same Session for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the Province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government, of the neighbouring British Colonies, by the assistance of whole blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

Also the Act passed in the same Session for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North-America.

Resolved, That this Congress do approve of the opposition made by the inhabitants of the Massachusetts-Bay, to the execution of the said late Acts of Parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case, all America ought to support them in their opposition.

Resolved, That the removal of the people of Boston into the country, would be not only extremely difficult in the execution, but so important in its consequences, as to require the utmost deliberation before it is adopted. But in case the Provincial Meeting of that Colony shall judge it *absolutely* necessary, it is the opinion of this Congress, that all America ought to contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they may thereby sustain.

Resolved, That this Congress do recommend to the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay, to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice, where it cannot be procured in a legal and peaceable manner, under the rules of the charter, and the laws founded thereon, until the effects of our application for the repeal of the Acts by which their charter-rights are infringed, is known.

Resolved unanimously, That every person who shall take, accept, or act under any commission or authority, in any wise derived from the late Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, changing the form of Government, and violating the charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, ought to be held in detestation, and considered as the wicked tool of that despotism which is preparing to destroy those rights which God, nature, and compact have given to America.

Resolved unanimously, that the people of Boston and the Massachusetts-bay, be advised still to conduct themselves peaceably towards his Excellency General Gage, and his Majesty's troops now stationed in the town of Boston, as far as can possibly consist with their immediate safety and the security of the town; avoiding and discountenancing every violation of his Majesty's property, or any insult to his troops; and that they peaceably and firmly persevere in the line in which they are now conducting themselves on the defensive.

Resolved, That the seizing, or attempting to seize, any person in America, in order to transport such person beyond the sea, for trial of offences, committed within the body of a county in America, being against law, will justify, and ought to meet with resistance and reprisal.

A copy of a letter to General Gage was brought into Congress, and, agreeable to order, signed by the President, and is as follows:

Philadelphia, Oct. 10, 1774.

" Sir,

" The inhabitants of the town of Boston have informed us the Representatives of his Majesty's faithful subjects in all the Colonies from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, that the fortifications erecting within that town, the frequent invasions of private property, and the repeated insults they receive from the soldiery, hath given them great reason to suspect a plan is formed very destructive to them, and tending to overthrow the liberties of America.

" Your Excellency cannot be a stranger to the sentiments of America with respect to the late Acts of Parliament, under the execution of which those unhappy people are oppressed; the approbation universally expressed of their conduct, and the determined resolution of the Colonies, for the preservation of their Common Rights, to unite in their opposition to those Acts. In consequence of these sentiments, they have appointed us the guardians of their rights and liberties, and we are under the deepest concern, that, whilst we are pursuing every dutiful and peaceable measure, to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great Britain and the Colonies, your Excellency should proceed in a manner that bears so hostile an appearance, and which even those oppressive Acts do not warrant.

We entreat your Excellency to consider, what tendency this conduct must have to irritate and force a people, however well disposed to peaceable measures, into hostility, and to prevent the endeavours of this Congress to stand with a Parent State, and may be the cause of a civil war.

They further declared in favour of a non-importation a continuation of Prohibitions until the acts were repealed which were the principal grounds on which they acted. The same motion was carried, as well as the Motion for the three resolutions to be the present position of party. The new resolutions on the importation and continuing British consumption were then discussed with great zeal and they concluded with proposing the women to thank a number of parliamentarians for their worthiness and though not a motion, it opened the discussion of parliament.

The next day proceedings were to frame a petition to the committee of the commons and another to the lords of the commons and the petition of American I found that the petitioners were all to enter into my presence at the time of the petition and that they were all up in arms and ready to be sent to the capital with the petition. The petition was to be presented to the American committee and that the petitioners were to be sent to the capital.

All this time the disposition of the people had corresponded with the warmest wishes of Congress. The first of June had kept as a fast, not only throughout Virginia, where it was proposed, but through the whole continent. Contributions to the relief of Boston had been raised throughout America and the people of London had been virtually united in a

Continually increasing in number, which greatly augmented the general jealousy and disaffection; the country were ready to rise at a moment's warning; and the experiment was made by giving a false alarm that the communication between the town and country was to be cut off, in order to reduce the former by famine to a compliance with the acts of Parliament. On this intelligence the country people assembled in great numbers, and could not be satisfied till they had sent messengers into the city to enquire into the truth of the report. These messengers were enjoined to inform the town's people, that if they should be so pusillanimous as to make a surrender of their liberties, the province would not think itself bound by such examples; and that Britain, by breaking their original charter, had annulled the contract subsisting between them, and left them to act as they thought proper.

The people in every other respect manifested their inflexible determination to adhere to the plan they had so long followed. The new counsellors and judges were obliged to resign their offices, in order to preserve their lives and properties from the fury of the multitude. In some places they shut up the avenues to the court-houses; and when required to make way for the judges, replied, that they knew of none but such as were appointed by the ancient usage and custom of the province. Every where they manifested the most ardent desire of learning the art of war; and every individual who could bear arms, was most assiduous in procuring them, and learning their exercise.

Matters at last proceeded to such an height, that General Gage thought proper to fortify the neck of land, which joins the town of Boston to the continent. This, though undoubtedly a prudent measure in his situation, was exclaimed against by the Americans in the most vehement manner; but the General, instead of giving ear to their remonstrances, deprived them of all power of acting against himself, by seizing the provincial powder, ammunition, and military stores, at Cambridge and Charlestown. This excited such indignation, that it was with the utmost difficulty the people could be restrained from marching to Boston and attacking the troops. Even in the town itself, the company of cadets that used to attend him disbanded themselves and returned the standard, he had as usual presented them with on his accession to the government. This was occasioned by his having deprived the celebrated John Hancock, afterwards president of the congress, of his commission as colonel of the cadets. A similar instance happened of a provincial colonel having accepted a seat in the new council; upon which twenty-four officers of his regiment resigned their commissions in one day.

In the mean time a meeting was held of the principal inhabitants of the towns adjacent to Boston. The purpose of this was publicly to renounce all obedience to the late acts of parliament, and to form an engagement to indemnify such as should be persecuted on that account; the members of the new council were declared violators of the rights of their country; all ranks and orders were exhorted to learn the use of arms; and the receipt of the public revenue were ordered not to deliver it into the treasury, but retain it in their own hands till the constitution should be restored, or a provincial congress disposed of it otherwise.

A remonstrance against the fortifications on Boston Neck was next prepared; in which, however, they still pretended their unwillingness to proceed to any hostile measures, asserting only as usual their firm determination not to submit to the acts of parliament they had already so much complained of. The Governor, to restore tranquility, if possible, called a general assembly; but so many of the council had resigned their seats, that he was induced to countermand a meeting by proclamation. This measure, however, was deemed illegal, the assembly met at Salem; and after waiting a day for the Governor, voted themselves into a provincial congress, of which Mr. Hancock was chosen President. A committee was instantly appointed, who waited on the governor with a remonstrance concerning the fortifications on Boston Neck; but nothing of consequence took place, both parties mutually criminating each other. The winter was now coming on, and the Governor, to avoid quartering the soldiers upon the inhabitants, proposed to erect barracks for them; but the fierce men of Boston compelled the workmen to desert. Carpenters were sent for to New-York, but they were refused; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could procure winter lodgings for his troops. Nor was the difficulty less in procuring clothes; as the merchants of New-York told him, that "they would never supply any article for the benefit of men sent as enemies to their country."

This disposition, known to be almost universal throughout the continent, was in the highest degree satisfactory to congress. Every one saw that the ensuing spring was to be the season for commencing hostilities, and the most indefatigable diligence was used for the colonies to be well provided against such a formidable enemy. A list of the fencible men in each colony was made out, and especially of those who had served in the former war; of whom they had the satisfaction to find that two-thirds were still alive and fit to bear arms. Magazines of arms were collected, and money was provided for the payment of troops. The governors in vain attempted to put a stop to these proceedings by

ations : the fatal period was now arrived ; and the more the attempts of government attempted to repress the spirit of the Americans, the more violent it appeared.

The beginning of strife between the Parent State and her Colonies was like the letting out of waters. From inconsiderable love was changed into suspicion that gradually ripened into ill, and soon ended in hostility. Prudence, policy, and reciprocal interest, urged the expediency of concession ; but pride, honour, and misconceived dignity drew it in an opposite direction. Undecided claims and doubtful rights, which under the influence of wisdom and humility might have been easily compromised, imperceptibly widened into an irreconcilable breach, and at length took the place of kind affections, and the calamities of war were substituted in lieu of the benefits of commerce. From the year 1768, in which a military force had been stationed in Boston, there was a constant succession of insulting words, and gestures. The inhabitants were exasperated against the soldiers, and they against the inhabitants. The former looked on the latter as the instruments of tyranny, and the latter on the former as seditious rioters, or fraudulent smugglers. In this irritable state, every incident, however trifling, made a sensible impression. The citizens apprehended constant danger from an armed force, in whose power they were ; the soldiers, on the other hand, considered themselves as in the midst of their enemies, and exposed to attacks from within and without. In proportion as the breach between Great-Britain and her colonies widened, the distrust and animosity between the people and the government increased. From the latter end of 1774, hostile appearances daily threatened that the flames of war would be kindled by the collision of such inflammable materials. Whatsoever was done by either party by way of precaution, for the purposes of self-defence, was construed by the other as preparatory to an intended attack. Each disclaimed all intentions of commencing hostilities, but reciprocally manifested suspicion of the other's treachery. As far as was practicable without an open rupture, the plans of one were respectively thwarted by the other. From the appearance it became daily more evident that arms must ultimately decide the contest. To suffer an army that was soon expected to be an enemy, quietly to fortify themselves, when the inhabitants were both able and willing to cut them off, in the warm spirits the height of folly ; but the opposition of others, and especially the opposition of Congress, restrained their impetuosity. The circumstance for the colonies to be in a state of New-England. The people

their passions more under the command of reason and less than in the southern latitudes, where a warmer fire and greater degree of irascibility. One rash offensive act of the royal forces at this early period, though successful, had done great mischief to the cause of America. It would have alienated their European friends, and weakened the disposition of the colonies to assist them. The patient and politic New-England men, fully sensible of their situation, submitted to many hardships and brided their resentment. In civil wars or revolutions a matter of much consequence who strikes the first blow, compassion of the world is in favour of the attacked, and the pleasure of good men on those who are the first to imbrue their hands in human blood. For the space of nine months after the arrival of General Gage, the behaviour of the people of Boston was particularly worthy of imitation, by those who wish to oppose established governments. They conducted their opposition with exquisite address. They avoided every kind of outrage and violence, preserved peace and good order among themselves, but fully engaged the other Colonies to make a common cause with them, and counteracted General Gage to effectually, as to prevent his doing any thing for his royal master, while by patience and moderation they screened themselves from capture. They resolved to bear as long as prudence and policy dictated, they all the time preparing for the last extremity. They were furnishing themselves with arms and ammunition, and training militia.

Provisions were also collected and stored in different places particularly at Concord about twenty miles from Boston. General Gage, though zealous for his royal master's interest, covered a prevailing dislike after a possible accommodation. He wished to prevent hostilities by depriving the inhabitants the means necessary for carrying them on. With this determination to destroy the stores which he knew were necessary for the support of a provincial army. Wishing to accomplish this without bloodshed, he took every precaution to effect his purpose, and without alarming the country. At eleven o'clock at night on April 18, eight hundred grenadiers and light troops, the flower of the royal army, embarked at the Commodore's Point, and marched for Concord, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Smith. Neither the time nor the expedition was planned, the privacy within the city was not broken out, nor could it be that no one in the British or Boston were sufficient to prevent intelligence being sent to the country respecting what was going on.

two in the morning one hundred and thirty of the Lexington militia had assembled to oppose them, but the air being chilly, and intelligence respecting the regulars uncertain, they were dismissed, with orders to appear again at beat of drum. They collected a second time to the number of seventy, between four and five o'clock in the morning, and the British regulars soon after made their appearance. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps, rode up to them and called out, "Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse." They still continued in a body, on which he advanced nearer—discharged his pistol—and ordered his soldiers to fire. This was done with a huzza. A dispersion of the militia was the consequence, but the firing of the regulars was nevertheless continued. Individuals finding they were fired upon, though dispersing, returned the fire. Three or four of the militia were killed on the green; a few more were shot after they had begun to disperse. The royal detachment proceeded on to Concord, and executed their commission. They disabled two twenty-four pounders—threw five hundred pounds of ball into rivers and wells, and broke in pieces about sixty barrels of flour. Mr. John Batterick of Concord, major of a minute regiment, not knowing what had passed at Lexington, ordered his men not to give the first fire, that they might not be the aggressors. Upon his approaching near the regulars, they fired, and killed Captain Isaac Davis, and one private of the provincial minute men. The fire was returned, and a skirmish ensued. The King's troops having done their business, began their retreat towards Boston. This was conducted with expedition, for the adjacent inhabitants had assembled in arms, and began to attack them in every direction. In their return to Lexington they were exceedingly annoyed, both by those who pressed on their rear, and others who pouring in on all sides, fired from behind stone walls, and such like coverts, which supplied the place of lines and redoubts. At Lexington the regulars were joined by a detachment of nine hundred men, under Lord Percy, which had been sent out by General Gage to support Lieutenant-colonel Smith. This reinforcement having two pieces of cannon awed the provincials, and kept them at a greater distance, but they continued a constant, though irregular and scattering fire, which did great execution. The close firing from behind the walls by good marksmen, put the regular troops in no small confusion, but they nevertheless kept up a brisk retreating fire on the militia and minute men. A little after sunset the regulars reached Bunker's Hill, worn down with excessive fatigue, having marched that day between thirty and forty miles. On the next day they crossed Charlestown ferry, and returned to Boston.

There never were more than four hundred provincials engaged at one time, and often not so many, as some tired and gave out, others came up and took their places. There was strictly no discipline observed among them; officers and privates fired when they were ready, and saw a royal uniform, without waiting for the word of command. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to gain opportunities by crossing fields and fences, and in all as flanking parties against the King's troops who kept to the main road.

The regulars had sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners. Of the provincials fifty were killed, and thirty-eight wounded and missing.

As arms were to decide the controversy, it was fortunate for the Americans that the first blood was drawn in New-England. The inhabitants of that country are so connected with each other by descent, manners, religion, politics, and a general equality, that the killing of a single individual interests the whole, and made them consider it as a common cause. The blood of those who were killed at Lexington and Concord proved the firm cement of an extensive union.

To prevent the people within Boston from co-operating with their countrymen without, in case of an assault, which was now daily expected, General Gage, April 22, agreed with a committee of the town, that upon the inhabitants lodging their arms in Faneuil-hall, or any other convenient place, under the care of the select men, all such inhabitants as were inclined, might depart from the town, with their families and effects. In five days after the ratification of this agreement, the inhabitants had lodged one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight fire arms, six hundred and thirty-four pistols, two hundred and seventy-three bayonets, and twenty-eight blunderbusses. The agreement was well observed in the beginning, but after a short time obstructions were thrown in the way of its final completion, on the plea that persons who went from the town to bring in the goods of those who chose to continue within the town, were not properly treated. Congress remonstrated on the infraction of the agreement, but without effect. The General, on a farther consideration of the consequences of moving the whigs out of Boston, evaded it in a manner not consistent with good faith. He was in some measure compelled to adopt the dishonourable measures from the clamour of the Tories, who all agreed, that none but enemies to the British government were disposed to remove, and that when they were all safe with their families and effects, the town would be set on fire. To prevent the provincials from obtaining supplies which they much wanted, a quibble was made on the meaning of the word *effects*,

which was construed by the general as not including merchandize. By this construction, unwarranted by every rule of genuine interpretation, many who quitted the town were deprived of their usual resources for a support. Passports were not universally refused, but were given out very slowly, and the business was so conducted that families were divided,—wives were separated from their husbands, children from their parents, and the aged and infirm, from their relations and friends. The General discovered a disinclination to part with the women and children, thinking that, on their account, the provincials would be restrained from making an assault on the town. The select-men gave repeated assurance that the inhabitants had delivered up their arms, but as a cover for violating the agreement, General Gage issued a proclamation, in which he asserted that he had full proof to the contrary. A few might have secreted some favourite arms, but nearly all the training arms were delivered up. On this flimsy pretence the General sacrificed his honour, to policy and the clamours of the tories. Contrary to good faith he detained many, though fairly entitled by agreement to go out, and when he admitted the departure of others he would not allow them to move their families and effects.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, which was in session at the time of the Lexington battle, dispatched an account of it to Great-Britain, accompanied with many depositions, to prove that the British troops were the aggressors. They also made an address to the inhabitants of Great-Britain, in which, after complaining of their sufferings, they say, "these have not detached us from our royal Sovereign; we profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects, and though hardly dealt with, as we have been, are still ready with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, crown, and dignity; nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his evil Ministry, we will not tamely submit. Appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free." From the commencement of hostilities, the dispute between Great-Britain and the Colonies took a new direction.

Intelligence that the British troops had marched out of Boston into the country on some hostile purpose, being forwarded by expresses from one committee to another, great bodies of the militia, not only from Massachusetts but the adjacent Colonies, grasped their arms and marched to oppose them. The Colonies were in such a state of irritability, that the least shock in any part was, by a powerful and sympathetic antifer, instantaneously felt throughout the whole. The Americans who fell were revered by their countrymen, as martyrs who had died in the cause of

liberty. Resentment against the British turned more strongly than ever. Many regulations passed in the spirit of the British of those days. Committees were formed and a strong subscription binding the inhabitants to one another by the sacred ties of honour, religion and love of country, to do whatever their public bodies directed for the preservation of their liberties. Hitherto the Americans had no regular army. From principles of policy they cautiously avoided that measure, lest they might subject themselves to the charge of being aggressors. All their military regulations were carried on by their militia, and under the old established laws of the land. For the defence of the Colonies, the inhabitants had been, from their early years, trained in companies, and taught the use of arms. The laws for this purpose had never been better observed than for some months previous to the Lexington battle. These military arrangements, which had been previously adopted for defending the Colonies from hostile French and Indians, were on this occasion turned against the troops of the Parent State. Forts, magazine, and arsenals, by the constitution of the country, were in the keeping of his Majesty. Immediately after the Lexington battle, these were for the most part taken possession of throughout the Colonies, by parties of the provincial militia. Concord, in which was a small royal garrison, was surprised and taken by adventures from different states. Public money which had been collected in consequence of previous grants, was also seized for common services. Before the commencement of hostilities these measures would have been condemned by the moderate even among the Americans, but that event justified a bolder line of opposition than had been adopted—Sundry citizens having been put to death by British troops, self preservation dictated measures which, if adopted under other circumstances, would have disunited the Colonists. One of the most important of this kind was the raising an army. Men of warm tempers, whose courage exceeded their prudence, had for months urged the necessity of raising troops: but they were restrained by the more moderate, who wished that the Colonies might avoid extremities, or at least that they might not lead in bringing them on. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts being in session at the time the battle of Lexington was fought, voted that "an army of thirty thousand men be immediately raised, that thirteen thousand six hundred be of their own province, and that a letter and delegate be sent to the several Colonies of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island. In consequence of this vote, the business of recruiting was begun, and in a short time a provincial army was paraded in the vicinity of Boston, which, though far below what had been voted by the Provincial

Congress, was much superior in numbers to the royal army. The command of this force was given to General Ward.

Had the British troops confined themselves to Boston, as before the 18th of April, the assembling an American army, though only for the purpose of observation and defence, would have appeared in the nature of a challenge, and would have made many less willing to support the people of Massachusetts, but after the British had commenced hostilities the same measure was adopted, without subjecting the authors of it to censure, and without giving offence or hazarding the union. The Lexington battle not only furnished the Americans with a justifying apology for raising an army, but inspired them with ideas of their own prowess. Amidst the most animated declarations of sacrificing fortune, and risking life itself for the security of American rights, a secret sigh would frequently escape from the breasts of her most determined friends, for fear that they could not stand before the bravery and discipline of British troops. Heavy legs would shake their heads and say, "Your cause is good, and I wish you success, but I fear that your undisciplined valour must be overcome in the unequal contest. After a few thousands of you have fallen, the Provinces must ultimately bow to that power which has so repeatedly humbled France and Spain." So confident were the British of their superiority in arms, that they seemed desirous that the contest might be brought to a military decision. Some of the distinguished speakers in Parliament had publicly asserted that the natives of America had nothing of the soldier in them, and that they were in no respect qualified to face a British army. European philosophers had published theories, setting forth that not only vegetables and beasts, but that even men degenerated in the western hemisphere. Departing from the spirit of true philosophy, they overlooked the state of society in the new world, and charged a comparative inferiority on every production that was American. The Colonists themselves had imbibed opinions from their forefathers, that all people on earth were equal to those with whom they were about to contend. Impressed with high ideas of British superiority, and diffident of themselves, their best informed citizens, though willing to run all things, feared the coming moment of appeal to arms. The success that attended their military enterprise in some degree banished these fears at first. But upon the subsequent battle did the Americans appear to possess no advantage over their foes, and to be inferior in almost every particular in military discipline, for the gathering of the country to come forward in a single dispersed manner, without order, and for the most part without leaders, and by an irregular

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in discipline to any in the world. In opposition to the efforts of fear, and the desponding fears of the Colonies, it was proved that Americans might effectually resist.

The confidence grew bold in their country's cause, and they were filled with cheerful hopes that Heaven would finally crown their efforts with success.

After the Lexington battle, and in consequence of the victory, not only the arms, ammunition, forts, and fortifications in the Colonies were secured for the use of the Provincials, but forces were raised, and money drawn for their support. Military arrangements were not confined to the New-England Colonies, but were general throughout the Colonies. The declaration of the King and Parliament to enforce submission to their acts, and the news of the Lexington battle, came to the distant provinces nearly about the same time. It was supposed by many that the latter was in consequence of the former, and that General Gage had recent orders to proceed immediately to subdue the refractory Colonists.

From a variety of circumstances the Americans had good reason to conclude that hostilities would soon be carried on vigorously in Massachusetts, and also to apprehend that, sooner or later, each province would be the theatre of war. "The more speedily, therefore, said they, we are prepared for that event, the better chance we have for defending ourselves." Previous to this period, or rather to the 19th of April, 1775, the dispute had been carried on by the pen, or at most by associations and legislative acts; but from this time forward it was conducted by the sword. The crisis was arrived when the Colonies had no alternative, but either to submit to the mercy, or to resist the power of Great-Britain. An unconquerable love of liberty could not brook the idea of submission, while reason, more temperate in her decisions suggested to the people their insufficiency to make effectual opposition. They were fully apprized of the power of Britain—they knew that her fleets covered the ocean, and that her flag had waved in triumph through the four quarters of the globe, but the animated language of the time was, "It is better to die freemen than to live slaves." Though the justice of their cause, and the inspiration of liberty gave, in the opinion of disinterested judges, a superiority to the writings of Americans, yet in the latter mode of conducting their opposition, the candid among themselves acknowledged an inferiority. Their form of government was deficient in that decision, dispatch, and coercion, which are necessary in military operations.

In the year 1775, a martial spirit pervaded all ranks of men in the Colonies. They believed their liberties to be in danger,

were generally disposed to risque their lives for their establishment. Their ignorance of the military art prevented their weighing the chances of war with that exactness of calculation which, if indulged, might have damped their hopes. They conceived that there was little more to do than fight manfully for their country. They consoled themselves with the idea, that though their first attempt might be unsuccessful, their numbers would admit of a repetition of the experiment, till the invaders were finally exterminated. Not considering that in modern war the longest purse decides oftener than the longest sword; they feared not the wealth of Britain. They both expected and wished that the whole dispute would be speedily settled in a few decisive engagements. Elevated with the love of liberty, buoyed above the fear of consequences, by an ardent military enthusiasm, unabated by calculations about the extent, duration or probable issue of the war, the people of America seconded the voice of their rulers, in an appeal to Heaven for the vindication of their rights. At the time the Colonies adopted these spirited resolutions, they possessed not a single ship of war, nor so much as an armed vessel of any kind. It had often been suggested, that their seaport towns lay at the mercy of the navy of Great-Britain; this was both known and believed, but disregarded. The love of property was absorbed in the love of liberty. The animated votaries of the equal rights of human nature, consoled themselves with the idea, that though their whole sea coast should be laid in ashes, they could retire to the western wilderness, and enjoy the luxury of being free: on this occasion it was observed in Congress by Christopher Gadsden, one of the South Carolina delegates, "Our houses being constructed of brick, stone, and wood, though destroyed may be rebuilt; but liberty once gone is lost for ever."

The sober discretion of the present age will more readily censure than admire, but can more easily admire than imitate the fervid zeal of the patriots of 1775, who in idea sacrificed property in the cause of liberty, with the ease that they now sacrifice almost every other consideration for the acquisition of property.

The Revenues of Britain were immense, and her people were habituated to the payment of large sums, in every form which contributions to government have assumed; but the American Colonies possessed neither money nor funds, nor were their people accustomed to taxes equal to the exigences of war. The contest having begun about taxation, to have raised money by taxes for carrying it on would have been impolitic. The temper of the times precluded the necessity of attempting the dangerous

were very few in the Colonies who understood the business of providing for an army, and still fewer who had experience to direct its operations. The disposition of stores of fire-arms, and the most improved mode of drawing supplies, were subjects with which scarce any of the tents were acquainted. Arms and ammunition were woefully deficient; and though the country abounded in materials of which they are manufactured, yet there was time not art enough to supply an army with the ~~man~~ force. The country was destitute both of fortifications and gunpowder. A multitude of many discouragements there were pressing circumstances. The war could not be carried Great-Britain, but to a great disadvantage, and at an expense. It was easy for Ministers at St. James's to plagues, but hard was the fate of the officer from whom attention of them in the woods of America was expected country was so extensive, and abounded so much with that by exulting and retreating, the Americans, though could not conquer, yet might save themselves from being exterminated. The authors of the acts of parliament for raising troops in the Colonies were most excellent recruiting officers the Congress. They imposed a necessity on thousands to soldiers. All other business being suspended, the whole resources of the country were applied in supporting an army. I

such motives supplied the place of discipline, and inspired a confidence and military ardour which overleaped all difficulties.

Resistance being resolved upon by the Americans—the pulpit—the press—the bench, and the bar, severally laboured to unite and encourage them. The clergy of New-England were a numerous, learned, and respectable body, who had a great ascendancy over the minds of their hearers. They connected religion and patriotism, and in their sermons and prayers represented the cause of America as the cause of Heaven. The synod of New-York and Philadelphia also sent forth a pastoral letter, which was publicly read in their churches. This earnestly recommended, such sentiments and conduct as were suitable to their situation. Writers and printers followed in the rear of the preachers, and next to them held the greatest hand in animating their countrymen. Gentlemen of the bench and of the bar denied the charge of rebellion, and justified the resistance of the Colonists. A distinction founded on law between the king and his ministry was introduced: the former, it was contended, could do no wrong. The crime of treason was charged on the latter, for using the royal name to varnish their own unconstitutional measures.—The phrase of a ministerial war became common, and was used as a medium for reconciling resistance with allegiance.

Cooper with the resolutions for organizing an army, was one, appointing the 20th day of July, 1775, a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer to Almighty God, “to bless their righteous Sovereign King George, and to inspire him with wisdom to discern and pursue the true interest of his subjects; and that the British nation might be influenced to regard the things that belonged to her peace, before they were hid from her eyes—that the Colonies might be ever under the care and protection of a kind Providence, and be prospered in all their interests—that America might soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded rights, and a reconciliation with the Parent State on terms constitutional and honourable to both.” The forces which had been collected in Massachusetts, were stationed in convenient places for guarding the country from further excursions of the regulars from Boston. Breastworks were also erected in different places for the same purpose. While both parties were attempting to carry off stock from the several islands, with which the bay of Boston is agreeably diversified, sundry skirmishes took place. These were of real service to the Americans. They habituated them to danger, and perhaps much of the courage of old soldiers, is derived from an experimental conviction that the

him, in the King's name, to all who should forthwith
submit, and return to their respective countries as a
free people, "declaring that it was the sense of the
"General Assembly of the United Colonies, and of the
"British Army, that no man should be taken prisoner
other than that of a soldier or merchant." He also pro-
claimed that neither the persons named and excepted,
all their subjects, all their lands and correspondence, be
declared guilty of treason and rebellion, and treated as
such. By this proclamation it was also declared, "that all
of justice were from mankind, and that all take place
of course of justice should be executed." It was
that this proclamation was a promise to hostilities, and
it was accordingly made by the Americans. A col-
onel, known by the name of Bunker Hill, just at the
of the peninsula of Charlestown, was stationed to
watch it as a matter of great consequence to en-
taining parties. Orders were therefore, June 16,
a proclamation, that a detachment of a thou-
sand men, upon the heights. By some mistake
Hill, high and large like the other, but situated near
was marked out for the entrenchments, instead of
Hill. The provincials proceeded to Breed's Hill, and
with so much diligence, that between midnight and

As this eminence overlooked Boston, General Gage thought it necessary to drive the provincials from it. About noon, therefore, he detached Major General Howe, and Brigadier General Pigot, with the flower of the army, consisting of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers, and ten of light infantry with a proportion of field artillery, to effect this business. These troops landed at Moreton's Point, and, June 17, formed after landing, but remained in that position till they were reinforced by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces, and a battalion of marines, making in the whole near three thousand men. While the troops who first landed were waiting for this re-inforcement, the provincials, for their farther security, pulled up some adjoining posts and rail fences, and set them down in two parallel lines at a small distance from each other, and filled the space between with hay, which having been lately mowed, remained on the adjacent ground.

The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced slowly, to give their artillery time to demolish the American works. While the British were advancing to the attack, they received orders to burn Charlestown. This was not done, because they were fired upon from the houses in that town, but from the military policy of depriving enemies of a cover in their approaches. In a short time this ancient town, consisting of about five hundred buildings, chiefly of wood, was in one great blaze. The lofty steeple of the meeting-house formed a pyramid of fire above the rest, and struck the astonished eyes of numerous beholders with a magnificent but awful spectacle. In Boston, the heights of every kind were covered with the citizens, and such of the king's troops as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country which afforded a safe and distinct view, were occupied by the inhabitants of the country.

Thousands, both within and without Boston, were anxious spectators of the bloody scene. The honour of British troops ran high in the breasts of many, while others, with a keener sensibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country. The British moved on but slowly, which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim. The latter, in general, reserved themselves till their adversaries were within ten or twelve rods, but then began a furious discharge of small arms. The stream of the American fire was so incessant, and did so great execution, that the king's troops retreated in disorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them, and pushed them forward with their swords, but they returned to the attack with great

reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire till their adversaries were near, and then put them a second time to flight. General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and were at last, successful, though the soldiers discovered some aversion to going on. By this time the powder of the Americans began so far to fail, that they were not able to keep up the same brisk fire as before. The British also brought some cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breastwork from end to end. The fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery was redoubled—the soldiers in the rear were goaded on by their officers. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances a retreat from it was ordered, but the provincials delayed, and made resistance with their doubled muskets as if they had been clubs, so long that the king's troops, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt before it was given up to them.

While these operations were going on at the breastwork and redoubt, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the Americans in flank. Though they exhibited the most intrepid courage, they met with an opposition which called for many reinforcements. The provincials held on like lions, and fought till their adversaries were near, and then put them to flight. The light infantry, with their ammunition, were obliged to retire in great confusion, as we are told, with their arms. The king's troops were kept up on both sides with great exertions. The great exertions of the King's troops and the cowardice of the Americans to retreat, till they entered the town, made them leave the Hill. Thus, when begun, expelled them from the town, for it could not be entered but by marching over Clark's Neck, every part of which was held by the fort of the Glasgow men of war, and of two floating batteries. The provincials were kept up to Clark's Neck, prevented from disembarking, and from interfering from saving the countrymen who were being killed. But the few who fled on the shore, over the bare ground, perceived that the apprehensions of the provincial officers were concerned passing over to succor the king's army, were without any solid foundation.

The number of Americans engaged amounted only to one thousand five hundred. It was recommended that the conquerors would push the advantage still farther, and march immediately to American headquarters at Cambridge, but they advanced no farther than Bunker Hill, there they threw up works for their own security. The general called it the Battle of Prospect

kill in front of them. Both were guarding against an attack, and both were in a bad condition to receive one. The loss of the peninsula depressed the spirits of the Americans, and their great loss of men produced the same effect on the British. There have been few battles in modern wars, in which, all circumstances considered, there was a greater destruction of men than in this short engagement. The loss of the British, as acknowledged by General Gage, amounted to one thousand and fifty-four. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and seventy more were wounded. The battle of Quebec in 1759, which gave Great-Britain the Province of Canada, was not so destructive to British officers as this affair of a slight entrenchment, the work only of a few hours. That the officers suffered so much, must be imputed to their being aimed at. None of the provincials in this engagement were riflemen, but they were all good marksmen. The whole of their previous military knowledge had been derived from hunting, and the ordinary amusements of sportsmen. The dexterity which by long habit they had acquired in hitting beasts, birds, and marks, was fatally applied to the destruction of British officers. From their fall much confusion was expected; they were therefore particularly singled out. Most of those who were near the person of General Howe were either killed or wounded, but the General, though he greatly exposed himself, was unhurt. The light infantry and grenadiers lost three-fourths of their men. Of one company not more than five, and of another, not more than fourteen escaped. The unexpected resistance of the Americans was such as wiped away the reproaches of cowardice, which had been cast on them by their enemies in Britain. The spirited conduct of the British officers merited and obtained great applause, but the provincials were justly entitled to a large portion of the same, for having made the utmost exertions of their adversaries necessary to dislodge them from lines, which were the work only of a single night. The Americans lost five pieces of cannon. Their killed amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine. Their wounded and missing to three hundred and fourteen. Thirty of the former fell into the hands of the conquerors. They particularly regretted the death of General Warren. To the purest patriotism and most undaunted bravery, he added the virtues of domestic life, the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesman. Nothing but a regard to the liberty of his country induced him to expose the meannesses of Government. He aimed not at a separation from, but a coalition with the Mother Country. He took an active part in defence of his country, not that he might be applauded and rewarded for his patriotic

spirit, but because he was, in the best sense of the word, a real patriot. Having no interested or personal views to answer, the friends of liberty confided in his integrity. The soundness of his judgment, and his abilities as a public speaker, enabled him to make a distinguished figure in public councils, but his integrity and active zeal induced his countrymen to place him in the military line. Within four days after he was appointed a Major General, he fell a noble martyr to a cause which he had espoused from the purest principles. Like Hampden he lived and like Hampden he died, universally beloved and universally regretted. His many virtues were celebrated in an elegant eulogium written by Dr. Rush, in language equal to the illustrious subject. The burning of Charlestown, though a place of great trade, did not discourage the provincials. It excited resentment and execration, but not any disposition to submit. Such was the high-toned state of the public mind, and to great the indifference for property, when put in competition with liberty, that military conflagrations, though they distressed and impoverished, had no tendency to subdue the Colonists. They might answer in the old world, but were not calculated for the new, where the war was undertaken, not for a change of masters, but for securing essential rights. The action at Breed's Hill, or Bunker's Hill, as it has been commonly called, produced many and very important consequences. It taught the British to much respect for Americans intrenched behind works, that their subsequent operations were retarded with a caution that wasted away a whole campaign to very little purpose. It added to the confidence the Americans began to have in their own abilities; but inferences, very injurious to the future interests of America, were drawn from the good conduct of the new troops on that memorable day. It inspired some of the leading members of Congress with such high ideas of what might be done by militia, or men engaged for a short term of enlistment, that it was long before they assented to the establishment of a permanent army. Not distinguishing the continued exertions of an army through a series of years, from the gallant efforts of yeomanry of the country, led directly to action, they were slow in admitting the necessity of permanent troops. They conceived the country might be defended by the occasional exertions of her sons, without the expense and danger of an army engaged for the war. In the progress of hostilities, as will appear in the sequel, the militia lost much of their fire and air, while leading men in the councils of America, trusting to its continuance, neglected the proper means of recruiting for a series of years. From the want of perseverance in the militia, and the want of a disciplined standing army, the

for which arms were at first taken up, was more than once at the brink of destruction.

In other places the same determined spirit of resistance appeared in part of the Americans. Lord North's conciliatory scheme was utterly rejected by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New-York, and afterwards in every other colony. The commencement of hostilities at Lexington determined the colony of New-York, which had hitherto continued to waver, to unite with the others, and as the situation of New-York renders it unable to resist an attack from the sea, it was resolved, before the arrival of a British fleet, to secure the military stores, send off the women and children, and to set fire to the city if it was still found incapable of defence. The exportation of provisions was everywhere prohibited, particularly to the British fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or to such colonies of America as should adhere to British interest. Congress resolved on the establishment of a paper currency, and of a large paper currency in order to support it. In the land northern colonies, Colonels Easton and Ethan Allen, without receiving any orders from Congress, or communicating their design to any body, with a party of only two hundred and twenty men, surprised the forts of Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and Fort Mifflin, that form a communication betwixt the Colonies and Canada.

On this occasion two hundred pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Americans, besides mortars, and a large quantity of military stores, together with two armed vessels, and materials for the construction of others.

After the battle of Bunker's Hill, the provincials erected fortifications on the heights which commanded Charlestown, and threatened the rest in such a manner that there was no hope of driving them from thence, at the same time that their activity and success astonished the British officers, who had been accustomed to entertain too mean an opinion of their courage.

The troops, thus shut up in Boston, were soon reduced to distress.

Their necessities obliged them to attempt the carrying off of American cattle on the islands before Boston, which produced frequent skirmishes; but the provincials, better acquainted with the navigation of these shores, landed on the islands, destroyed or carried off whatever was of any use, burned the light-house at the entrance of the harbour, and took prisoners the men sent to repair it, as well as a party of marines who defended them. Thus the garrison were reduced to the necessity of sending out armed vessels to make prizes indiscriminately of what came in their way, and of landing in different places to procure food for subsistence as well as they could.

The Congress, in the mean time, continued to act with the vigour which its constituents had expected. Articles of confederation and perpetual union were drawn up and solemnly agreed upon, by which they bound themselves.

After the action of Bunker's Hill, however, when the power of Great-Britain appeared less formidable in the eyes of America than before, Congress proceeded formally to justify their proceedings in a declaration drawn up in terms more expressive, and well calculated to excite attention.

"Were it possible," said they, "for men who exercise their reason, to believe that the divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in and unbounded power over others, marked out by His infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive; the inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great-Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority over them had been granted to that body; but a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end.

"The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desisting of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to law, truth, or right; have at length deserting tact, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purposes of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice in the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations to the rest of the world to make known the justice of our cause."

After taking notice of the manner in which their ancestors left Britain, the happiness attending the mutual friendly commerce between that country and her Colonies, and the remarkable success of the war, they proceed as follows: "The new ministers, finding the bravos of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still continuing, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

“ These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of their colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honorable manner by his Majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the intended innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project: and assuming a new power over them, has in the course of eleven years given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt of the effects of acquiescence under it.

“ They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty, and vice-admiralty, beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable rights of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of our colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature; and solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the murderers of colonists from legal trial, and in effect from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great-Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of a profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

“ But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it was declared, that parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatever. What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single person who assumes it is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes from which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as it increases ours.

“ We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually beseeched the throne as supplicants; we remonstrated; we remonstrated with vain

ment in the most mild and decent language; but administration sensible that we should regard these measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them.

"We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off all commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects as our last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation on earth would supplant our attachment to liberty: this we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy, but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies!

"The Lords and Commons, in their address in the month of February, said, that a rebellion at that time actually existed in the province of Massachusetts Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature. Soon after the commercial intercourse of whole colonies with foreign countries was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage."

"Fruitless were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to fling, or even to mitigate, the heedless fury, with which these accumulated outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the intercession of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favour."

After having remonstrated parliament, General Gage, and the British government in general, they proceeded thus: "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to tyranny or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and the sacred right forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we have inherited from our gallant ancestors, and which our inviolable duty we have a right to receive from us. Our cause is just, our internal resources are great, and our confidence is unshakably attainable. To glory or conquest, we exhibit to mankind the example of a people attacked by unprovoked violence, and yet unprovokedly defending their privileges and liberties."

ditions than servitude or death. In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property acquired by the honest industry of our forefathers and our own, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms ; we shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of our aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed—and not before.”

These are some of the most striking passages in the declaration of congress on taking up arms against Great-Britain, and dated July 6th, 1775. The determined spirit which it shews, ought to have convinced England, that the conquest of America was an event scarce ever to be expected. In every other respect an equal spirit was shewn ; and the rulers of the British nation had the mortification to see those whom they styled rebels and traitors, succeed in negociations in which they themselves were utterly foiled. In the passing of the Quebec bill, ministry had flattered themselves that the Canadians would be so much attached to them, on account of restoring the French laws, that they would very readily join in any attempt against the colonists who had reprobated that bill in such strong terms : but in this, as in every thing else indeed, they found themselves mistaken. The Canadians having been subject to Britain for a period of fifteen years, and being thus rendered sensible of the superior advantages of British government, received the bill itself with evident marks of disapprobation ; nay, reprobated it as tyrannical and oppressive. A scheme had been formed for General Carleton, governor of the province, to raise an army of Canadians wherewith to act against the Americans ; and so sanguine were the hopes of administration in this respect, that they had sent twenty thousand stand of arms, and a great quantity of military stores, to Quebec for the purpose. But the people, though they did not join the Americans, yet were found immoveable in their purpose to stand neuter. Application was made to the bishop ; but he declined to interpolate his influence, as contrary to the rules of the Popish clergy : so that the utmost efforts of government in this province were found to answer little or no purpose.

The British administration next tried to engage the Indians in their cause. But though agents were dispersed among them with large presents to the chiefs, they universally replied, that they did not understand the nature of the quarrel, nor could they distinguish whether those who dwelt in America or on the other side of the ocean were in fault : but they were surprized to see Englishmen ask their assistance against one another ; and advised them to be reconciled, and not to think of shedding the blood of

their brethren. To the representations of Congress they paid more respect. They set forth, that the English on the other side of the ocean had taken up arms to enslave, not only their countrymen in America, but the Indians also; and if the latter should enable them to overcome the colonists, they themselves would be reduced to a state of slavery also. By arguments of this kind the savages were engaged to remain neutral; and thus the colonies were freed from a most dangerous enemy. On this occasion the Congress thought proper to hold a solemn conference with the different tribes of Indians. The speech made by them on the occasion is curious, but too long to be fully inserted. The following is a specimen of the European mode of address to these people:

"Brothers, Sachems, and Warriors!

"We, the delegates from the Twelve United Provinces, sitting in general Congress at Philadelphia, sent their talk to our brothers,

"Brothers and Friends now attend!

"When our fathers crossed the great water, and came over to this land, the King of England gave them a law, advising them that they and their children should be his children, and that if they would leave their native country, and make settlements, and live here, and buy and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant-chain, and enjoy peace. And it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods, and possessions, which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them and their children, and be their childrens for ever, and at their sole disposal.

"Brothers and Friends open a kind ear!

"We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of King George and the inhabitants and colonies of America.

"Many of his counsellors have persuaded him to break the covenant chain, and not to send us any more good talks. They have prevailed upon him to enter into a covenant against us; and have torn at under, and cast behind their backs, the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into, and took strong hold of. They now tell us they will put their hands to a new covenant, without asking, as though it were their own; and that they will take from us our charters, or whatever we hold dear, which we live as our lives; and our possessions, our goods, and goods, whenever they please, without asking or leave. They tell us, that our vessels may go to that or this main or the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more; and in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbours.

others, we live on the same ground with you; the same our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the tree of peace with you: let us water its roots, and cherish its growth: till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall to the setting sun, and reach the skies. If any thing should ever fall out between us, the Twelve United States, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us ately seek measures for healing the breach. From the situation of our affairs, we judge it expedient to kindle a fire at Albany, where we may hear each other's voice, close our minds fully to one another."

Other remarkable transactions of this Congress were the refusal of the conciliatory proposal made by Lord North, which such sanguine expectations had been formed by the ministry; and appointing a generalissimo to command the armies, which were now very numerous. The person for this purpose was George Washington: a man so universally beloved, that he was raised to such an high station by the unanimous voice of Congress: and his subsequent conduct showed every way worthy of it. Horace Gates and Charles Lee, English officers of considerable reputation, were also chosen, the first an adjutant-general, the second a major-general. Arden Ward, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, were likewise selected as major-generals. Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thedon S. Johnson, and Nathaniel Green, were chosen brigadier-generals at the same time.

The Congress had now also the satisfaction to receive deputies from the colony of Georgia, expressing a desire to join the confederacy. They also gave for renouncing their allegiance to Britain but they also a bill of parliament towards the other colonies on oppressive; that though the obnoxious acts had not extended to them, they could view this only as an omission, of the forming little consequence of their colony: and resolved to support it rather to be a flight than a favour. At the same time they formed a petition to the King, similar to that of the other colonies, and which met with a similar success.

The success which had hitherto attended the Americans in all their measures, now emboldened them to think not only of defending themselves, but of being offensive against Britain. The conquest of Canada was then resolved on, and that one which was the first step to the taking of Crown point.

solved if possible, to penetrate that way into Canada, and reach Quebec during the winter, before the fleets and armies, which they were well assured would sail thither from Britain, should arrive. By order of Congress, therefore, three thousand men were put under the command of General Montgomery and Schuyler, with orders to proceed to Lake Champlain, from whence they were to be conveyed in flat-bottomed boats to the mouth of the river Sorel, a branch of the great river St. Laurence, and in which is situated a fort of the same name with the river. On the other hand, they were opposed by General Carleton, governor of Canada, a man of great activity and experience in war, who, with a very few troops, had hitherto been able to keep in awe the disaffected people of Canada, notwithstanding all the representations of the Colonists. He had now augmented his army by a considerable number of Indians, and promised even in his present situation to make a very formidable resistance.

As soon as General Montgomery arrived at Crown Point, he received information that several armed vessels were stationed at St. John's, a strong fort on the Sorel, with a view to prevent his crossing the lake, on which he took possession of the island which commands the mouth of the Sorel, and by which he could prevent them from entering the lake. In conjunction with General Schuyler, he next proceeded to St. John's but finding that place too strong, he landed on a part of the country considerably distant and full of woods and swamps. From thence, however, they were driven by a party of Indians whom General Carleton had employed.

The provincial army was now obliged to retreat to the island of which they had at first taken possession; where General Schuyler being taken ill, Montgomery was left to command alone. His first step was to gain over the Indians whom General Carleton had employed, and this he in a great measure accomplished; after which, on receiving the full number of troops appointed for his expedition, he determined to lay siege to St. John's. In this he was facilitated by the reduction of Chamblee, a small fort in its neighbourhood, where he found a large supply of powder. An attempt was made by General Carleton to relieve the place; for which purpose he with great pains collected about one thousand Canadians, while Colonel Maclean proposed to raise a regiment of the Highlanders who had emigrated from their own country to America.

But while General Carleton was on his march with these recruits, he was attacked by a superior force of provincials, and utterly defeated; which being made known to another body of Canadians who had joined Colonel Maclean, they abandoned

him without striking a blow, and he was obliged to retreat to Quebec.

The defeat of General Carleton was a sufficient recompence to the Americans for that of Colonel Ethan Allen, which had happened some time before. The success which had attended this gentleman against Crown Point and Ticonderago had emboldened him to make a similar attempt on Montreal; but being attacked by the militia of the place, supported by a detachment of regulars, he was entirely defeated and taken prisoner.

As the defeat of General Carleton and the desertion of Maclean's forces left no room for the garrison of St. John's to hope for any relief, they now consented to surrender themselves prisoners of war; but were in other respects treated with great humanity. They were in number five hundred regulars and two hundred Canadians, among whom were many of the French nobility, who had been very active in promoting the cause of Britain, among their countrymen.

General Montgomery next took measures to prevent the British shipping from passing down the river from Montreal to Quebec. This he accomplished so effectually, that the whole were taken. The town itself was obliged to surrender at discretion; and it was with the utmost difficulty that General Carleton escaped in an open boat by the favour of a dark night.

No further obstacle now remained in the way of the Americans to the capital, except what arose from the nature of the country; and these indeed were very considerable. Nothing, however, could damp the ardour of the provincials. Notwithstanding it was now the middle of November, and the depth of winter was at hand, Colonel Arnold formed a design of penetrating through woods, morasses, and the most frightful solitudes, from New-England to Canada, by a nearer way than that which Montgomery had chosen; and this he accomplished in spite of every difficulty, to the astonishment of all who saw or heard of the attempt. This desperate march, however, cannot be looked upon as conducive to any good purpose. A third part of his men under another Colonel had abandoned him by the way, under pretence of want of provisions; the total want of artillery rendered his presence insignificant before a place strongly fortified; and the smallness of his army rendered it even doubtful whether he could have taken the town by surprise. The Canadians indeed were amazed at the exploit, and their inclination to revolt from Britain was somewhat augmented, but none of them as yet took up arms in behalf of America. The consternation into which the town of Quebec was thrown, proved detrimental rather than otherwise to the expedition; as it doubled the vigilance

even in a year so stormy as this, especially with-
tance only of a few mortars and field-pieces. After
continued through the month of December, General
ry, conscious that he could accomplish his end no other
by surprise, resolved to make an attempt on the last
year 1775. The method he took at this time was
best that human wisdom could devise. He advanced
day, in the midst of an heavy fall of snow, which
men from the sight of the enemy. Two real attacks
by himself and Colonel Arnold, at the same time that
attacks were made on two other places, thus to distract
them, and make them divide their forces. One of the
was made by the people of New-York, and the other
New-England, under Arnold. Their hopes of suc-
cess, however, were defeated by the signal for the at-
tack being blown off by a gun too soon. General Mif-
fins himself had the most dangerous place, being obliged
between the river and some high rocks on which the En-
emy stood, so that he was forced to make what haste he
could with the enemy. His fate, however, was not
Having forced the first barrier, a violent discharge
and grape-shot from the second killed him his prime
and the most of the party he commanded on which
remained immediately retired. Colonel Arnold's
party, however, succeeded in their attack, and the En-
emy's boats were destroyed.

accomplishment of their purpose, as General Arnold could now scarce number eight hundred effective men under his command. He did not, however, abandon the province, or even remove to a greater distance than three miles from Quebec; and here he still found means to annoy the garrison very considerably by intercepting their provisions. The Canadians, notwithstanding the bad success of the American arms, still continued friendly; and thus he was enabled to sustain the hardships of a winter encampment in that most severe climate. The Congress, far from passing any censure on him for his misfortune, created him a brigadier-general.

While hostilities were thus carried on with vigour in the north, the flame of contention was gradually extending itself in the south. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, was involved in disputes similar to those which had taken place in other colonies. These had proceeded so far that the assembly was dissolved; which in this province was attended with a consequence unknown to the rest. As Virginia contained a great number of slaves, it was necessary that a militia should be kept constantly on foot to keep them in awe. During the dissolution of the assembly the militia-law expired; and the people, after complaining of the danger they were in from the negroes, formed a convention, which enacted, that each county should raise a quota for the defence of the province. Dunmore, on this, removed the powder from Williamsburg; which created such discontent, that an immediate quarrel would probably have ensued, had not the merchants of the town undertaken to obtain satisfaction for the injury supposed to be done to the community. This tranquillity, however, was soon interrupted; the people, alarmed by a report that an armed party on their way from the man of war where the powder had been deposited, assembled in arms, and determined to oppose by force any farther removals. In some of the conferences which passed at this time, the Governor let fall some unguarded expressions, such as threatening them with setting up the royal standard, proclaiming liberty to the negroes, destroying the town of Williamsburg, &c. which were afterwards made public, and exaggerated in such a manner as greatly to increase the public ferment.

The people now held frequent assemblies. Some of them took up arms with a design to force the governor to restore the powder, and to take the public money into their own possession: but on their way to Williamsburg for this purpose, they were met by the receiver-general, who became security for the payment

the gunpowder, and the inhabitants promised to take care of the magazine and public revenue.

By this insurrection the governor was so much intimidated, that he sent his family on board a man of war. He himself, however, issued a proclamation, in which he declared the behaviour of the person who promoted the tumult treacherable, accused the people of disaffection, &c. On their part they were by no means deficient in reprimanding, and some letters of tag to Britain being about the same time discovered, consequences ensued extremely similar to those which had been occasioned by those of Mr. Hutchinson at Boston.

In this state of confusion the Governor thought it necessary to fortify his palace with artillery, and procure a party of militia to guard it. Lord North's conciliatory proposal arriving about the same time, he used his utmost endeavours to tack the people to comply with it. The arguments he used were such as must do him honour; and had not matters already gone so far, a pitch it is highly probable that some attention would have been paid to them. The view, he said, in which the colonies ought to behold this conciliatory proposal was no more than an earnest admission from Great-Britain to relieve her wants: that the use it could be made had been used in the mode of application, in determining what had been fixed, &c. it was thought most worthy of British generosity to take what they thought could be conveniently spared, and likewise to leave the mode of applying it to themselves, &c. But the clamour and dissatisfaction were now so universal, that nothing else could be attended to. The Governor had called an assembly for the purpose of laying this conciliatory proposal before them: but it had been little attended to. The assembly began their session by inquiries into the conduct of the magazine. It had been broken into by some of the women, for which reason spring guns had been placed round by the Governor, when discharged themselves upon the owners of their offence. These circumstances, with others of a similar kind, raised such a violent uproar, that as soon as the proclamation of the 10th of the 10th was over, the Governor retired on board a man of war, advising the assembly that he durst no longer submit himself to them. This produced a long course of disputes, which continued till the return of the Governor to the colony. In the meantime, the women, even to give a scandal to the Governor, continued to parade without him, and through the streets, and the people were so much alarmed, that they were obliged to leave the colony. The Governor, however, did not return till the 10th of the 10th.

correspondence containing the least appearance of friendship was discontinued.

Lord Dunmore, thus deprived of his government, attempted to reduce by force those whom he could no longer govern. Some of the most strenuous adherents to the British cause, whom their zeal had rendered obnoxious at home, now repaired to him. He was also joined by numbers of black slaves. With these, and the assistance of the British shipping, he was for some time enabled to carry on a kind of predatory war, sufficient to hurt and exasperate, but not to subdue. After some inconsiderable attempts on land, proclaiming liberty to the slaves, and setting up the royal standard, he took up his residence at Norfolk, a maritime town of some consequence, where the people were better affected to Britain than in most other places. A considerable force, however, was collected against him; and the natural impetuosity of his temper prompting him to act against them with more courage than caution, he was entirely defeated, and obliged to retire to his shipping, which was now crowded by the number of those who had incurred the resentment of the Provincials.

In the mean time a scheme of the utmost magnitude and importance was formed by one Mr. Conolly, a Pennsylvanian, of an intrepid and aspiring disposition, and attached to the cause of Britain. The first step of this plan was to enter into a league with the Ohio Indians. This he communicated to Lord Dunmore, and it received his approbation: Upon which Conolly set out, and actually succeeded in his design. On his return he was dispatched to General Gage, from whom he received a colonel's commission, and set out in order to accomplish the remainder of his scheme. The plan in general was, that he should return to the Ohio, where, by the assistance of the British and Indians in these parts, he was to penetrate through the back settlements into Virginia, and join Lord Dunmore at Alexandria. But by an accident very naturally to be expected, he was discovered, taken prisoner, and thrown into a dungeon.

In the southern colonies of Carolina the governors were expelled and obliged to take refuge on board of men of war, as Lord Dunmore had been and Mr. Martin, governor of North-Carolina, on a charge of attempting to raise the back-settlers, consisting chiefly of Scots Highlanders, against the colony. Having secured themselves against any attempts from these enemies, however, they proceeded to regulate their internal concerns in the same manner as the rest of the colonies: and by the end of the year 1775, Britain beheld the whole of America united against her in the most determined opposition. Her vast

prohibited any person from leaving the place under penalty of execution. Thus matters continued till the month of September 1776, when the town was evacuated.

On the 2d of that month, General Washington ordered a battery on the west side of the town, from whence it was to be fired with a heavy fire of cannon at the same time; and three days after it was attacked by another battery from the eastern side. This terrible attack continued for fourteen days without intermission, when General Howe, finding the place no longer tenable, determined if possible to drive the enemy from their works. Preparations were therefore made for a most vigorous attack on a hill called Dorchester Neck, which the Americans had fortified in such a manner as would in all probability have rendered the enterprise next to desperate. No difficulties, however, were sufficient to daunt the spirit of the general; and every thing was in readiness, when a storm prevented this intended exertion. Next day, upon a more close inspection of the works they were to attack, it was thought advisable to desist from the enterprise altogether. The fortifications were strong, and extremely well provided with artillery; and other implements of destruction, upwards of one hundred heavy heads of stones were provided to roll down upon them as they came up: which, as the ascent was extremely steep, would have done prodigious execution.

not prevent a number of valuable ships from falling into the hands of the enemy. A considerable quantity of cannon and ammunition had also been left at Bunker's Hill and Boston Neck; and in the town, an immense variety of goods, principally woollen and linen, of which the provincials stood very much in need. The estates of those who fled to Halifax were confiscated; as also those who were attached to government, and had remained in the town. As an attack was expected as soon as the British forces should arrive, every method was employed to render the fortifications, already very strong, impregnable. For this purpose some foreign engineers were employed, who had before arrived at Boston: and so eager were people of all ranks to accomplish this business, that every able-bodied man in the place, without distinction of rank set apart two days in the week, to complete it the sooner.

The Americans about this time began to be influenced by new views. The military arrangements of the preceding year—their unexpected union, and prevailing enthusiasm, expanded the minds of their leaders, and elevated the sentiments of the great body of their people. Decisive measures which would have been lately reprobated, now met with approbation.

The favourers of subordination under the former constitution, urged the advantages of a supreme head, to controul the disputes of interfering colonies, and also the benefits which flowed from union; and that independence was untried ground, and should not be entered upon but in the last extremity.

They flattered themselves that Great Britain was so fully convinced of the determined spirit of America, that if the present controversy was compromised, she would not at any future period resume an injurious exercise of her supremacy. They were therefore for proceeding no farther than to defend themselves in the character of subjects, trusting that ere long the present hostile measures would be relinquished, and the harmony of the two countries re-established. The favourers of this system were embarrassed, and all their arguments weakened by the perseverance of Great-Britain in her schemes of coercion. A probable hope of a speedy repeal of a few acts of Parliament would have greatly increased the number of those who were advocates for reconciliation. But the certainty of intelligence to the contrary gave additional force to the arguments of the opposite party. Though new weight was daily thrown into the scale, in which the advantages of independence were weighed, yet it did not preponderate till about that time in 1776, when intelligence reached the Colonists of the act of Parliament for expelling them from the Kingdom, and for assisting in effecting their return.

"that protection and allegiance were reciprocal, and that the refusal of the first was a legal ground of justification for withholding the last." They considered themselves to be thereby discharged from their allegiance, and that to declare themselves independent was no more, than to announce to the world the political state in which Great Britain had placed them. This proved that the Colonists might constitutionally declare themselves independent, but the hiring of foreign troops to make war upon them, demonstrated the necessity of their doing it immediately. They reasoned that if Great Britain called in the aid of strangers to crush them, they must seek similar relief for their own preservation. But they well knew this could not be expected, while they were in arms against their acknowledged Sovereign. They had therefore only a choice of difficulties, and must either seek foreign aid as independent states, or continue in the awkward and hazardous situation of subjects, carrying on war from their own resources, both against the King, and such mercenaries as he chose to employ for their subjugation. Necessity, not choice, forced them on the decision. Submission, without obtaining a redress of their grievances, was advocated by none who possessed the public confidence. Some of the popular leaders may have secretly wished for independence from the beginning of the controversy, but their number was small and their sentiments were not generally known.

While the public mind was balancing on this eventful subject, several writers placed the advantages of independence in various points of view. Among these Thomas Paine in a pamphlet, under the signature of *Common Sense*, held the most distinguished rank. The style, manner, and language of this performance was calculated to interest the passions, and to rouse all the active powers of human nature. With a view of operating on the sentiments of a religious people, Scripture was pressed into his service, and the powers, and even the name of a king was rendered odious in the eyes of the numerous Colonists who had read and studied the history of the Jews, as recorded in the Old Testament. The folly of that people in revolting from a government, instituted by Heaven itself, and the oppressions to which they were subjected in consequence of their lust after kings to rule over them, afforded an excellent handle for pre-possessing the Colonists in favour of republican institutions, and prejudicing them against kingly government. Hereditary succession was turned into ridicule. The absurdity of subjecting a great continent to a small island on the other side of the globe, was represented in such striking language, as to interest the honour and pride of the Colonists in renouncing the government of Great Britain. The necessity, the

, and practicability of independence were forcibly decided. Nothing could be better timed than this performance; addressed to freemen, who had just received convincing that Great-Britain had thrown them out of her protection, engaged foreign mercenaries to make war upon them, and designed to compel their unconditional submission to her power. It found the Colonists most thoroughly alarmed for their liberties, and disposed to do and suffer any thing that would secure their establishment. In union with the feelings and wishes of the people, it produced surprising effects. Many were convinced, and were led to approve and long for separation from the Mother Country. Though that measure, a short time before, was not only foreign from their wishes, but the object of their abhorrence, the current suddenly became so strong in its favour, that it bore down all opposition. The multi-tude hurried down the stream, but some worthy men could not so easily reconcile themselves to the idea of an eternal separation from a country to which they had been long bound by the most sacred ties. They saw the sword drawn, but could not tell when it would be sheathed; they feared that the dispersed individuals of the several Colonies would not be brought to coalesce into an efficient government, and that after much anarchy, some usurper would grasp their liberties, and confirm himself on a throne of despotism. They doubted the perseverance of their friends in effecting their independence, and were also apprehensive that in case of success, their future condition would be worse than their past. Some respectable individuals whose consciences were pure, but whose souls were not of that firm texture which revolutions require, shrunk back from the bold measures proposed by their more adventurous countrymen. To submit without an appeal to Heaven, though secretly wished for by some, was not the avowed sentiment of any; but to persevere in fighting and resisting, was the system of some misguided honest men. Favourers of this opinion were generally wanting in that energy which grasps at great objects, and influenced by that timidity which does its work by halves. Most of them dreaded the power of Britain. A few, on the score of interest, or an unwillingness of favour from the royal government, refused to concur with the majority of the natives of the Parent State, and the Colonies, had not yet exchanged views together with a few others, constituted Congress; but the great bulk of the spirited and independent part of the Colonies, with unanimity into the pro-

The Americans, thus exasperated to the utmost by the proceedings of parliament, now formally renounced all connection with Britain, and declared themselves independent. This celebrated declaration was published on the 4th of July, 1776, and is as follows:

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great-Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

" He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

" He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

" He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

" He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

" He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

" He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

" He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

" He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

" He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

" He has effected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

" He has endeavored with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unauthorized by our laws; claiming a right to the exercise of power over us.

" For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us,

" For compelling them to accept of a trial, from a distant jurisdiction, for crimes committed within these States,

" For depriving us in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury,

" For suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, when it shall be necessary, in any case, to prevent the escape of any person,

" For imposing fines and forfeitures, imprisonment, and other cruel and unusual punishments, upon persons in our custody,

" For depriving us in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury,

" For suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, when it shall be necessary, in any case, to prevent the escape of any person,

" For imposing fines and forfeitures, imprisonment, and other cruel and unusual punishments, upon persons in our custody,

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" For imposing fines and forfeitures, imprisonment, and other cruel and unusual punishments, upon persons in our custody,

" For depriving us in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury,

invented...

" He has abdicated government...

his protection, and waging war against us.

" He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coast towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

" He is, at this time, transporting large armies of canaries to complete the works of death, desolation, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and per paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally a head of a civilized nation.

" He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken a high seas, to bear arms against their country, to executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fit by their hands,

" He has excited domestic insurrections amongst u deavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our front cial Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, tingushed destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditio

" In every stage of these oppressions we have p redress in the most humble terms; our repeated j been answered only by repeated injury. A princ tactor is thus marked by every act which may dehr unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

" Nor have we been wanting to our British br have warned them from time to time of attempts r byllature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction c

Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare. That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great-Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

Previous to this a circular letter had been sent through each colony, stating the reasons for it; and such was the animosity now every where prevailing against Great-Britain, that it met with universal approbation, except in the province of Maryland alone. It was not long, however, before the people of that colony, finding themselves left in a very dangerous minority, thought proper to accede to the measures of the rest. The manifesto itself was much in the usual style, stating a long list of grievances, for which redress had been often applied for in vain; and for these reasons they determined on a final separation; to hold the people of Britain as the rest of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace friends."

After thus publicly throwing off all allegiance and hope of reconciliation, the colonists soon found that an exertion of all their strength was required in order to support their pretensions. Their arms, indeed, had not, during this season, been attended with success in Canada. Reinforcements had been promised to Colonel Arnold, who still continued the blockade of Quebec; but they did not arrive in time to second his operations. Being sensible, however, that he must either desist from the enterprise or finish it successfully, he recommenced in form; attempting to burn the shipping, and even to storm the town itself. They were unsuccessful, however, by reason of the smallness of their number, though they succeeded so far as to burn a number of houses in the suburbs; and the garrison were obliged to pull down the remainder, in order to prevent the fire from spreading.

As the provincials, though unable to recover the town, kept the garrison in continual alarms, and in a very disagreeable situation, some of the nobility collected themselves, into the command of one Mr. Burgoyne, in order to march; but they were met on their march

tirely defeated, that they were never afterwards able to attempt any thing. The Americans, however, had but little reason to plume themselves on this success. Their want of artillery at last convinced them, that it was impracticable in their situation to reduce a place so strongly fortified: the small-pox at the same time made its appearance in their camp, and carried off great numbers, intimidating the rest to such a degree, that they deserted in crowds. To add to their misfortunes, the British reinforcements unexpectedly appeared, and the ships made their way through the ice with such celerity, that the one part of their army was separated from the other; and General Carleton sallying out as soon as the reinforcement was landed, obliged them to fly with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them all their cannon and military stores; at the same time that their shipping was entirely captured by vessels sent up the river for that purpose. On this occasion the provincials fled with such precipitation that they could not be overtaken; so that none fell into the hands of the British excepting the sick and wounded. General Carleton now gave a signal instance of his humanity. Being well apprised that many of the provincials had not been able to accompany the rest in their retreat, and that they were concealed in woods, &c. in a very deplorable situation, he generously issued a proclamation, ordering proper persons to seek them out, and give them relief at the public expence; at the same time, lest, through fear of being made prisoners, they should refuse these offers of humanity, he promised, that, as soon as their situation enabled them, they should be at liberty to depart to their respective homes.

The British general, now freed from any danger of an attack, was soon enabled to act offensively against the provincials, by the arrival of the forces destined for that purpose from Britain. By these he was put at the head of twelve thousand regular troops, among whom were those of Brantwick. With this force he instantly set out to the Three Rivers, where he expected that Arnold would have made a stand; but he had fled to Sorel, a place one hundred and fifty miles distant from Quebec, where he was at last met by the reinforcements ordered by Congress. Here, though the preceding events were by no means calculated to inspire much military ardour, a very daring enterprise was undertaken; and this was to surprise the British troops posted here under Generals Frazer and Nesbit, of whom the former commanded those on land, the latter such as were on board of transports, and were but a little way distant. The enterprise was undoubtedly very hazardous, both on account of the strength of the parties against whom they were to act, and as the main body of the British forces were advanced within fifty miles of the place; besides

that a number of armed vessels and transports with troops lay between them and the Three Rivers. Two thousand chosen men, however, under General Thomson, engaged in this enterprise. Their success was by no means answerable to their spirit and valour. Though they passed the shipping without being observed, General Fraser had notice of their landing; and thus being prepared to receive them, they were soon thrown into disorder, at the same time that General Nesbit, having landed his forces, prepared to attack them in the rear. On this occasion some field pieces did prodigious execution, and a retreat was found to be unavoidable. General Nesbit, however, had got between them and their boats; so that they were obliged to take a circuit through a deep swamp, while they were closely pursued by both parties at the same time, who marched for some miles on each side of the swamp, till at last the miserable provincials were sheltered from further danger by a wood at the end of the swamp. Their General, however, was taken, with two hundred of his men.

By this disaster the provincials lost all hopes of accomplishing any thing in Canada. They demolished their works, and carried off their artillery with the utmost expedition. They were pursued however, by General Burgoyne; against whom it was expected that they would collect all their force, and made a resolute stand. But they were now too much dispirited by misfortune to make any further exertions of valour. On the 18th of June the British general arrived at Fort St. John's, which he found abandoned and burnt. Chamblée had shared the same fate, as well as all the vessels that were not capable of being dragged up against the current of the river. It was thought that they would have made some resistance at Nut Island, the entrance to Lake Champlain; but this also they had abandoned, and retreated across the lake to Crown Point, whither they could not be immediately followed. Thus was the province of Canada entirely evacuated by the Americans; whose loss in their retreat from Quebec was not calculated at less than one thousand men, of whom four hundred fell at once into the hands of the enemy at a place called the Cedars, about fifty miles above Montreal. General Sullivan, however, who conducted this retreat after the affair of General Thomson, was acknowledged to have had great merit in what he did, and received the thanks of Congress accordingly.

This bad success in the north, however, was somewhat compensated by what happened in the southern colonies.—We have formerly taken notice that Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, had been obliged to leave his province and take refuge on board a man of war. Notwithstanding this, he did not despair of reducing it again to obedience. For this purpose he applied

against the southern colonies. The Americans, in danger, dispatched immediately what forces they had the royalists, at the same time that they diligently selves to support them with suitable reinforcements present force was commanded by a General Moore bers were inferior to Macdonald; for which reason summoned him to join the king's standard under treated as a rebel. But Moore, being well provisioned, and conscious that nothing could be attempted returned the compliment, by acquainting Colton that if he and his party would lay down their arms an oath of fidelity to Congress, they should be treated but if they persisted in an undertaking for which they had not sufficient strength, they could not expect the severest treatment. In a few days General Moore at the head of eight thousand men, by reason of supplies which daily arrived from all parts. It amounted only to two thousand, and they were destitute, which prevented them from attacking the enemy had the advantage of numbers. They were now obliged to have recourse to a desperate exertion of valor of which they effected a retreat for eighty miles Creek, within sixteen miles of Wilmington. Co

the royalists could not attempt it. In this situation they were, **o**n the 27th of February, attacked by Moore, with his superior **a**rm~~y~~, and totally defeated with the loss of their general and **m**ost of their leaders, as well as the best and bravest of their **m**en.

Thus was the power of the Provincials established in North-Carolina. Nor were they less successful in the province of Virginia: where Lord Dunmore, having long continued an useless predatory war, was at last driven from every creek and road in **t**he province. The people he had on board were distressed to **t**he highest degree by confinement in small vessels. The heat of **t**he season, and the numbers crowded together, produced a pestilential fever, which made great havoc, especially among the **b**lacks. At last, finding themselves in the utmost hazard of perishing by famine as well as disease, they set fire to the least valuable of their vessels, reserving only about fifty for themselves, in **w**hich they bid a final adieu to Virginia, some sailing to Florida, **s**ome to Bermuda, and the rest to the West Indies.

In South Carolina the Provincials had a more formidable enemy to deal with. A squadron, whose object was the reduction of Charlestown, had been fitted out in December 1775; but by reason of unfavourable weather did not reach Cape Fear, in North-Carolina, till the month of May 1776; and here it met with further obstacles till the end of the month. Thus the Americans, always noted for their alertness in raising fortifications, had time to strengthen those of Charlestown in such a manner as rendered it extremely difficult to be attacked. The British squadron consisted of two fifty gun ships, four of thirty guns, two of twenty, an armed schooner, and bomb-ketch; all under the command of Sir Peter Parker. The land forces were commanded by Lord Cornwallis, with Generals Clinton and Vaughan. As they had yet no intelligence of the evacuation of Boston, General Howe dispatched a vessel to Cape Fear, with some instructions; but it was too late; and in the beginning of June the squadron anchored off Charlestown bar. Here they met with some difficulty in crossing, being obliged to take out the guns from the two large ships, which were, notwithstanding, several times in danger of sticking fast. The next obstacle was a strong fort on Sullivan's Island, six miles east from Charlestown; which though not completely finished, was very strong. However, the British generals resolved without hesitation to attack it; but though an attack was easy from the sea, it was very difficult to obtain a co-operation of the land forces. This was attempted by landing them on Long-Island, adjacent to Sullivan's Island on the east, from which it is separated by a narrow creek, said not to be above

began to throw shells into Fort Sullivan, and about two fifty gun ships and thirty gun frigates came up severe fire. Three other frigates were ordered to position between Charlesown and the fort, in order to cut off the communication with the batteries, and cut off the communication with the fort, but through the ignorance of the pilots they all ran aground though two of them were disentangled, they were totally unfit for service: the third was burnt, that fell into the hands of the enemy.

The attack was therefore confined to the five arm bomb-ketch, between whom and the fort a dreadful contest took place. The Bristol suffered excessively. The springs on her bows were shot away, she was for some time entirely exposed to fire. As the enemy poured in great quantities of shot she was twice in flames. The captain (Mr. Morris) received five wounds, was obliged to go below deck in his arm amputated. After undergoing this operation he returned to his place, where he received another wound, but refused to quit his station: at last he received a red-hot shot which instantly put an end to his life. Of all the seamen who stood on the quarter-deck of this vessel, only one escaped without a wound excepting Sir Peter Parker whose intrepidity and presence of mind on this occasion were very remarkable. The engagement lasted till darkness put an end to it.

enemy's works were found to be much stronger than they had been imagined, and the depth of water effectually prevented them from making any attempt. In this unsuccessful attack the killed and wounded on the part of the British amounted to about two hundred. The Bristol and Experiment were so much damaged, that it was thought they could not have been got over the bar; however, this was at last accomplished by a very great exertion of naval skill, to the surprize of the provincials, who had expected to make them both prizes. On the American side the loss was judged to have been very considerable, as most of their guns were dismounted, and reinforcements had poured into the fort during the whole time of the action.

This year also, the Americans, having so frequently made trial of their valour by land, became desirous of trying it by sea, and of forming a navy that might in some measure be able to protect their trade, and do essential hurt to the enemy. In the beginning of March commodore Hopkins was dispatched with five frigates to the Bahama Islands, where he made himself master of the ordnance and military stores; but the gunpowder, which had been the principal object, was removed. On his return he captured several vessels; but was foiled in his attempt on the Glasgow frigate, which found means to escape notwithstanding the efforts of his whole squadron.

The time, however, was now come when the fortitude and patience of the Americans were to undergo a severe trial. Hitherto they had been on the whole successful in their operations; but now they were doomed to experience misfortune, and misery; the enemy overrunning their country, and their own armies not able to face them in the field. The province of New-York, as being the most central colony, and most accessible by sea, was pitched upon for the object of the main attack. The force sent against it consisted of six ships of the line, thirty frigates, besides other armed vessels, and a vast number of transports. The fleet was commanded by lord Howe, and the land force by his brother general Howe, who was now at Halifax. The latter, however, a considerable time before his brother arrived had set sail from Halifax, and lay before New-York, but without venturing to commence hostilities until he should be joined by the Americans had, according to custom, fortified the city. The British made in an extraordinary manner, and were enabled to find his traps by a number of the British arrived with the fleet. The British appointed

to receive the submission of the colonists, he published a circular letter to this purpose to the several governors who had lately been expelled from their provinces, desiring them to make the extent of his commission, and the powers he was invested with by parliament, as public as possible. Here, however, congress saved him the trouble, by ordering his letter and declaration to be published in all the newspapers, that every one might see the infiduousness of the British ministry, and that they had nothing to trust to besides the exertion of their own valour.

Lord Howe next sent a letter to General Washington, but as it was directed: "To George Washington, Esq." the general refused to accept of it, as not being directed in the style suitable to his station. To obviate this objection, Adjutant-general Patterson was sent with another letter, directed "To George Washington &c. &c. &c." But though a very polite reception was given to the bearer, General Washington utterly refused the letter: nor could any explanation of the Adjutant induce him to accept of it. The only interesting part of the conversation was that relating to the powers of the commissioners, of which Lord Howe was one. The adjutant told him, that these powers were very extensive; that the commissioners were determined to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to bring about a reconciliation; and that he hoped the general would consider this visit as a step towards it. General Washington replied, that it did not appear that these powers consisted in any thing else than granting pardons; and as America had committed no offence, she asked no forgiveness, and was only defending her unquestionable rights.

The decision of every thing being now by consent of both parties left to the sword, no time was lost, but hostilities commenced as soon as the British troops could be collected. This, however, was not done before the month of August; when they landed without any opposition on Long Island, opposite to the shore of Staten Island. General Putnam, with a large body of troops, lay encamped and strongly fortified on a peninsula on the opposite shore, with a range of hills between the armies, the principal parts of which was near a place called Flat-bush. Here the centre of the British army, consisting of Hessians, took post; the left wing, under General Grant, lying near the shore, and the right, consisting of the greater part of the British forces, under Lord Percy, Cornwallis, and General Clinton. Putnam had ordered the passes to be secured by large detachments, which was executed as to those at hand; but one of the utmost importance, that lay at a distance, was entirely neglected. This gave an opportunity to a large body of troops under Lord Percy and Clinton to pass the mountains and attack the Americans in the rear, while

they were engaged with the Hessians in front. Through this piece of negligence their defeat became inevitable. Those who were engaged with the Hessians first perceived their mistake, and began a retreat towards the camp; but the passage was intercepted by the British troops, who drove them back into the woods. Here they were met by the Hessians; and thus were they for many hours slaughtered between the two parties, no way of escape remaining but by breaking through the British troops, and thus regaining their camp. In this attempt many perished; and the right wing, engaged with General Grant, shared the same fate. The victory was complete; and the Americans lost on this fatal day (August 27th) between three and four thousand men, of whom two thousand were killed in the battle or pursuit. Among these a regiment, consisting of young gentlemen of fortune and family in Maryland, was almost entirely cut in pieces, and of the survivors not one escaped without a wound.

The ardour of the British troops was now so great, that they could scarce be restrained from attacking the lines of the provincials: but for this there was now no occasion, as it was certain they could not be defended. Of the British only sixty-one were killed in this engagement, and two hundred and fifty-seven wounded. Eleven hundred of the enemy, among whom were three generals, were taken prisoners.

As none of the American commanders thought it proper to risk another attack, it was resolved to abandon their camp as soon as possible. Accordingly on the night of the 29th of August, the whole of the continental troops were ferried over with the utmost secrecy and silence; so that in the morning the British had nothing to do but take possession of the camp and artillery which they had abandoned.

This victory, though complete, was very far from being so decisive as was at first imagined. Lord Howe, supposing that it would be sufficient to intimidate the Congress into some terms, sent General Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner in the late action, to congress with a message, importing, that though he could not consistently treat with them as a legislative assembly, yet he would be very glad to confer with any of the members in their private capacity; setting forth at the same time the nature and extent of his powers as a commissioner. But the Congress were not to be intimidated to derogate in the least from the dignity of character they had assumed. They replied, that the congress of the free and independent states of America could not consistently send any of its members in another capacity than that which they had publicly assumed: but as they were extremely desirous of re-
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ing peace to their country upon equitable conditions, they would appoint a committee of their body to wait upon him, and learn what proposals he had to make.

This produced a new conference. The committee appointed by congress was composed of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge. They were very politely received by his Excellency, but the conference proved as fruitless as before; independence had been declared, and the final answer of the deputies was, that they were extremely willing to enter into any treaty with Great Britain that might conduce to the good of both nations, but that they would not treat in any other character than that of independent states. This positive declaration instantly put an end to all hopes of reconciliation, and it was resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Lord Howe, after publishing a manifesto, in which he declared the refusal of congress, and that he himself was willing to confer with all well disposed persons about the means of restoring public tranquillity, let about the only proper methods for reducing the city of New-York. Here the provincial troops were posted, and from a great number of batteries kept continually annoying the British shipping. The East River lay between them, of about twelve hundred yards in breadth, which the British troops were extremely desirous of passing. At last the ships having, after an incessant cannonade of several days, silenced the most troublesome batteries, a body of troops was sent up the river to a bay, about three miles distant, where the fortifications were less strong than in other places. Here having driven off the provincials by the cannon of the fleet, they marched directly towards the city; but the enemy finding that they should now be attacked on all sides, abandoned the city, and retired to the north of the island, where their principal force was collected. In their passage thither they skirmished with the British, but carefully avoided a general engagement; and it was observed that they did not behave with that ardour and impetuous valour which had hitherto marked their character.

The British and provincial armies were not now above two miles distant from each other. The former lay encamped from shore to shore for an extent of two miles, being the breadth of the island, which though its length exceeds not two miles in any part in breadth. The provincials, who lay directly opposite, had strengthened their camp with many fortifications; at the same time, being masters of all the passes and avenues between the two camps, they were enabled to defend themselves against an army much more numerous than their own; and they had also the advantage of a pass called the Neck, whence they could secure a passage to the continent in case of any misfortune. Here

General Washington, in order to inure the provincials to actual service, and at the same time to annoy the enemy as much as possible, employed his troops in continual skirmishes; by which it was observed that they soon recovered their spirits, and behaved with their usual boldness.

As the situation of the two armies was now highly inconvenient for the British generals, it was resolved to make such movements as might oblige General Washington to relinquish his strong situation. The possession of New-York had been less beneficial than was expected. It had been concerted among the Provincials, that the city should be burnt at the time of evacuation; but as they were forced to depart with precipitation, they were prevented from putting this scheme in execution. In a few days, however, it was attempted by some who had been left behind for that purpose. Taking advantage of a high wind and dry weather, the town was set on fire in several places at once, by means of combustibles properly placed for that purpose; and notwithstanding the most active exertions of the soldiery and sailors, a fourth part of the city was consumed.

On this occasion the British were irritated to the highest degree and many persons, said to be incendiaries, were without mercy thrown into the flames. It was determined to force the provincial army to a greater distance, that they might have it less in their power, by any emissaries, to engage others in a similar attempt. For this purpose, Gen. Howe having left Lord Percy with sufficient force to garrison New-York, he embarked his army in flat-bottom boats, by which they were conveyed through the dangerous passage called *Hell Gate*, and landed near the town of West Chester, lying on the continent towards Connecticut. Here having received a supply of men and provisions, they moved to New-Rochelle, situated on the sound which separates Long Island from the continent. After this, receiving still fresh reinforcements, they made such movements as threatened to distress the provincials very much, by cutting off their convoys of provisions from Connecticut, and thus force them to an engagement. This, however, General Washington determined at all events to avoid. He therefore extended his forces into a long line opposite to the way in which the enemy marched, keeping the Bronx, a river of considerable magnitude, between the two armies, with the North River on his rear. Here again the provincials continued for some time to annoy and skirmish with the Royal army, until at last, by some other manœuvres, the British general found means to attack them advantageously at a place called the *Red Bank*, and drove them from some of their posts. The victory on this occasion was much less complete than the former; however it obliged the pro-

resistance once more to shift their ground, and to retreat farther in the country. General Howe pursued for some time, but at last finding all his endeavours vain to bring the Americans to a pitched battle, he determined to give over such an useless chase, and employ himself in reducing the forts which the provincials still retained in the neighbourhood of New-York. In this he met with the most complete success. The Americans, on the approach of the British forces, retreated from King's Bridge into Fort Washington; and this, as well as Fort Lee, which lay in the neighbourhood, was quickly reduced, though the garrison made their escape. Thus the Jerseys were laid entirely open to the incursions of the British troops; and so fully were these provinces taken possession of by the Royal army, that its winter quarters extended from New-Brunswick to the river Delaware. Had any number of boats been at hand, it is probable that Philadelphia would now have fallen into their hands. All these, however, had been carefully removed by the Americans. In lieu of this enterprise, Sir Henry Clinton undertook an expedition to Rhode-Island, and became master of it without losing a man. His expedition was also attended with this further advantage, that the American fleet under Commodore Hopkins was obliged to sail as far as possible up the river Providence, and thus remained entirely useless.

The same ill success continued to attend the Americans in other parts. After their expulsion from Canada, they had crossed the lake Champlain, and taken up their quarters at Crown Point, as we have already mentioned. Here they remained for some time in safety, as the British had no vessels on the lake, and consequently General Burgoyne could not pursue them. To remedy this deficiency, there was no possible method, but either to construct vessels on the spot, or to take to pieces some vessels already constructed, and drag them up the river into the lake. This however, was effected in no longer a space than three months, and the British general, after incredible toil and difficulty, found himself in possession of a great number of vessels, by which he was enabled to pursue his enemies, and invade them in turn. The labour undergone at this time by the sea and land forces must indeed have been prodigious; since there were sent over land, and dragged up the rapids of St. Lawrence, no less than thirty large long boats, four hundred bateaux, besides a vast number of flat bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty. The intent of the expedition was to push forward before us to Albany, where the army would take up its winter-quarters, and next spring effect a junction with that under General when it was not doubted that the united force and skill of two commanders would speedily put a termination to the war.

By reason of the difficulties with which the equipment of this fleet had been attended, it was the beginning of October before the expedition could be undertaken. It was now, however, by every judge allowed to be completely able to answer the purpose for which it was intended. It consisted of one large vessel with three masts, carrying eighteen twelve pounders; two schooners, the one carrying fourteen, the other twelve six-pounders; a large flat-bottomed radeau with six twenty-four and six twelve-pounders; and a gondola with eight nine-pounders. Besides these there were twenty vessels of a smaller size, called gun-boats, carrying each a piece of brass ordnance from nine to twenty-four pounders or howitzers. Several long-boats were fitted out in the same manner; and besides all these, there were a vast number of boats and tenders of various sizes, to be used as transports for the troops and baggage. It was manned by a number of select seamen, and the guns were to be served by a detachment from the corps of artillery: the officers and soldiers appointed for this expedition were also chosen out of the whole army.

To oppose this formidable armament the Americans had only a very inconsiderable force, commanded by General Arnold; who, after engaging part of the British fleet for a whole day, took advantage of the darkness of the night to set sail without being perceived, and next morning was out of sight; but he was so closely pursued by the British, that on the second day after he was overtaken, and forced to a second engagement. In this he behaved with great gallantry; but his force being inferior to that of the enemy, he was obliged to run his ships ashore and set them on fire. A few only escaped to Lake George; and the garrison of Crown Point having destroyed or carried off every thing of value, retired to Ticonderago. Thither General Carlton intended to have pursued them; but the difficulties he had to encounter appeared so many and so great, that it was thought proper to march back into Canada, and desist from any further operations till next spring.

Thus the affairs of the Americans seemed every where going to wreck: even those who had been most firm in their courage, began to waver. The time, also, for which the soldiers had enlisted themselves was now expired; and the bad success of the preceding campaign had been so very discouraging, that no person was willing to engage in it during the continuation of a war, of which the event seemed to be so doubtful. In consequence of this, therefore, General Washington found his army decreasing in strength; so that thirty-thousand men, of whom it consisted, when General Vandal sailed from Staten Island, a tenth part could now be raised. The British, on the other hand, were enabled to order as much as possible, to be sent to the aid of the army.

in the north; but on his way southward, having imprudently taken up his lodging at some distance from his troops, information was given to Colonel Harcourt, who happened at that time to be in the neighbourhood, and Lee was made prisoner. The loss of this general was much regretted, the more especially as he was of superior quality to any prisoner in the possession of the colonists, and could not therefore be exchanged. Six field-officers were offered in exchange for him and refused; and the Congress was highly irritated at its being reported that he was to be treated as a deserter, having been a half-pay officer in the British service at the commencement of the war. In consequence of this they issued a proclamation, threatening to retaliate on the prisoners in their possession whatever punishment should be inflicted on any of those taken by the British, and especially that their conduct should be regulated by the treatment of General Lee.

In the mean time they proceeded with the most indefatigable diligence to recruit their army, and bound their soldiers to serve for a term of three years, or during the continuance of the war. The army designed for the ensuing campaign was to consist of eighty-eight battalions; of which each province was to contribute its quota; and twenty dollars were offered as a bounty to each soldier, besides an allotment of lands at the end of the war. In this allotment was stipulated, that each soldier should have one hundred acres; an ensign one hundred and fifty, a lieutenant two hundred; a captain three hundred; a major four hundred; a lieutenant-colonel four hundred and fifty; and a colonel five hundred. No lands were promised to those who enlisted only for three years. All officers or soldiers disabled through wounds received in the service to enjoy half-pay during life. To defray the expence, congress borrowed five millions of dollars at five per cent; for payment of which the United States became surety. At the same time in order to animate the people to vigorous exertions, a declaration was published, in which they set forth the necessity there was for taking proper methods to insure success in their cause; they endeavoured to palliate as much as possible the misfortunes which had already happened; and represented the true cause of the present distress to be the short term of enlistment.

This declaration, together with the imminent danger of Philadelphia, determined the Americans to exert themselves to the utmost in order to reinforce General Washington's army. The Congress received farther encouragement, however, by an exploit of that general against the Hessians. As the Royal army extended in different cantonments for a great way, Gen. Washington perceiving the imminent danger to which they were exposed

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lost; and by dividing his army into small parties, which could be reunited on a few hours warning, he in a manner entirely covered the country with it, and repossessed himself of all the important places.

Thus ended the campaign of 1776, with scarce any real advantage other than the acquisition of the city of New-York, and a few fortresses in its neighbourhood, where the troops were obliged to act with as much circumspection as if they had been besieged by a victorious army, instead of being themselves the conquerors.

The army at New-York began in 1777 to exercise a kind of predatory war, by sending out parties to destroy magazines, make incursions, and take or destroy such forts as lay on the banks of rivers, to which their great command of shipping gave them access. In this they were generally successful: the provincial magazines at Peck's Hill, a place, of about fifty miles distant from New-York, were destroyed, the town of Danbury in Connecticut burnt, and that of Ridgefield in the same province was taken possession of. In returning from the last expedition, however, the British were greatly harassed by the enemy under Generals Arnold, Wooster, and Sullivan; but they made good their retreat in spite of all opposition, with the loss of only one hundred and seventy killed and wounded. On the American side the loss was much greater; General Wooster was killed, and Arnold in the most imminent danger. On the other hand, the Americans destroyed the stores at Sagadahoc, on Long-Island, and made prisoners of all who defended the place.

As this method of making war, however, could answer but little purpose, and favoured more of the barbarous incursions of savages than of a war carried on by a civilized people, it was resolved to make an attempt on Philadelphia. At first it was thought that this could be done through the Jerseys; but General Washington had received such large reinforcements, and posted himself so strongly, that it was found to be impracticable. Many stratagems were used to draw him from this strong situation, but without success, so that it was found necessary to make the attempt on Philadelphia by sea. While the preparations necessary for this expedition were going forward, the Americans found means to make friends for the capture of General Lee by that of General Prescott, who was seized in his quarters with his aid-de-camp, in much the same manner as General Lee had been. This was exceedingly mortifying to the General himself, as he had not long before set a price upon General Arnold, by offering a sum of money to any one that apprehended him; which the latter answered by setting a lower price upon General Prescott.

The month of July was far advanced before the preparations for the expedition against Philadelphia were completed; and was the 23d before the fleet was able to sail from Sandy-Hook.

The force employed in this expedition consisted of thirty-six battalions of British and Hessians, a regiment of light horse, and a body of loyalists raised at New-York. The remainder of these, with seventeen battalions, and another body of light horse, were stationed at New-York under Sir Henry Clinton. Seven battalions were stationed at Rhode-Island. After a week's sailing they arrived at the mouth of the Delaware; but there received certain intelligence, that the navigation of the river was so effectually obstructed, that no possibility of forcing a passage remained. Upon this it was resolved to proceed farther southward to Chesapeak Bay in Maryland, from whence the distance to Philadelphia was not very great, and where the provincial army would find less advantage from the nature of the country than in the Jerseys.

The navigation from Delaware to Chesapeak took up the best part of the month of August, and that up the bay itself was extremely difficult and tedious. At last, having sailed up the river Elk as far as was practicable, the troops were landed without opposition, and set forward on their intended expedition. On the news of their arrival in Chesapeak, General Washington left the Jerseys, and hastened to the relief of Philadelphia; and in the beginning of September met the Royal army at Brandy-wine Creek about mid-day, between the head of the Elk and Philadelphia. Here he adhered to his former method of skirmishing and harassing the Royal army on its march: but as this proved insufficient to stop its progress, he retired to that side of the Creek next to Philadelphia with an intent to dispute the passage. This brought on a general engagement on the 11th of September, in which the Americans were worsted through the superior discipline of the British troops; and it was only through the approach of night that they were saved from being entirely destroyed. On this occasion the provincials lost about one thousand in killed and wounded, besides four hundred taken prisoners.

The loss of this battle proved also the loss of Philadelphia.—General Washington retired towards Lancaster, an inland town at a considerable distance from Philadelphia. Here, however, the British general took such measures as must have forced the provincials to a second engagement; but a violent rain which lasted a day and a night prevented his design. General Washington, though he could not prevent the loss of Philadelphia, still adhered to his original plan of distressing the Royal party, by laying ambushes and cutting off detached parties: but in this he was less successful than formerly; and one of his own detachments, which lay in ambush in a wood, were themselves surprised and entirely defeated, with the loss of three hundred killed and wounded, besides a great number taken, and all their arms and baggage.

General Howe now perceiving that the Americans would not venture another battle even for the sake of their capital, took peaceable possession of it on the 26th of September. His first care was then to cut off, by means of strong batteries, the communication between the upper and lower parts of the river, which was executed notwithstanding the opposition of some American armed vessels: one of which, carrying thirty six guns, was taken. His next task was to open a communication with it by sea, and this was a work of no small difficulty. A vast number of batteries and forts had been erected, and immense machines formed like *Armes à bras*, from whence they took their name, stuck in the river to prevent its navigation. As the fleet was lent round to the mouth of the river in order to co-operate with the army, this work, however difficult, was accomplished; nor did the provincials give much opposition, as well knowing that all places of this kind were untenable. General Washington, however, took the advantage of the royal army being divided, to attack the camp of the principal division of it that lay at German-town, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. In this he met with very little success; for though he reached the place of destination by three o'clock in the morning, the patrols had time to call the troops to arms. The Americans, notwithstanding, made a very resolute attack; but they were received with such bravery, that they were compelled to abandon the attempt, and retreat in great disorder; with the advantage, however, of carrying off their cannon, though pursued for a considerable way. They having three hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and upwards of four hundred taken prisoners, among whom were fifty officers. On the British side, the loss amounted to four hundred and thirty wounded and prisoners and twenty killed, but among the last were General Agnew and Colonel Bird, with several other excellent officers.

There still remained two strong forts on the Delaware to be reduced. These were Mud Island and Red Bank. The various obstructions which the Americans had thrown in the way rendered it necessary to bring up the *Argus*, a ship of the line, and the *Meriton*, frigate, to the attack of Mud Island, but during the heat of the action both were grounded. Upon this, the Americans sent down four fire-ships, and directed the whole fire from their galleys against them. The former were rendered ineffective by the courage and skill of the British *Meriton*, but during the engagement both the *Argus* and *Meriton* took fire and were burnt to the water, and the other ships obliged to withdraw. The Americans encouraged by this unsuccessful attempt, proceeded to throw new obstructions in the way, but the British general, having found means to convey a number of cannon, and

to erect batteries within gunshot of the fort by land, and bringing up three ships of the line which mounted heavy cannon, the garrison, after making a vigorous defence for one day, perceiving that preparations were making for a general assault on the next, abandoned the place in the night. Those who defended Red Bank followed their example, and abandoned it on the approach of Lord Cornwallis. A great number of the American shipping now finding themselves entirely destitute of any protection, sailed up the river in the night-time. Seventeen, however, remained, whose retreat was intercepted by a frigate and some armed vessels; on which the Americans ran them ashore and burnt them, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands.

Thus the campaign of 1777 in Pennsylvania concluded successfully on the part of the British. In the north, however, matters wore a different aspect. The expedition in that quarter had been projected by the British ministry as the most effectual method that could be taken to crush the colonies at once. The four provinces of New-England had originally begun the confederacy against Britain, and were still considered as the most active in the continuation of it; and it was thought, that any impression made upon them would contribute in an effectual manner to the reduction of all the rest. For this purpose, an army of four thousand chosen British troops and three thousand Germans were put under the command of General Burgoyne; General Carleton was directed to use his interest with the Indians to persuade them to join in this expedition; and the province of Quebec was to furnish large parties to join in the same. The officers who commanded under General Burgoyne were General Philips of the artillery, Generals Frazer, Powell, and Hamilton, with the German officers Generals Reidesel and Specht. The soldiers, as has already been observed, were all excellently disciplined, and had been kept in their winter-quarters with all imaginable care, in order to prepare them for the expedition on which they were going. To aid the principal expedition, another was projected on the Mohawk River under Colonel St. Leger, who was to be assisted by Sir John Johnston, son to the famous Sir William Johnston, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the war of 1755.

On the 21st of June 1777, the army encamped on the western side of the Lake Champlain: where being joined by a considerable body of Indians, General Burgoyne made a speech, in which he exhorted these new allies to lay aside their ferocious and barbarous manner of making war: to kill only such as opposed them in arms; and to spare prisoners, with such women and children as should fall into their hands. After issuing a proclamation, in

which the force of Britain and that which he commanded were set forth in very ostentatious terms, the campaign opened with the siege of Ticonderoga. The place was very strong, and garrisoned by six thousand men under General Sinclair. Nevertheless the works were so extensive that even this number was scarce sufficient to defend them properly. They had therefore omitted to fortify a rugged eminence called Sugar Hill, the top of which overlooked and effectually commanded the whole works; weakly imagining that the difficulty of the ascent would be sufficient to prevent the enemy from taking possession of it. On the approach of the first division of the army, the provincials abandoned and set fire to their outworks; and so expeditious were the British troops, that by the 5th of July every post was secured that was judged necessary for investing it completely. A road was then after made to the very summit of that eminence which the Americans had with such confidence supposed could not be ascended, and so much were they now disheartened, that they instantly abandoned the fort entirely, taking the road to Skeneborough, a place to the South of Lake George: while their baggage, with what artillery and military stores they could carry off, were sent to that same place by water. But the British generals were determined not to let them pass so easily. Both were pursued and both were seen. The rear divisions consisted only of five guards; two of which were taken and three thrown up, on which they set fire to the camp and fortification at Skeneborough. On this occasion the provincials were saved in three hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, with all their provisions and baggage. The British and General Fraser made a brave attack upon General Sinclair, and being greatly superior in number, he was at length overpowered and slain, when General Reinold with a large body of German troops followed. The Americans were now overpowered in their turn, and their commander being killed, they fled in great confusion. In this action two hundred and twenty were killed, as many taken prisoners, and above a thousand wounded, many of whom perished in the winter season at Fort Mifflin.

During the campaign General Sinclair was at Castleton, about six miles from the place, but instead of going forward to Fort Anne, the next post to the North, he repaired to the woods which lie between that fort and New England. General Burgoyne, however, determined to lead with the ninth regiment, in order to attack him, as he should attempt to retreat towards Fort Anne. On the 6th of September a body of the enemy laid to be fix thousand men, or as his own, but after an attempt of three days, they were obliged to retire with

great loss. After so many disasters, despairing of being able to make any stand at Fort Anne, they set fire to it and retired to Fort Edward. In all these engagements the loss of killed and wounded in the royal army did not exceed two hundred men.

General Burgoyne was now obliged to suspend his operations for some time, and wait at Skenesborough for the arrival of his tents, provisions, &c. but employed this interval in making roads through the country about St. Anne, and in clearing a passage for his troops to proceed against the enemy. This was attended with incredible toil; but all obstacles were surmounted with equal patience and resolution by the army. In short, after undergoing the utmost difficulty that could be undergone, and making every exertion that man could make, he arrived with his army before Fort Edward about the end of July. Here General Schuyler had been for some time endeavouring to recruit the shattered American forces, and had been joined by General Sinclair with the remains of his army; the garrison of Fort George also, situated on the lake of that name, had evacuated the place and retired to Fort Edward.

But on the approach of the royal army, they retired from thence also, and formed their head quarters at Saratoga. Notwithstanding the great successes of the British General, they showed not the least disposition to submit, but seemed only to consider how they might make the most effectual resistance. For this purpose, the militia was every where raised and draughted to join the army at Saratoga; and such numbers of volunteers were daily added, that they soon began to recover from the terror into which they had been thrown. That they might have a commander whose abilities could be relied on, General Arnold was appointed, who repaired to Saratoga with a considerable train of artillery; but receiving intelligence that Colonel St. Leger was proceeding with great rapidity in his expedition on the Mohawk river, he removed to Still-water, a place about half-way between Saratoga and the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson's River. The Colonel, in the mean time, had advanced as far as Fort Stanwix; the siege of which he pressed with great vigour. On the 3^d of August, understanding that a supply of provisions, escorted by eight or nine hundred men, was on the way to the fort, he dispatched Sir John Johnston with a strong detachment to intercept it. This he did so effectually, that besides intercepting the provisions, four hundred of its guards were slain, two hundred taken, and the rest escaped with great difficulty. The garrison, however, were not to be intimidated by this disaster, nor by the threats or representations of the Colonel: on the contrary, they made several successful sallies under Colonel Willet, the second

in command, and this gentleman, in company with a detachment, ventured out of the fort, and, eluding the vigilance of the enemy, pushed through them in order to hasten the march of General Arnold in their assistance.

Thus the affairs of Colonel St. Leger seemed to be in no very favourable situation notwithstanding his successes, and they were soon totally turned by the desertion of the Indians. They had been alarmed by the report of General Arnold's advance with two thousand men to the relief of the fort, and when Colonel was attempting to give them encouragement, another report was spread, that General Burgoyne had been defeated with great slaughter, and was now lying before the province. On this he was obliged to do as they thought proper, and the fort could not be effected without the loss of the tents and loads of the artillery and military stores.

General Burgoyne, in the mean time, notwithstanding all the difficulties he had already sustained, found that he could not encounter more. The roads he had made with so much labour and pains were destroyed either by the wetness of the season, or by the enemy, so that the provisions he brought from Fort George could not arrive at his camp with all the most prodigious toil. On hearing of the loss of Fort Stanwix, by Colonel St. Leger, he determined to move forward in hopes of enclosing the enemy between his own army and that of St. Leger, or of obtaining the command of all the country between Fort Stanwix and Albany; or at any rate, a point of view with Colonel St. Leger would be decided, which could not but be attended with the most happy consequences. The only difficulty was the want of provisions, and this it was proposed to remedy by reducing the provincial capital at Burlington. For this purpose, Colonel Baum, a German officer of great bravery, was chosen with a detachment of five hundred men. The place was about twenty miles from Hudson River, and to supply it Colonel Baum's party, the whole army moved upon the river's bank, and encamped almost opposite to it, with the river between it and that place. An American party was posted at a British Kill, between the camp and Burlington, in order to support Colonel Baum. In the evening the British ordered a large supply of cattle and provisions, which were roundly sent to the camp; but the badness of the roads retarded them so much, that intelligence of their design was not till the next day. Understanding now that the American force was greatly superior to his own, the Colonel acquainted the British, who immediately dispatched Colonel Breyer with a party to his assistance. As through the same causes that had retarded the march of Colonel Baum, this assistance could not arrive

in time, General Stark, in the mean time, who commanded at Bennington, determined to attack the two parties separately; and for this purpose advanced upon the Colonel Burt, whom he surrounded on all sides and cut him with the utmost intrepidity. The troops defended themselves with great gallantry, but were to a man either killed or taken. Colonel Brevint, after a desperate engagement, had the good luck to effect a retreat through the darkness of the night, which otherwise he could not have done, as his men had expended all their ammunition, being forty rounds to each.

General Burgoyne, thus disappointed in his attempt on Bennington, applied himself with increasing diligence to procure provisions from Fort George; and having at length amassed a sufficient quantity to last for a month, he threw a bridge of boats over the river Hudson, which he crossed about the middle of September, encamping on the hills and plains near Saratoga. As soon as he approached the provincial army, at this time encamped at Stillwater under General Gates, he determined to make an attack: for which purpose he put himself at the head of the central division of his army, leaving General Fenton and Colonel Brevint on the right, with Generals Rodgers and Phillips on the left. In this position he advanced towards the enemy on the 19th of September. But the Americans did not now wait to be attacked: on the contrary, they attacked the central division with the utmost bravery: and it was not until General Phillips with the artillery came up to that they could be repulsed. On this occasion, though the British troops lost only three hundred and thirty in killed and wounded, and the enemy no fewer than fifteen hundred, the former were very much alarmed at the obstinate resolution shown by the Americans. This did not, however, prevent them from continuing towards the enemy, and posting themselves the next day within cannon-shot of their lines. But their numbers being so great, they began to desert in great numbers: and at the same time the general was in the highest degree mortified by having no intelligence of any assistance from Sir Henry Clinton, as he had been expected. He now received a letter from him, by which he was informed that Sir Henry intended to make a descent on the North River in his fleet. This afforded but little comfort, as he was informed that he was followed by several trading vessels, which he was obliged to follow, stating his present situation, and that he was unable to do more, than the provisions and other necessaries he had, and only craved him to hold out till the 25th of September.

In the mean time the Americans were in order to cut off the re-

treat of the British army in the most effectual manner, under an expedition against Ticonderoga, but were obliged to abandon the enterprise after having surprised all the east path, and taken a great number of boats with some armed vessels, and a number of prisoners. The army under General Burgoyne, however, continued to labour under the greatest difficulties, so that in the beginning of October he had been obliged to diminish the army's allowance. On the 10th of that month he determined to move towards the enemy. For this purpose he sent a body of fifteen hundred men to reconnoitre the left wing; intending, if possible, to break through it in order to effect a retreat. This detachment, however, had not proceeded far when a dreadful attack was made upon the left wing of the British army, which with great difficulty perceived from being entirely broken by reinforcement brought up by General Fraser, who was killed in the attack. After the troops had with the most desperate effort regained their camp, it was most furiously assaulted by General Arnold; who, notwithstanding all opposition, would have forced the entrenchments, had he not received a dangerous wound, which obliged him to retire. Thus the attack failed on the left, but on the right the camp of the German reserve was forced. Colonel Breyman killed, and his countrymen defeated with great slaughter and the loss of all their artillery and baggage.

This was by far the heaviest loss the British army had sustained since the action at Bunker's Hill. The list of killed and wounded amounted to near twelve hundred, exclusive of the German; but the greatest misfortune was, that the enemy had now an opening on the right and rear of the British forces, so that the army was threatened with entire destruction. This obliged General Burgoyne once more to shift his position, that the enemy might also be obliged to alter theirs. This was accomplished on the night of the 7th, without any loss, and all the next day he continued to offer the enemy battle; but they were now too far advanced of obtaining a complete victory, by cutting off all supplies from the British, to risk a pitched battle. Wherefore they advanced on the right side, in order to inclose him entirely; which obliged the General to direct a retreat towards Fort Mifflin. But the enemy had now stationed a great force on the ford of Hudson's River, so that the only possibility of retreat was by securing a passage to Lake George; and to effect this, a body of workmen were detached, with a strong guard, to repair the roads and bridges that led to Fort Edward. As soon as they were gone, however, the enemy seemed so prepared for an attack, which rendered it necessary to recall the guard, and the workmen being consequently left exposed, could not proceed.

In the mean time, the boats which conveyed provisions down Hudson's River were exposed to be continual fire of the American marksmen, who took many of them; so that it became necessary to convey the provisions over land. In this extreme danger, it was resolved to march by night to Fort Edward, forcing the passages at the fords either above or below the place; and in order to effect this the more easily, it was resolved that the soldiers should carry their provisions on their backs, leaving behind their baggage and every other incumbrance. But before this could be executed, intelligence was received that the enemy had raised strong entrenchments opposite to these fords, well provided with cannon, and that they had likewise taken possession of the rising ground between Fort George and Fort Edward, which in like manner was provided with cannon.

All this time the American army was increasing by the continual arrival of militia and volunteers from all parts. Their parties extended all along the opposite bank of Hudson's River, and some had even passed it in order to observe the least movement of the British army. The whole force under General Gates was computed at sixteen thousand men, while the army under General Burgoyne scarce amounted to six thousand; and every part of the camp was reached by the grape and rifle shot of the enemy, besides a discharge from their artillery, which was almost incessant. In this state of extreme distress and danger, the army continued with the greatest constancy and perseverance till the evening of the 13th of October, when an inventory of provisions being taken, it was found that no more remained than what were sufficient to serve for three days; and a council of war being called, it was unanimously determined that there was no method now remaining but to treat with the enemy. In consequence of this, a negotiation was opened next day, which speedily terminated in a capitulation of the whole British army; the principal article of which was, that the troops were to have a free passage to Britain, on condition of not serving against America during the war. On this occasion, General Gates ordered his army to keep within their camp while the British soldiers went to a place appointed for them to lay down their arms, that the latter might not have the additional mortification of being made spectacles of so melancholy an event. The number of those who surrendered at Saratoga amounted to five thousand seven hundred and fifty, according to the American accounts; the list of sick and wounded left in the camp when the army retreated to Saratoga, to five hundred and twenty-eight; and the number of those lost by other accidents since the taking of Ticouderoga, to more than a thousand.

Thirty-five brass field-pieces, seven thousand stand of arms, clothing for an equal number of soldiers, with their tents, military chest, &c. constituted the booty on this occasion.

So Henry Clinton, in the mean time, had sailed up the North River, and destroyed the two forts called Montmery and Clinton, with Fort Constitution, and another place called Centinella Village, where were barracks for two thousand men. Seventy large cannon were carried away, besides a number of smaller artillery, and a great quantity of stores and ammunition, a large boom and chain stretching across the river from Fort Montmery to a point of land called St. Anthony's Neck, and which cost not less than seventy thousand pounds sterling, were partly destroyed and partly carried away, as was also another boom of little less value at Fort Constitution. The loss of the British army was but small in number, though some officers of great merit were killed in the different attacks.

Another attack was made by Sir James Wallace with his frigates, and a body of land forces under General Vaughan. The place which now suffered was named Etopus, the fortifications were destroyed, and the town itself was reduced to ashes, as the late called Centinella Village had been before.

But these successes, of whatever importance they might be, were now & regarded by both parties. They served only to irritate the Americans, fluffed with their success, and they were utterly insufficient to raise the spirits of the British, who were now thrown into the utmost dismay.

On the 16th of March 1778, Lord North announced in the house of commons, that a paper had been laid before the king by the French ambassador, intimating the conclusion of an alliance between the court of France and the United States of America. The preliminaries of this treaty had been concluded in the end of the year 1777, and a copy of them sent to congress, in order to consider any proposals that might be made in the meantime by the British ministry. On the 6th of February 1778, the articles were formally signed, to the great satisfaction of the French nation.

They were of substance as follows:

1. If Great Britain should, in consequence of this treaty, proceed to hostilities against France, the two nations should mutually assist one another.

2. The principal object of this treaty was in an effectual manner to maintain the independence of America.

3. Should the people of North America still suffer from the tyrannical and oppressive measures, they should be so secured as to be able to maintain their independence.

4. Should any of the West India islands be reduced by France, they should be deemed its property.

5. No formal treaty with Great-Britain should be concluded either by France or America without the consent of each other: and it was mutually engaged that they should not lay down their arms till the independence of the States had been formally acknowledged.

6. The contracting parties mutually agreed to invite those powers that had received injuries from Great-Britain to join the common cause.

7. The United States guaranteed to France all the possessions in the West Indies which she should conquer: and France in her turn guaranteed the absolute independency of the States, and their supreme authority over every country they possessed, or might acquire during the war.

The notification of such a treaty as this could not be looked upon as a declaration of war. On its being announced to the house, every one agreed in an address to his Majesty, promising to stand by him to the utmost in the present emergency: but it was warmly contended by the members in opposition, that the present ministry ought to be removed on account of their numberless blunders and miscarriages in every instance. Many were of opinion, that the only way to extricate the nation from its trouble was to acknowledge the independency of America at once: and thus we might still do with a good grace what must inevitably be done at last, after expending much more blood and treasure than had yet been lavished in this unhappy contest. The ministerial party, however, entertained different ideas. Infligated by ambition and folly, it was determined at once to resent the interference of France, and prosecute hostilities against America with more vigour than ever, should the terms now offered be rejected.

The Americans, in the mean time, assiduously employed their agents at the courts of Spain, Vienna, Prussia, and Tuscany, in order, if possible, to conclude alliances with them, or at least to procure an acknowledgment of their independency. As it had been reported that Britain intended to apply for assistance to Russia, the American commissioners were enjoined to use their utmost influence with the German princes to prevent such an alliance from marching through their territories, and to endeavour to procure the recall of the German troops already sent to America. To France they offered a cession of such West India islands as should be taken by the united strength of France and America: and should Britain by their joint endeavours be possessed of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, they offered to cede

permission to do, ~~having~~ discovered that some sinners
were harboured on the part of Britain, and that they only
an opportunity to join the other troops at Philadelphia
N. H.

The season for action was now approaching: and Congress
indefatigable in its preparations for a new campaign which
confidently said would be the last. Among other methods
for this purpose, it was recommended to all the young gentlemen
of the colonies to form themselves into bodies of cavalry
at their own expence during the war. General Washington
the same time, in order to remove all incumbrances from
his army, lightened the baggage as much as possible, by substituting
sacks and portmanteaus in place of chests, and boxes, and
pack-horses instead of waggons. On the other hand, the
army, expecting to be speedily reinforced by twenty thousand
men, thought of nothing but concluding the war according to
their wishes before the end of the campaign. It was with
much concern, as well as indignation therefore, that they
received the news of Lord North's conciliatory bill. It was un-
derstood upon as a national disgrace; and some even tore the
bills from their hats, and trampled them under their feet
in token of their indignation. By the colonists it was received
with indifference. The British commissioners endeavoured to
make it as public as possible; and Congress, as formerly, ordered
it printed in all the newspapers. On this occasion Congress

British fleets and armies removed from America. At the same time, the colonies were warned not to suffer themselves to be lulled into security by any offers that might be made: but in utmost endeavours to send their quotas with all diligence to the field. The individuals with whom the commissioners conferred on the subject of the conciliatory bill, generally gave for answer that the day of reconciliation was past; and that the measures of Britain had extinguished all filial regard in the breasts of Americans.

At this time also Mr. Silas Deane arrived from France with copies of the treaty of commerce and alliance to be signed by Congress.

Advices of the most agreeable nature were also received from various parts, representing in the most favourable light the dispositions of the European powers; all of whom, it was said, would soon see the independence of America settled upon the most permanent basis. Considering the situation of matters in the colonies at this time, therefore, it is no wonder that the commissioners found themselves unable to accomplish the mission which they came. Their proposals were utterly rejected, and themselves treated as spies, and all intercourse with them was prohibited.

Before any final answer could be obtained from Congress, General Mifflin had taken the resolution of evacuating Philadelphia.

Accordingly, on the 10th of June, after having made every preparation, the army marched out of the city and crossed the Delaware before noon with all its baggage and other necessaries. General Washington, apprised of this design, detached expresses into the Jerseys with orders to collect all that could be assembled in order to obstruct the march of the army. After various movements on both sides, Sir Henry Clinton, with the royal army, arrived on the 27th of June at Red Bank; where, judging that the enemy would not follow, he encamped in a very strong situation. Here General Washington determined to make an attack as soon as the army began its march. The night was spent in making the necessary preparations, and General Lee with his division was ordered to be ready by day-break. But Sir Henry Clinton, judging that the chief object of the enemy was the baggage, committed it to the care of General Knyphausen, whom he ordered to march out early in the morning, while he followed with the main army. The attack was accordingly made: but the general had taken such care to arrange his troops previous to the action, that he supported his forces when engaged with the British, that the latter not only made no impression, but with great difficulty preserved from a total defeat by the assistance

of General Washington with the whole army. The British troops effected their retreat with the loss of three hundred men, of whom many died through mere fatigue without any wound. In this action General Lee was charged by General Washington with disobedience and misconduct in retreating before the British army. He was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to a temporary suspension from his command. After they had arrived at Sandy Hook, a bridge of boats was by Lord Howe's directions thrown from thence over the channel which separated the island from the main land, and the troops were conveyed across the fleet, after which they sailed to New-York. After sending some light detachments to watch the enemy's motions, General Washington marched towards the North River, where a great force had been collected to join him, and where it was now expected that some very capital operations would take place.

In the mean time, France had set about her preparations for the assistance of the Americans. On the 1st of April Count d'Estaing had sailed from Toulon with a strong squadron of ships of the line and frigates, and arrived on the coast of Virginia in the beginning of July, while the British fleet was employed in conveying the forces from Sandy Hook to New-York. It consisted of one ship of ninety guns, one of eighty, six of seventy-four, and four of sixty-four, besides several large frigates, and, exclusive of its complement of sailors, had six thousand munes and soldiers on board. To oppose this the British had only six ships, thirty-four guns, three of fifty, and two of forty, with some frigates and troops. Notwithstanding this inferiority, however, the British admiral posted himself to advantage, and showed such superiority that d'Estaing did not think proper to attack him. He therefore remained at anchor four miles off Sandy Hook till the 22^d of July, without effecting any thing more than the capture of some vessels, which, through ignorance of his force, fell into his hands.

The next attempt of the French admiral was, in conjunction with the Americans, on Rhode Island. It was proposed that, with the six thousand troops he had with him, should make a descent on the southern part of the island, while a body of the Americans should take and destroy all the British shipping. On the 8th of August the French admiral entered the harbour, and was so situated that he was himself unable to do any material damage. On the 11th was a severe action, yet fatal for Rhode Island, and d'Estaing, relying on his superiority, immediately came out of the harbour to attack him. A violent storm parted the two fleets, and both were so damaged that they were rendered totally unfit for action. The French, however, suffered most; and several of

their ships being afterwards attacked singly by the British, very narrowly escaped being taken. On the 20th of August he returned to Newport in a very shattered condition; and, not thinking himself safe there, sailed two days after for Boston. General Sullivan had landed in the mean time on the northern part of Rhode-Island with ten thousand men. On the 17th of August they began their operations by erecting batteries, and making their approaches to the British lines. But General Pigot, who commanded in Newport, had taken such effectual care to secure himself on the land-side, that without the assistance of a marine force it was altogether impossible to attack him with any probability of success. The conduct of d'Estaing, therefore, in abandoning them when master of the harbour, gave the greatest disgust to the people of New-England, and General Sullivan began to think of a retreat. On perceiving his intentions, the garrison sallied out upon him with so much vigour, that it was not without difficulty that he effected his retreat. He had not been long gone when Sir Henry Clinton arrived with a body of four thousand men; which, had it arrived sooner, would have enabled the British commander to have gained a decisive advantage over him, as well as to have destroyed the town of Providence, which, by its vicinity to Rhode-Island, and the enterprises which were continually projected and carried on in that place, kept the inhabitants of Rhode-Island in continual alarms.

The first British expedition was to Buzzard's Bay, on the coast of New-England and neighbourhood of Rhode-Island. Here they destroyed a great number of privateers and merchantmen, magazines, with storehouses, &c.; whence proceeding to a fertile and populous island called Martha's Vineyard, they carried off ten thousand sheep and three hundred black cattle. Another expedition took place up the North River, under Lord Cornwallis and General Knyphausen; the principal event of which was the destruction of a regiment of American cavalry, known by the name of Washington's Light Horse. A third expedition was directed to Little Egg Harbour in New-Jersey, a place noted for privateers, the destruction of which was its principal intention. It was conducted by Captains Ferguson and Collins, and ended in the destruction of the enemy's vessels, as well as of the place itself. At the same time part of another body of American troops, called Pulaski's Legion, was surprized, and a great number of them put to the sword.

The Americans had, in the beginning of the year, projected the conquest of West-Florida; and Captain Willing, with a party of resolute men, had made a successful incursion into the country.

This awakened the attention of the British to the Southern colonies, and an expedition against them was resolved on. Georgia was the place of destination; and the more effectually to ensure success. Colonel Campbell, with a sufficient force, under convoy of some ships of war, commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker, embarked at New-York, while General Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, was directed to set out with all the force he could spare. The armament from New-York arrived off the coast of Georgia in the month of December; and though the enemy were very strongly posted in an advantageous situation on the shore, the British troops made good their landing, and advanced towards Savannah the capital of the province. That very day they defeated the force of the provincials which opposed them; and took possession of the town with such celerity, that the Americans had not time to execute a resolution they had taken of setting it on fire. In ten days the whole province of Georgia was reduced, Sunbury alone excepted; and this was also brought under subjection by General Prevost in his march north wards. Every method was taken to secure the tranquillity of the country; and rewards were offered for apprehending committee or assembly men or such as they judged most inimical to the British interests. On the arrival of General Prevost, the command of the troops naturally devolved on him as the senior officer; and the conquest of Carolina was next projected.

In this attempt there was no small probability of success. The country contained a great number of friends to the British government, who now eagerly embraced the opportunity of declaring themselves; many of the inhabitants of Georgia had joined the royal standard; and there was not in the province any considerable body of provincial forces capable of opposing the efforts of regular and well disciplined troops. On the first news of General Prevost's approach, the loyalists assembled in a body, imagining themselves able to stand their ground until their allies should arrive, but in this they were disappointed. The Americans attacked and defeated them with the loss of half their number. The remainder retreated into Georgia; and after undergoing many difficulties, at last effected a junction with the British forces.

In the mean time, General Lincoln, with a considerable body of American troops, had encamped within twenty miles of the town of Savannah; and another strong party had posted themselves at a place called Briar's Creek, farther up the river of the same name. Thus the extent of the British government was likely to be circumscribed within very narrow bounds. General Prevost therefore determined to dislodge the party at Briar's

Creek : and the latter, trusting to their strong situation, and being remiss in their guard, suffered themselves to be surprised on the 30th of March 1779 ; when they were utterly routed, with the loss of four hundred killed and taken, besides a great number drowned in the river or the swamps. The whole artillery, stores baggage, and almost all the arms, of this unfortunate party were taken, so that they could no more make any stand ; and thus the province of Georgia was once more freed from the enemy, and a communication opened with those places in Carolina where the royalists chiefly resided.

The victory at Briar's Creek proved of considerable service to the British cause. Great numbers of the loyalists joined the army, and considerably increased its force. Hence General Prevost was enabled to stretch his posts farther up the river, and to guard all the principal passes ; so that General Lincoln was reduced to a state of inaction ; and at last moved off towards Augusta, in order to protect the provincial assembly, which was obliged to sit in that place, the capital being now in the hands of the British.

Lincoln had no sooner quitted his post, than it was judged a proper time by the British general to put in execution the grand scheme which had been meditated against Carolina. Many difficulties indeed lay in his way. The river Savannah was so swelled by the excessive rains of the season, that it seemed impassable ; the opposite shore, for a great way, was so full of swamps and marshes, that no army could march over it without the greatest difficulty ; and, to render the passage still more difficult, General Moultrie was left with a considerable body of troops in order to oppose the enemy's attempts. But in spite of every opposition, the constancy and perseverance of the British forces at last prevailed. General Moultrie was defeated, and obliged to retire towards Charlestown ; and the victorious army, after having waded through the marshes for some time, at last arrived in an open country, through which they pursued their march with great rapidity towards the capital ; while General Lincoln remained in a state of security at Augusta, imagining that the obstacles he had left in the way could not be surmounted.

Certain intelligence of the danger to which Charlestown was exposed, however, aroused the American general from his lethargy. A chosen body of infantry, mounted on horseback for the greater expedition, was dispatched before him ; while Lincoln himself followed with all the forces he could collect. General Moultrie too, with the troops he had brought from the Savannah, and some others he had collected since his retreat from thence, had taken possession of all the avenues leading to Charlestown, and prepared

for a vigorous defence. But all opposition proved ineffectual. The Americans were defeated in every encounter; and retreating continually, allowed the British army to come within cannon shot of Charlestown on the 12th of May.

The town was now summoned to surrender, and the inhabitants would gladly have agreed to observe a neutrality during the rest of the war, and would have engaged also for the rest of the province. But these terms not being accepted, they made preparations for a vigorous defence. It was not, however, in the power of the British commander at this time to make an attack with any prospect of success. His artillery was not of sufficient weight; there were no ships to support his attack by land; and General Lincoln advancing rapidly with a superior army, threatened to inclose him between his own force and the town; so that should he fail in his first attempt, certain destruction would be the consequence. For these reasons he withdrew his forces from before the town, and took possession of two islands called St. James's and St. John's, lying to the southward; where having waited some time, his force was augmented by the arrival of two frigates.— With these he determined to make himself master of Port Royal, another island possessed of an excellent harbour and many other natural advantages, from its situation also commanding all the seacoast from Charlestown to Savannah River. The American general, however, did not allow this to be accomplished without opposition. Perceiving that his opponent had occupied an advantageous post on St. John's island preparatory to his enterprise against Port Royal, he attempted, on the 20th of June to dislodge him from it: but after an obstinate attack, the provincials were obliged to retire with considerable loss. On this occasion the success of the British arms was in a great measure owing to an armed float; which galled the right flank of the enemy so effectually, that they could direct their efforts only against the strongest part of the lines, which proved impregnable to their attacks. This disappointment was instantly followed by the loss of Port Royal, which General Prevost took possession of, and put his troops into proper stations, waiting for the arrival of such reinforcements as were necessary for the intended attack on Charlestown.

In the mean time, Count d'Estaing, who, as we have already observed, had put into Boston harbour to refit, had used his utmost efforts to ingratiate himself with the inhabitants of that city. Zealous also in the cause of his master, he had published a proclamation to be dispersed through Canada, inviting the people to return to their original friendship with France, and declaring that who renounced their allegiance to Great-Britain should certainly find a protector in the king of France. All his endeavours,

however, proved insufficient at this time to produce any revolution, or even to form a party of any consequence among the Canadians.

As soon as the French admiral had refitted his fleet, he took the opportunity, while that of admiral Byron had been shattered by a storm, of sailing to the West Indies. During his operations there, the Americans having represented his conduct as totally unserviceable to them, he received orders from Europe to assist the colonies with all possible speed.

In compliance with these orders, he directed his course towards Georgia, with a design to recover that province out of the hands of the enemy, and to put it, as well as South Carolina, in such a posture of defence as would effectually secure them from any future attack. This seemed to be an easy matter, from the little force with which he knew he should be opposed: and the next object in contemplation was no less than the destruction of the British fleet and army at New-York, and their total expulsion from the continent of America. Full of these hopes, the French commander arrived off the coast of Georgia with a fleet of twenty-two sail of the line and ten large frigates. His arrival was so little expected, that several vessels laden with provisions and military stores fell into his hands: the *Experiment* also, a vessel of fifty guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, was taken after a stout resistance. On the continent, the British troops were divided. General Prevost, with an inconsiderable part, remained at Savannah; but the main force was under Colonel Maitland at Port Royal. On the first appearance of the French fleet, an express was dispatched to Colonel Maitland: but it was intercepted by the enemy; so that before he could set out in order to join the commander in chief, the Americans had secured most of the passes by land, while the French fleet effectually blocked up the passage by sea. But by taking advantage of creeks and inlets, and marching over land, he arrived just in time to relieve Savannah.

D'Estaing, after making a gasconade of what had happened at St. Vincent's and Grenada, had allowed General Prevost twenty-four hours to deliberate whether he should capitulate or not. This time the general employed in making the best preparations he could for a defence; and during this time it was that Colonel Maitland arrived. D'Estaing's summons was now rejected; and as on this occasion the superiority of the enemy was by no means so much out of proportion as it had been at Grenada, there was every probability of success on the part of the British. The garrison now consisted of three thousand men, all of approved valour and experience, while the united force of the French and

Americans did not amount to ten thousand. The event was answerable to the expectations of the British general. Having the advantage of a strong fortification and excellent engineers, the fire of the allies made so little impression, that D'Eſtaing resolved to bombard the town, and a battery of nine mortars was erected for the purpose. This produced a request from General Prevost, that the women and children might be allowed to retire to a place of safety. But the allied commanders refused to comply; and they resolved to give a general assault. This was accordingly attempted on the 9th of October: but the assailants were every where repulied with such slaughter, that twelve hundred were killed and wounded; among the former were Count Polaski, and among the latter was D'Eſtaing himself.

This disaster entirely overthrew the sanguine hopes of the Americans and French; mutual reproaches and animosities took place in the most violent degree; and after waiting eight days longer, both parties prepared for a retreat; the French to their shipping, and the Americans into Carolina.

While the allies were thus unsuccessfully employed in the northern colonies, their antagonists were no less assiduously directing them in the southern parts. Sir George Collier was sent with a fleet, carrying on board General Matthews, with a body of land forces, into the province of Virginia. Their first attempt was on the town of Portsmouth: where, though the enemy had destroyed some ships of great value, the British troops arrived in time to save a great number of others. On this occasion about one hundred and twenty vessels of different sizes were burnt, and twenty carried off, and an immense quantity of provisions designed for the use of General Washington's army was either destroyed or carried off, together with a great variety of small arms and military stores. The fleet and army returned with little or no loss to New-York.

The success with which this expedition was attended, soon gave encouragement to attempt another. The Americans had for some time been employed in the erection of two strong forts on the river: the one at Verplank's Neck on the east, and the other at Stony Point on the west side. These when completed would have been of the utmost service to the Americans, as commanding the principal pass, called the Narrows, between the northern and southern colonies. At present however, they were not in a condition to make any effectual defence; and it was therefore determined to attack them before the work could be completed. The force employed on this occasion was divided into two bodies; one of which directed its course against Verplank's Neck, and the other against Stony Point. The former was

commanded by General Vaughan, the latter by General Pattison, while the shipping was under the direction of Sir George Collier. General Vaughan met with no resistance, the enemy abandoning their works, and setting fire to every thing combustible that they could not carry off. At Stoney Point, however, a vigorous defence was made, though the garrison was at last obliged to capitulate upon honourable conditions. To secure the possession of this last, which was the more important of the two, General Clinton removed from his former situation, and encamped in such a manner that General Washington could not give any assistance. The Americans, however, revenged themselves by distressing, with their numerous privateers, the trade to New-York.

This occasioned a third expedition to Connecticut, where these privateers were chiefly built and harboured. The command was given to Governor Tryon and to General Garth, an officer of known valour and experience. Under convoy of a considerable number of armed vessels they landed at Newhaven, where they demolished the batteries that had been erected to oppose them, and destroyed the shipping and naval stores; but they spared the town itself, as the inhabitants had abstained from firing out of their houses upon the troops. From Newhaven they marched to Fairfield, where they proceeded as before, reducing the town also to ashes. Norwalk was next attacked, which in like manner was reduced to ashes; as was also Greenfield, a small seaport in the neighbourhood.

These successes proved very alarming as well as detrimental to the Americans; so that General Washington determined at all events to drive the enemy from Stoney Point. For this purpose he sent General Wayne with a detachment of chosen men, directing them to attempt the recovery of it by surprise. On this occasion the Americans shewed a spirit and resolution exceeding any thing they had performed during the course of the war. Though after the capture of it by the British the fortifications of this place had been completed, and were very strong, they attacked the enemy with bayonets, after passing through a heavy fire of musquetry and grape-shot; and in spite of all opposition, obliged the surviving part of the garrison, amounting to five hundred men, to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Though the Americans did not at present attempt to retain possession of Stoney Point, the success they had met with in the enterprise emboldened them to make a similar attempt on Paulus Hook, a fortified post on the Jersey side opposite to New York; but in this they were not attended with equal success, being obliged to retire with precipitation after they had made themselves masters of one or two posts.

Another expedition of greater importance was now projected on the part of the Americans. This was against a post on the river Penobscot, on the borders of Nova Scotia, of which the British had lately taken possession, and were they had begun to erect a fort which threatened to be a very great inconvenience to the colonists. The armament destined against it was so soon got in readiness, that Colonel Maclean, the commanding officer at Penobscot, found himself obliged to drop the execution of part of his scheme; and instead of a regular fort, to content himself with putting the works already constructed in as good a posture of defence as possible. The Americans could not effect a landing without a great deal of difficulty, and bringing the guns of their largest vessels to bear upon the shore. As soon as this was done, however, they erected several batteries, and kept up a brisk fire for the space of a fortnight; after which they proposed to give a general assault: but before this could be effected, they perceived Sir George Collier with a British fleet sailing up the river to attack them. On this they instantly embarked their artillery and military stores, sailing up the river as far as possible in order to avoid him. They were so closely pursued, however, that not a single vessel could escape; so that the whole fleet, consisting of nineteen armed vessels and twenty-four transports, was destroyed; most of them indeed being blown up by themselves. The soldiers and sailors were obliged to wander through immense deserts, where they suffered much for want of provisions; and to add to their calamities, a quarrel broke out between the soldiers and seamen concerning the cause of their disaster, which ended in a violent fray, wherein a great number were killed.

Thus the Arms of America and France being almost every where unsuccessful, the independency of the former seemed yet to be in danger notwithstanding the assistance of so powerful an ally, when further encouragement was given by the accession of Spain to the confederacy against Britain in the month of June 1779. The first effect of this appeared in an invasion of West Florida by the Spaniards in September 1779. As the country was in no state of defence, the enemy easily made themselves masters of the whole almost without opposition. Their next enterprise was against the Bay of Honduras, where the British log-wood-cutters were settled. These finding themselves too weak to resist, applied to the governor of Jamaica for relief; who sent them a supply of men, ammunition, and military stores, under Captain Dalrymple. Before the arrival of this detachment, the principal settlement in those parts, called *St. George's Key*, had been taken by the Spaniards and retaken by the British. In his way Captain Dalrymple fell in with a squadron from Admiral

in much of the rest they hoped to hide, but were
 in vain. The Spaniards, however, were too strongly posted
 to be attacked with safety. A proposal was then
 made to the people of Honduras to join the
 Spaniards, who were to be paid for their services; but the Spaniards having
 refused, they were obliged to fight. With very quickly
 and for the first time, but the Spaniards were so strong,
 the artillery they had brought along with them were found
 to be of no great use. It was then determined to
 make a breach in the wall, and this was executed with
 great success, that the Spaniards fled without making
 any resistance, and in spite of all the efforts of the officers, threw
 all their arms and surrendered. The spoil was immense, be-
 lieved at three millions of dollars. The Spaniards made
 the loss of two hundred and fifty quintals of quick
 silver, which was indispensably necessary in the working of
 gold and silver mines, so that they offered to ransom it
 for five hundred thousand dollars, but this was refused, as well as the ransom of the
 town, though the government offered three hundred thousand dol-
 lars. A small garrison was left for the defence of the
 town, but it was quickly attacked by a superior force, and obliged
 to retreat, though not without making some thing worth
 the notice of the enemy, taking some guns, and even being
 the first to carry off the keys. All this was
 in the sight of the burghers, after which the garrison em-
 braced the flag of a man.

The results of any consequence to be placed in the
 province of New-York, the Congress made use of the
 authority to dispatch General Sullivan to the north, to
 take very much on the Indians for their ravages and
 depredations; and the object of the expedition was, to utterly
 destroy them, but if possible, to reserve some of the
 Indians who were appointed, and selecting all their strength,
 and to come to a decisive engagement. As the Indians
 were not in the most weak and distressed part of the
 country, erecting a fort with in the fort of the Indians,
 and extending the same in a line of about three miles,
 covered by a range of the hills, and of which the
 Indians were posted, they had not had time to erect
 any other fort, and of course, the Indians were
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same time a party having reached the top of the hill, they became apprehensive of being surrounded, on which they instantly fled with precipitation, leaving a great number of killed and wounded behind them. The Americans after this battle met with no further resistance of any consequence. They were suffered to proceed without interruption, and to execute in the most ample manner the vengeance they had projected. On entering the country of the Indians, it appeared that they had been acquainted with agriculture and the arts of peace far beyond what had been supposed. From General Sullivan's account it was learned, that the Indian houses were large, convenient, and even elegant; their grounds were excellently cultivated, and their gardens abounded in fruit-trees and vegetables of all kinds fit for food. The whole of this fine country was now by the American general converted into a desert. Forty towns and settlements, besides scattered habitations, were demolished; the fields of corn, the orchards, the plantations, were utterly laid waste; all the fruit-trees were cut down; and it great had been the industry of the Indians, that in one orchard one thousand five hundred of these were cut down. The quantity of corn wasted on this occasion was supposed to amount to one hundred and sixty thousand bushels. In short, such was the desolation, that on the American army's leaving the country, not a house, not a field of corn, nor a fruit-tree, was left up on the ground, nor was an Indian to be seen there; not a house left standing.

With respect to a view of the transactions in the Southern colonies, to which the war was, in the year 1780, so effectually transferred, that the operations there became at last decisive.—The successes of General Mifflin in advancing to the very capital of South Carolina, has been already related, together with the obstacles which prevented him from becoming master of it at that time. Towards the end of the year 1780, however, Sir Henry Clinton set sail from New-York with a considerable body of troops, attended by the attack of Charlestown, South Carolina, in a fleet of ships of war and transports under the command of Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot. They had a very tedious voyage, the weather was uncommonly bad; several of the transports were lost, as were also the greatest part of the boats which they carried with them, intended for cavalry or other purposes, and an ordnance ship likewise foundered at sea. Having arrived at Savannah, where they endeavoured to repair the damages sustained on their voyage, they proceeded from thence on the 10th of February 1780 to North Edisto, the place of debarkation which had been previously appointed. They had a favourable and speedy passage thither, and though it required time to have the

was exploded and the channel marked, the troops all entered the harbor the next day, and the army took possession of John's Island with no opposition. Parke's army was then employed in passing the liquidum over Charleston bar, where the shoal water spring tides were only thirteen feet deep, but the opposition rendered it dangerous to the harbour and the town of Moultrie, when it was believed without any accident, though the American galleys were actually attempted to prevent the English boats from rounding the channel. The British troops had previously arrived from John's to Jones's Island, and on the 29th of the same month the British landed their landing on Charleston Neck. On the 1st of April they broke ground with eight hundred yards of the American works, and by the 6th the besiegers guns were mounted in battery.

As soon as the army began to erect their batteries against the town, Admiral Arbuthnot embarked the first seven British frigates of the fleet Sullivan's Island, in new, which were a strong fort of batteries the chief defence of the position. He sailed on the 29th, with the Roebuck, Richmond and Renown, Blanche, Virginia, Raleigh, and Sandwich armed ships, the Renown being up on the rear band, passing through a severe fire, anchored in about two hours under Jones's Island, with the loss of twenty-seven seamen killed and wounded. The Richmond's fore topmast was shot away, and the ships in general sustained damage in their masts and rigging, though not in their hulls. — But the American transport, having on board some naval stores, grounded within gunshot of Sullivan's Island, and received so much damage that she was obliged to be burnt and red burnt.

On the 29th, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot threatened the town to surrender to his Majesty's arms: but Major General Lincoln, who commanded in Charleston, returned their answer, declaring it to be his intention to defend the place. The batteries were now opened against the town, and from their effect the fire of the American advanced works considerably abated. It appears that the number of troops under the command of Lincoln were not sufficient to defend the works of such extent as that of Charleston, and that many of them were nearly exhausted and in a manner, having been exposed with cloaths and other necessaries. General Lincoln had been for some time expecting reinforcements and supplies from Virginia and other places, but they were not sent, and the town was in a small number of accounts extremely scarce in provisions.

a considerable body of cavalry and militia which was proceeding to the relief of the town; and also made themselves masters of some posts, which gave them in a great degree the command of the country, by which means great supplies of provisions fell into their hands.

Such was the state of things, and Fort Sullivan had also been taken by the king's troops, when on the 18th of May General Clinton again summoned the town to surrender; an offer being made, as had been done before, that if they surrendered, the lives and property of the inhabitants should be preserved to them.—Articles of capitulation were then proposed by General Lincoln; but the terms were not agreed to by General Clinton. At length, however, the town being closely invested on all sides, and the preparations to storm it in every part being in great forwardness, and the ships ready to move to the assault, General Lincoln, who had been applied to for that purpose by the inhabitants, surrendered it on such articles of capitulation as General Clinton held before as a pretext. This was on the 3d of May, which was chosen as the best day, after that it would have been first written to General Clinton.

A large quantity of cannon, arms, and ammunition, were found in Charlestown, and, according to our Henry Clinton's account, the number of prisoners taken in Charlestown amounted to five thousand five hundred and eighty seven, exclusive of near a thousand sailors and marines; but according to General Lincoln's account, transmitted to the Congress, the whole number of continental troops taken prisoners amounted to no more than two thousand five hundred and eighty seven. The remainder, therefore, included in General Clinton's account, must have consisted of militia and volunteers of the town. Several American frigates were at anchor in the harbor of Charlestown.

The fall of Charlestown evidently excited a considerable alarm in America, and then popular writers, particularly the author of a piece entitled *the performance intitled Common Sense*, in some other pieces made use of the successful argument to lead them to more vigorous exertions against Great Britain, that they might the more effectually be able to recover their independence.

While Mr Henry Clinton was employed in his voyage to Charlestown, and in the siege of Fort Mifflin, the British in New-York had not to days been without fresh reinforcements for their army. A vessel called *the General*, with great sails, came from the middle of December 1776, and shut up the harbor of New-York from the sea, within a few days after the capture of Fort Mifflin; and General Clinton, the reverse of the weather, created so great

a degree, that towards the middle of January all communications with New-York by water were entirely cut off, and as many new ones opened by the ice. The inhabitants could scarcely be said to be in an insular state. Horses with heavy carriages could go over the ice into the Jerseys from one island to another. The passage in the North River, even in the widest part from New-York to Paulus Hook, which was two thousand yards, was about the 19th of January practicable for the heaviest cannon: an event which had been unknown in the memory of man. Provisions were soon after transported upon sledges, and a detachment of cavalry marched upon the ice from New-York to Staten Island, which was a distance of eleven miles.

The city of New-York being thus circumstanced, was considered as much exposed to the attacks from the continental troops: and it was strongly reported that General Washington was meditating a great stroke upon New-York with his whole force, by different attacks. Some time before this, Major General Pattison, commandant at New-York, having received an address from many of the inhabitants, offering to put themselves in military array, he thought the present a favourable opportunity of trying the sincerity of their professions. Accordingly he issued a proclamation, calling upon all the male inhabitants from sixteen to sixty to take up arms. The requisition was so readily complied with, that in a few days, forty companies from the six wards of the city were inrolled, officered, and under arms, to the number of two thousand six hundred, many substantial citizens serving in the ranks of each company. Other volunteer companies were formed; and the city was put into a very strong posture of defence.

No attack, however, was made upon New-York, whatever design might originally have been meditated: but an attempt was made upon Staten Island, where there were about eighteen hundred men, under the command of Brigadier-general Sterling, who were well intrenched. General Washington, whose army was huddled at Morris-Town, sent a detachment of two thousand seven hundred men, with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and some horses, commanded by Lord Sterling, who arrived at Staten Island early in the morning of the 15th of January. The advanced posts of the British troops retired upon the approach of the Americans, who formed the line, and made some movements in the course of the day; but they withdrew in the night, after having burnt one house, pillaged some others, and carried off with them about two hundred head of cattle. Immediately on the arrival of the Americans on Staten Island, Lieutenant-general Knyphausen had embarked ten hundred men to destroy a vessel,

and to support General Sterling: but the floating ice compelled them to return. It is, however, imagined, that the appearance of these transports, with the British troops on board, which the Americans could see towards the close of the day, induced the latter to make so precipitate a retreat.

After Charlestown had surrendered to the king's troops, General Clinton issued two proclamations, and also circulated a lord-bill amongst the inhabitants of South Carolina, in order to induce them to return to their allegiance, and to be ready to join the king's troops. It was said, that the helping hand of every man was wanted to re-establish peace and good government: and that as the commander in chief wished not to draw the king's friends into danger, while any doubt could remain of their loyalty; he now that this was certain, he trusted that one and all would manfully join, and by a general concurrence give effect to such necessary measures for that purpose as from time to time might be pointed out. Those who had families were to form a militia to remain at home, and occasionally to assemble in their own districts when required, under orders of their own choosing, for the maintenance of peace and good order. Those who had no families, and who could conveniently be spared for a time, it was proclaimed, would cheerfully assist his Majesty's troops in driving their oppressors, acting under the authority of congress, and all the powers of war, far from that colony. For this purpose it was said to be necessary that the young men should be ready to assemble when required, and to serve with the king's troops for any six months of the ensuing twelve that might be found requisite, under proper regulations. They might choose officers to each company to command them, and were to be allowed, when on service, pay, ammunition, and provisions, in the same manner as the king's troops. When they joined the army, each man was to be furnished with a certificate, declaring that he was only engaged to serve as a militiaman for the time specified; that he was not to be marched beyond North Carolina and Georgia, and that, when the time was out, he was freed from all claims whatever of military service, excepting the common and usual militiaman's duty where he lived. He would then, it was said, have paid his debt to his country, and be intitled to enjoy undisturbed that peace, liberty, and property, at home, which he had contributed to procure. The proclamations and publications of General Clinton appeared to have produced some effect in South Carolina; though they chiefly operated on those who were better situated as to property, and less devoted to the cause of American independence. The volunteers and volunteers of Charlestown signed an address to General Clinton, and others, in which they

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redemption, they saw their paper-currency —

The depreciation continued, by a kind of gradual process, from the year 1777 to 1780: so that at the latter period, Continental dollars were paid, by common consent, in most of America, at the rate of at least $\frac{1}{10}$ th below their nominal value. The impossibility of keeping up the credit of the currency to any great amount, occasioned great and almost insurmountable embarrassments in settling the value of property, or in any transaction made with any distant certainty. Those who sold, or those who bought, were left without a rule whereon to judge of the value of their property, and every species of commerce, whether foreign or domestic, was exposed to great and increasing difficulties. The consequences of the depreciation of the paper-currency were also felt with peculiar acuteness by such of the Americans as were engaged in their service, and were aggravated by their other hardships. The requisitions made by the congress to the several colonies, which were almost from always being regularly complied with, and the troops were not infrequently in want of the most necessary necessaries, which naturally occasioned complaints and discontent among them. Some of these difficulties, resulting from their circumstances and situation, perhaps no wisdom could have prevented; but they seem to have arisen in part from the want of a more fully acquainted with the principles of

Be able to maintain their independency. The 4th of July was celebrated this year at Philadelphia with some pomp, as the anniversary of American independence. A commencement for conferring degrees in the arts was held the same day, in the hall of the university there; at which the president and members of the congress attended, and other persons in public offices. The Chevalier De la Lucerne, minister plenipotentiary from the French king to the United States, was also present on the occasion. A charge was publicly addressed by the provost of the university to the students; in which he said, that he could not but congratulate them "on that auspicious day, which, amidst the confusions and desolations of war, beheld learning beginning to revive; and animated them with the pleasing prospect of seeing the sacred lamp of science burning with a still brighter flame, and scattering its invigorating rays over the unexplored deserts of that extensive continent, until the whole world should be involved in the united blaze of knowledge, liberty, and religion. When he stretched his views forward (he said), and surveyed the rising glories of America, the enriching consequences of their determined struggle for liberty, the extensive fields of intellectual improvement and useful invention, in science and arts, in agriculture and commerce, in religion and government, through which the unfettered mind would range, with increasing delight, in quest of the undiscovered treasure which yet lay concealed in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms of that new world, or in the other fertile sources of knowledge with which it abounded; his heart swelled with the pleasing prospect, that the sons of that institution would distinguish themselves, in the different walks of life, by their literary contributions to the embellishment and increase of human happiness."

On the 10th of July, M. Ternay, with a fleet consisting of seven ships of the line, besides frigates, and a large body of French troops, commanded by Count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island; and the following day six thousand men were landed there. A committee from the general assembly of Rhode Island, was appointed to congratulate the French general on his arrival: whereupon he returned an answer, in which he informed them, that the king his master had sent him to the assistance of his good and faithful allies the United States of America. At present, he said he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid; and the king had ordered him to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support. He added, that the French troops were under the strict disci-

plins; and, acting under the orders of General Washington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

A scheme was soon formed, of making a combined attack with English ships and troops, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, against the French fleet and troops at Rhode-Island. Accordingly a considerable part of the troops at New-York were embarked for that purpose. General Washington having received information of this, passed the North River, by a very rapid movement, and, with an army increased to twelve thousand men, proceeded with celerity towards King's Bridge, in order to attack New-York; but learning that the British general had changed his intentions, and disembarked his troops on the gulf of the month, General Washington recrossed the river and returned to his former station. Sir Henry Clinton and the Admiral had agreed to relinquish their design of attacking the French and Americans at Rhode-Island as impracticable for the present.

An unsuccessful attempt was also made about this time in the Jerseys, by General Knyghauten, with seven thousand British troops under his command, to surprise the advanced posts of General Washington's army. They proceeded very rapidly towards Springfield, meeting with little opposition till they came to the bridge there, which was very gallantly defended by one hundred and seventy of the continental troops, for fifteen minutes, against the British army; but they were at length obliged to give up so unequal a contest, with the loss of thirty-seven men. After securing this pass, the British troops marched into the place, and set fire to most of the houses. They also committed some other depredations in the Jerseys, but gained no laurels there, being obliged to return about the beginning of July without effecting any thing material.

But in South Carolina the royal arms were attended with more success. Earl Cornwallis, who commanded the British troops there, obtained a very signal victory over General Gates on the 16th of August. The action began at break of day, in a situation very advantageous for the British troops, but very unfavourable to the Americans. The latter were much more numerous, but the ground on which both armies stood was narrowed by swamps on the right and left, so that the Americans could not properly avail themselves of their superior numbers. There seems to have been a want of generalship in Gates, in suffering himself to be brought into an disadvantageous position; but this circumstance was not the effect of accident, for both armies set out with a design of attacking each other precisely at the same time, at ten the preceding morning, and met together before day-light at the place where the action happened. The attack was made by the British troops with great vigour, and in a few minutes the action

was general along the whole line. It was at this time a dead calm, with a little haziness in the air, which preventing the smoke from rising, occasioned so thick a darkness, that it was difficult to see the effect of a very heavy and well-supported fire on both sides. The British troops either kept up a constant fire, or made use of bayonets, as opportunities offered; and after an obstinate resistance during three quarters of an hour, threw the Americans into total confusion, and forced them to give way in all quarters. The continental troops appear to have behaved well, but the militia were soon broken, and left the former to oppose the whole force of the British troops. General Gates did all in his power to rally the militia, but without effect: the continentals retreated in some order, but the rout of the militia was so great, that the British cavalry are said to have pursued them to the distance of twenty-two miles from the place where the action happened. The loss of the Americans was very considerable: about one thousand prisoners were taken, and more are said to have been killed and wounded, but the number is not accurately ascertained. Seven pieces of brass cannon, a number of colours, and all the ammunition-waggons of the Americans, were also taken. Of the British troops, the killed and wounded amounted to two hundred and thirteen.— Among the prisoners taken was Major-General Baron de Kalb, a Prussian officer in the American service, who was mortally wounded, having exhibited great gallantry in the course of the action, and received eleven wounds. The British troops by which this great victory was achieved, did not much exceed two thousand, while the American army is said to have amounted to six thousand; of which, however, the greatest part were militia.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, who had greatly distinguished himself in this action, was detached the following day, with some cavalry and light infantry, amounting to about three hundred and fifty men, to attack a corps of Americans under General Sumpter. He executed this service with great activity and military address. He procured good information of Sumpter's movement; and by forced and concealed marches came up with and surprised him in the middle of the day on the 18th, near the Catawba fords. He totally destroyed or dispersed his detachment, which consisted of seven hundred men, killing one hundred and fifty on the spot, and taking two pieces of brass cannon, three hundred prisoners, and forty-four waggons.

Not long after these events, means were found to detach Major-General Arnold, who had engaged so ardently in the cause of America, and who had exhibited so much bravery in the support of it, from the interests of the congress. Major Andre, Adjutant General to the British army, was a principal agent in

was nothing in the execution of this unfortunate gentleman but what was perfectly consonant to the rules of war.

Arnold was made a brigadier general in the King's service, and published an address to the inhabitants of America, dated from New-York, October 7, in which he endeavoured to justify his desertion of their cause. He said that when he first engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and duty and honour called him to her defence. A redress of grievances was his only aim and object: and therefore he acquiesced unwillingly in the declaration of independence, because he thought it precipitate. But what now induced him to desert their cause was the disgust he had conceived at the French alliance, and at the refusal of Congress to comply with the last terms offered by Great-Britain, which he thought equal to all their expectations and to all their wishes.

The Americans, however, accounted for the conduct of Arnold in a different manner. They alledged that he had so involved himself in debts and difficulties by his extravagant manner of living in America, that he had rendered it very inconvenient for him to continue there: that after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British troops, General Arnold, being invested with the command of that city, had made the house of Mr. Penn, which was the best in the city, his head quarters. This he had furnished in an elegant and expensive manner, and lived in a style far beyond his income. It was manifest, they said, that he could at first have no great aversion to the French alliance, because that when M. Gerard, minister plenipotentiary from the court of France, arrived at Philadelphia in July 1778, General Arnold early and earnestly solicited that minister, with his whole suite, to take apartments and bed and board at his house, until a proper house could be provided by order of the Congress. This offer M. Gerard accepted, and continued with him some weeks. The French minister resided upwards of fourteen months in Philadelphia; during which time General Arnold kept up the most friendly and intimate acquaintance with him, and there was a continued interchange of dinners, balls, routs, and concerts, so that M. Gerard must have believed, that in General Arnold he had found and left one of the warmest friends the court of France had in America. He was also one of the first in congratulating the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French minister. About this time complaints were agitated him by the government, on account of his practices: among which charges were, that he had sold property to his own use, and merchandize to his own use, in Philadelphia in Jⁿ

a court-martial that his conduct was highly reprehensible; but he was indulgently treated, and was therefore only reprimanded by the commander in chief General Washington. It was in these circumstances, the Americans tired, bankrupted in reputation and fortune, loaded with debts, and having a growing and expensive family, that General Arnold first turned his thoughts towards joining the royal army.

After the defeat of General Gates by Earl Cornwallis, the latter exerted himself to the utmost in extending the progress of the British arms, and with considerable effect. But one enterprise which was conducted by Major Fergusson, proved unsuccessful. That officer had taken abundant pains to excite some of the tory militia, as they were termed; and with a party of these and some British troops, amounting in the whole to about one thousand-four hundred men, made incursions into the country. But on the 7th of October he was attacked by a superior body of Americans at a place called King's Mountain, and totally defeated. One hundred and fifty were killed in the action and eight hundred and ten more prisoners, of which one hundred and fifty were wounded. Fifteen hundred stand of arms also fell into the hands of the Americans, whose loss was inconceivable. But the following month Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, who continued to exert his usual activity and bravery, with a party of one hundred and seventy, chiefly cavalry, attacked and defeated General Sumpter, who is said to have had one thousand men, at a place called Black Stocks. Sumpter was wounded, and about one hundred and twenty of the Americans killed, wounded, or taken. Of the British troops about fifty were killed and wounded.

On the 31st of September the *Mercury*, a cargo's packet, was taken by the *Vestal*. Captain Kerpell near Newfoundland. On board this packet was Mr. Lomen, the President of the Congress, who was bound on an embassy to Holland. He had thrown his papers overboard, but great part of them were recovered without having received much damage. He was brought to London, and examined before the privy council, in consequence of which he was committed close prisoner to the Tower, on the 6th of October, on a charge of high treason. His papers were delivered to the ministers, and continued to excite a rupture with Holland, as among them was found the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the United States of America.

At the beginning of the year 1781, an affair happened in America, from which expectations were formed by Sir Henry Clinton, that some considerable advantage might be derived to the

royal cause. The long continuance of the war, and the difficulties under which the Congress laboured, had prevented their troops from being properly supplied with necessaries and conveniences. In consequence of this, on the first of January, the American troops that were huddled at Morris Town, and who formed what was called the Pennsylvania Line, turned out, being in number about one thousand three hundred, and declared, that they would serve no longer, unless their grievances were redressed, as they had not received their pay, or been furnished with the necessary cloathing or provisions. It is said that they were somewhat inflamed with liquor, in consequence of rum having been distributed to them more liberally than usual, New-Year's Day being considered as a kind of festival. A riot ensued, in which an officer was killed, and four wounded: five or six of the insurgents were also wounded. They then collected the artillery, stores, provisions, and waggons, and marched out of the camp. They passed by the quarters of General Wayne, who sent a message to them, requesting them to desist, or the consequences would prove fatal. They refused, and proceeded on their march till the evening, when they took post on an advantageous piece of ground, and elected officers from among themselves. On the second, they marched to Middlebrook, and on the third to Princetown, where they fixed their quarters. On that day a flag of truce was sent to them from the officers of the American camp, with a message, desiring to know what were their intentions. Some of them answered, that they had already served longer than the time for which they were enlisted, and would serve no longer; and others, that they would not return, unless their grievances were redressed. But at the same time they repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, denied being influenced by the least disaffection to the American cause, or having any intentions of deserting to the enemy.

Intelligence of this transaction was soon conveyed to New-York. A large body of British troops were immediately ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move on the shortest notice, it being hoped that the American rebels might be induced to join the royal army. Messages were sent to them from General Clinton, acquainting them that they should be taken under the protection of the British government; that they should have a free pardon for all offences; and that they should be sent to them from the Congress, to be faithfully paid out any expectation of military service, military upon condition of not joining downing to their allegiance. It was also more beyond the South River;

body of British troops should be ready to protect them whenever they desired it. These propositions were rejected with disdain, and they even delivered up two of Sir Henry Clinton's messengers to the congress. Joseph Reed, Esq. president of the State of Pennsylvania, afterwards repaired to them at Princetown, and an accommodation took place: such of them as had served out their full terms were permitted to return to their own homes, and others again joined the American army, upon receiving satisfactory assurances that their grievances should be redressed.

Lord Cornwallis now began to make very vigorous exertions, in order to penetrate into North Carolina. On the 11th of January his Lordship's army was in motion, and advancing towards that province; but was somewhat delayed by an attempt made by the Americans, under General Morgan, to make themselves masters of the valuable district of Ninety-six. In order to prevent this, Lord Cornwallis detached Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, with three hundred cavalry, three hundred light infantry, the seventh regiment, the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment and two three-pounders, to oppose the progress of Morgan, not doubting but that he would be able to perform this service effectually. The British troops came up with the Americans under General Morgan on the 17th of January. The Americans were drawn up in an open wood, and having been lately joined by some militia, were more numerous than the British troops under Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton; but the latter were so much better disciplined, that they had the utmost confidence of obtaining a speedy victory. The attack was begun by the first line of infantry, consisting of the seventh regiment and a corps of light infantry, with a troop of cavalry placed on each flank. The first battalion of the seventy-first and the remainder of the cavalry formed the reserve. The American line soon gave way, and their militia quit the field; upon which the royal troops, supporting the victory already gained, engaged with ardour in the pursuit, and were thereby thrown into some disorder: General Morgan's corps, who were supposed to have been routed, then immediately fired about a hundred men in a heavy fire upon the king's troops, which occasioned the utmost confusion amongst them, and they were at length totally defeated by the Americans. Four hundred of the British infantry were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoner: the loss of the cavalry was much less considerable; but the two three-pounders fell into the hands of the Americans, together with the colours of the seventh regiment; and all the detached part of royal artillery were either killed or wounded in defence of their colours. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, however, made another effort, having assembled about fifty of

his cavalry, he charged and repulsed Colonel Washington's horse, retook his baggage, and killed the Americans who were appointed to guard it. He then retreated to Hamilton's ford, near the mouth of Bullock's creek, carrying with him part of his baggage, and destroying the remainder.

This defeat of the troops under Tarleton was a severe stroke to Lord Cornwallis, as the loss of his light infantry was a great disadvantage to him. The day after that event, he employed in collecting the remains of Tarleton's corps, and endeavouring to form a junction with General Iellie, who had been ordered to march towards him with a body of British troops from Wynnethborough. Considerable exertions were then made by part of the army, without baggage, to retake the prisoners in the hands of the Americans, and to intercept General Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba. But that American officer, after his defeat of Tarleton, had made forced marches up into the country, and crossed the Catawba the evening before a great rain, which swelled the river to such a degree, as to prevent the royal army from crossing for several days; during which time the British prisoners were got over the Yadkin; whence they proceeded to Dan River, which they also passed, and on the 14th of February had reached Court-house in the province of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis employed a halt of two days in collecting some flour, and in destroying superfluous baggage and all his waggons excepting those laden with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four reserved empty in readiness for sick or wounded. Being thus freed from all unnecessary incumbrances, he marched through North Carolina with great rapidity, and penetrated to the remotest extremities of that province on the banks of the Dan. His progress was sometimes impeded by parties of the militia, and some skirmishes ensued, but he met with no very considerable opposition. On the 11th of February, the king's troops crossed the Catawba at McCrory's Ford, where General Davison, with a party of American militia, was posted, in order to oppose their passage, but he falling by the first discharge, the royal troops made good their landing, and then marched on to the American fort Cornwallis arrived at Henderson's on the 12th of March, and invited, by proclamation, all the militia of the province to stand forth and oppose the part in which they were engaged, rather ordered by Cornwallis. He had seen that the king's troops were numerous in the part of the country; but the event did not confirm

(contd.)

tion that had been given. The
ber, and some of them in the mid

were, indeed, about two hundred who were proceeding to Hillsborough, under Colonel Pyle, in order to avow their attachment to the royal cause; but they were met accidentally, and surrounded by a detachment from the American army, by whom a number of them are said to have been killed when they were begging for quarter, without making the least resistance. Meanwhile General Greene was marching with great expedition with the troops under his command, in order to form a junction with other corps of American troops, that he might thereby be enabled to put an effectual stop to the progress of Lord Cornwallis.

In other places some considerable advantages were obtained by the royal arms. On the 4th of January, some ships of war with a number of transports, on board which was a large body of troops under the command of Brigadier-General Arnold, arrived at Wexford, about one hundred and forty miles from the Capes of Virginia, where the troops immediately landed and marched to Richmond; which they reached without opposition, the militia that was collected having retreated on their approach. Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe marched from hence with a detachment of British troops to Wetham, where they destroyed one of the finest foundations for cannon in America, and a large quantity of stores and cannon. General Arnold, on his arrival at Richmond, found there large quantities of salt, rum, sail-cloth, tobacco, and other merchandise, and that part of these commodities which was public property he destroyed. The British troops afterwards attacked and dispersed some small parties of the Americans, took some stores and a few pieces of cannon, and the 20th of the same month marched into Portsmouth. On the 25th Captain Barclay, with several ships of war, and a body of troops under the command of Major Craig, arrived in Cape Fear river. The troops landed about nine miles from Wilmington, and on the 28th entered that town. It was understood that their having possession of that town, and being masters of Cape Fear river, would be productive of very beneficial effects to Lord Cornwallis's army.

General Greene having effected a junction about the 10th of March with a continental regiment of what were called *right men*, and two large bodies of militia belonging to Virginia and North Carolina, formed a resolution to attack the British troops under the command of Lord Cornwallis. The American army marched from the High Rock Ford on the 12th of the month, and on the 14th arrived at Guildford. Lord Cornwallis, from the information he had received of the motions of the American general, concluded what were his designs. As they approached more nearly to each other, a few skirmishes ensued

between some advanced parties, in which the king's troops had the advantage. On the morning of the 15th, Lord Cornwallis marched with his troops at day-break in order to meet the Americans, or to attack them in their encampment. About four miles from Guildford, the advanced guard of the British army, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, fell in with a corps of the Americans, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Lee's legion, some Back Mountain men and Virginian militia, with whom he had a severe skirmish, but whom he at length obliged to retreat.

The greater part of the country in which the action happened is a wilderness, with a few cleared fields interspersed. The American army, which was superior to the royal in point of numbers, was posted on a rising ground about a mile and a half from Guildford court-house. It was drawn up in three lines: the front line was composed of the North Carolinian militia, under the command of the Generals Butler and Eaton; the second line of Virginian militia, commanded by the Generals Stephens and Lawson, forming two brigades; the third line, consisting of two brigades, one of Virginia and one of Maryland continental troops, commanded by General Huger and Colonel Williams. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, with the dragoons of the first and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry composed of continental troops, and a regiment of riflemen under Colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of their right flank. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen under Colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of their left flank. The attack on the American army was directed to be made by Lord Cornwallis in the following order: On the right, the regiment of Bose and the seventy-first regiment, led by Major-General Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of guards; on the left, the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, and supported by the grenadiers and second battalion of guards commanded by Brigadier-General O'Hara; the Yagers and light infantry of the guards remained in a wood on the left of the guns, and the cavalry in the road, ready to act as circumstances might require.

About half an hour after one in the afternoon, the action commenced by a cannonade, which lasted about twenty minutes; then the British troops advanced in three columns and attacked the North Carolinian brigades with great vigour, and soon obliged part of these troops, who behaved very ill, to quit the field: the Virginian militia gave them a warm reception, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time, till being beaten back, the action

nant-Colonel Tarleton were also wounded. Of the Americans the principal officer killed was Major Anderson of the Maryland line, and the generals Stephens and Huger were wounded.

The British troops underwent great hardships in the course of this campaign; and in a letter of Lord Cornwallis's to Lord George Germain, dated March 17th, he observed, that "the soldiers had been two days without bread." His lordship quitted Guildford three days after the battle which was fought in that place; and on the 7th of April arrived in the neighbourhood of Wilmington. Soon after, General Greene, notwithstanding his late defeat, endeavoured to make some vigorous attempts against the king's forces in South Carolina. Lord Rawdon had been appointed to defend the post of Camden, with about eight hundred British and provincials; and on the 19th of April General Greene appeared before that place with a large body of continentals and militia. He found it, however, impossible to attempt to storm the town with any prospect of success; and therefore endeavoured to take such a position as should induce the British troops to fall from their works. He posted the Americans about a mile from the town, on an eminence which was covered with woods, and flanked on the left by an impassable swamp. But on the morning of the 25th, Lord Rawdon marched out of Camden, and with great gallantry attacked General Greene in his camp. The Americans made a vigorous resistance, but were at last compelled to give way: and the pursuit is said to have been continued three miles. For some time after the action commenced, General Gates entertained great hopes of defeating the British troops; in which, as the Americans were superior in point of numbers, he would probably have succeeded, had not some capital military errors been committed by one or two of the officers who served under him. On the American side Colonel Washington behaved extremely well in this action, having made upwards of two hundred of the English prisoners, with ten or twelve officers, before he perceived that the Americans were abandoning the field of battle. The loss of the English was about one hundred killed and wounded. Upwards of one hundred of the Americans were taken prisoners; and, according to the account published by General Greene, they had one hundred and twenty-six killed and wounded. After this action, Greene retreated to Rugeley's mills, twelve miles from Camden, in order to collect his troops and wait for reinforcements.

Notwithstanding the advantage which Lord Rawdon had obtained over General Greene at Camden, that nobleman soon after found it necessary to quit that post; and the Americans made themselves masters of several other posts that were occupied by

the king's troops, and the garrisons of which were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. These troops were afterwards exchanged under a cartel which took place between Lord Cornwallis and General Greene for the release of all prisoners of war in the southern district. After these events, General Greene laid close siege to Ninety-six, which was considered as the most commanding and important of all the posts in the back country; and on the 19th of June he attempted to storm the garrison, but was repulsed by the gallantry of the British troops, with the loss, as it is said, of seventy-five killed and one hundred and fifty wounded. General Greene then raised the siege, and retired with his army behind the Saluda, to a strong situation within sixteen miles of Ninety-six.

On the 18th of April a large body of British troops, under the command of Major-General Phillips and Brigadier-General Arnold, embarked at Portsmouth in Virginia, in order to proceed on an expedition for the purpose of destroying some of the American stores. A party of light infantry were sent ten or twelve miles up the Chickahomany: where they destroyed several armaments, sundry warehouses, and the American state ship yards. At Petersburg, the English destroyed four thousand hogheads of tobacco, one ship, and a number of small vessels on the stocks in the river. At Chesterfield court house, they burnt a range of barracks for two thousand men and three hundred barrels of flour. At a place called *Oyster's*, they made themselves masters of several vessels loaded with cordage and flour, and destroyed about two thousand hogheads of tobacco, and sundry vessels were sunk and burnt. At Warwick, they burnt a magazine of five hundred barrels of flour, some fine mills belonging to Colonel Carter, a large range of public rope-walks and storehouses, tan and bark houses full of hides and bark, and great quantities of tobacco. A like destruction of stores and goods was made in other parts of Virginia.

From the account already given of some of the principal military operations of the present year in America, it appears, that though considerable advantages had been gained by the royal troops, yet no event had taken place from which it could rationally be expected that the final termination of the war would be favourable to Great Britain. It was also a disadvantageous circumstance that there was a misunderstanding between Admiral Arbuthnot and Sir Henry Clinton, and a mutual disapprobation of each other's conduct. This was manifest from their dispatches to government, and especially from those of General Clinton, whose expressions respecting the conduct of the Admiral were by no means equivocal.

On the 16th of March 1781, a partial action happened, off the Capes of Virginia, between the fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot, consisting of seven ships of the line and one fifty-gun ship, and a French Squadron, consisting of the same number of ships of the line and one forty-gun ship. Some of the ships in both fleets received considerable damage in the action, and the loss of the English was thirty killed, and seventy-three wounded; but no ship was taken on either side. The British fleet had, however, considerably the advantage; as the French were obliged to retire, and were supposed to be prevented by this action from carrying troops up the Chesapeake, in order to attack General Arnold and impede the progress of Lord Cornwallis. But it was an unfortunate circumstance, that some time before this engagement the *Romulus*, a ship of forty-four guns, was captured by the French off the Capes of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis, after his victory over General Greene at Guildford, proceeded, as we have seen, to Wilmington, where he arrived on the 7th of April. But before he reached that place, he published a proclamation, calling upon all loyal subjects to stand forth and take an active part in restoring good order and government; and declaring to all persons who had engaged in the present rebellion against his majesty's authority, but who were now convinced of their error, and desirous of returning to their duty and allegiance, that if they would surrender themselves with their arms and ammunition at head quarters, or to the officer commanding in the district contiguous to their respective places of residence, on or before the 20th of that month, they would be permitted to return to their homes upon giving a military parole; they would be protected in their persons and properties from all sort of violence from the British troops and would be restored as far as possible to all the privileges of legal and constitutional government. But it does not appear that any considerable number of the Americans were allured by these promises to give any evidences of their attachment to the royal cause.

On the 20th of May, his Lordship arrived at Petersburg in Virginia, where he joined a body of British troops that had been under the command of Major-General Philips, but the command of which, in consequence of the death of that officer, had devolved upon Brigadier-general Arnold. Before this junction he had encountered considerable inconveniences from the difficulty of procuring provisions and baggage; so that in a letter to Clinton, he informed him, that his cavalry and his infantry every thing but shoes. He perceived the difficulty of marching hundreds chiefly footed, without one active or useful general, and without communication with a

and 6000 men, and about eight
thousand men, under Lord Cornwallis,
and the British and twenty
thousand men, of the army, as
been a considerable force. It was an action
degree of military force was exhib-
cent. In a matter of fact, the Mar-
nach distinguished himself and played in
the American cause.

In South Carolina, a battle happened on the
near to a bridge, between a large body of En-
the command of Lieutenant-General Stuart and
body of Americans, led to an end to more than
under the command of General Greene. It was
prolonged, and lasted near two hours, but the
defeated, and two of their six-pounders fell into
English. The loss, however, of the rebel army
considerable, amounting to more than four hundred
killed, and upwards of two hundred missing.

In the course of the same month, General M.
an expedition against New-London, in Conn.
destroyed a great part of the shipping, and an
of naval stores, European manufactures, and E.
town itself was also burned.

wounded, most of them mortally. Of the British troops Major Montgomery was killed, a general officer entering the American works; and one hundred and thirty-two men were also killed and wounded in this expedition.

Notwithstanding the signal advantages that Lord Cornwallis had obtained over the Americans, his situation in Virginia began by degrees to be very critical, and the rather because he did not receive those reinforcements and supplies from Sir Henry Clinton, of which he had formed expectations, and which he conceived to be necessary to the success of his operations. Indeed, the commander-in-chief was prevented from sending those reinforcements to Lord Cornwallis, which he otherwise might have done, by his fears respecting New-York, against which he entertained great apprehensions that General Washington intended to make a very formidable attack. In fact, that able American general appears to have taken much pains, and to have employed great efforts, in order to lead Sir Henry Clinton to entertain the imagination. Letters, expressive of this intention, fell into the hands of Sir Henry, which were manifestly written with a design that they should be intercepted, and only sent a view to amuse and deceive the British General. The project was successful, and by a variety of judicious military manœuvres, in which he completely out-Generalled the British commander, he increased his apprehensions about New-York, and prevented him from sending proper assistance to Lord Cornwallis. Having for a considerable time kept Sir Henry Clinton in perplexity, and in New-York, though with an army much inferior to the garrison of that city, General Washington, however, quitted his camp at White Plains, reached the Delaware, and marched towards Virginia, apparently with a design to attack Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton then received intelligence that the Count de Rochambeau, the French fleet, was expected to arrive in the Chesapeake, in order to co-operate with General Washington. He immediately volunteered, between him and others, to continue with the expedition to Lord Cornwallis, and to attempt to force him to retreat, and either reinforce him, or even pursue him, and to propose to make the British commander retreat to the sea. In the meantime, Lord Cornwallis, in consequence of the fall of York-Town and Gloucester, was obliged to evacuate the latter himself, and to retreat to the sea.

On the 19th of December, Lord Hood, with the *Victory*, and the *Monmouth*, under Admiral Graves, arrived in the Chesapeake. It was the count of Cornwallis, and Lord Cornwallis, in Vol. 2.

mediately proceed to the Chesapeake, but some time appears to have been needlessly lost though Admiral Hood was extremely anxious that a delay might be made. They arrived, however, in the Chesapeake, on the 31st of September, with nineteen ships of the line, where they found the Count de Grasse, who had anchored in that bay on the 28th of August with twenty-four ships of the line. The French Admiral had previously landed a large body of troops, which had been brought from Rhode Island, and who immediately marched to join the American army under General Washington. The British and French fleets came to an action on the line day in which the former arrived in the Chesapeake. On board the British fleet ninety were killed and two hundred and forty-six wounded; some of the ships were greatly damaged in the engagement; and the *Ferrible*, a seventy-four gun ship, was so much shattered, that it was afterwards found necessary to let her to fire. That this action had not been favourable to the British, was manifested from the event, the fleets continued in sight of each other for five days successively, and sometimes were very near; but at length the French fleet all anchored within the Capes, to wait for the passage. Admiral Graves, who was then commanding in chief, then called a council of war, in which it was resolved that the fleet should proceed to New-York, that the ships might be there put in the best state for the service; and that were the French left masters of the navigation of the Chesapeake.

Before the news of this action had reached New-York, a council of war was held there, in which it was resolved, that five thousand British should be embarked on board the Kings ships, in order to proceed to the assistance of Lord Cornwallis. But when it was known that the French were absolute masters of the navigation of the Chesapeake, it was thought inexpedient to send off that reinforcement immediately. In another council of war, it was resolved that as Lord Cornwallis had provisions to last him to the end of October, it was advisable to wait for more favourable circumstances from Admiral Graves, or for the arrival of Admiral Digby, who was expected with three ships of the line. It was not then known at New-York that Admiral Graves had determined to return with the whole fleet to that port.

In the mean time, the most effectual measures were adopted by General Washington for succouring the British army under Lord Cornwallis. A large body of French troops under the command of General and General de Rochambeau, with a considerable train of artillery, assisted in the enterprise. The American army amounted to near eight thousand continentals, and five thousand militia. General Washington was invested with

authority of commander in chief of these combined forces of America and France. On the 29th of September, the investment of York Town was complete, and the British army quite blocked up. The day following Sir Henry Clinton wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis, containing assurances that he would do every thing in his power to relieve him, and some information concerning the steps that would be taken for that purpose. A duplicate of this letter was sent to his Lordship by Major Cechran, on the 3d of October. That gentleman, who was a very gallant officer, went in a vessel to the Capes, and made his way to Lord Cornwallis, through the whole French fleet, in an open boat. He got to York Town on the 10th of the month; and soon after his arrival had his head carried off by a cannon ball.

After the return of Admiral Graves to New-York, a council of war was held, consisting of flag and general officers, in which it was resolved, that a large body of troops should be embarked on board the king's ships as soon as they were refitted, and that the exertions of both fleet and army should be made in order to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton himself embarked on board the fleet, with upwards of seven thousand troops, on the 18th; they arrived off Cape Charles, at the entrance of the Chesapeake, on the 24th, where they received intelligence that Lord Cornwallis had been obliged to capitulate five days before.

It was on the 19th of October that Lord Cornwallis surrendered himself and his whole army, by capitulation, prisoners to the combined armies of America and France, under the command of General Washington. He made a defence suitable to the character he had before acquired for courage and military skill; but was compelled to submit to untoward circumstances and superior numbers. It was agreed by the articles of capitulation, that the British troops were to be prisoners to the United States of America, and the seamen to the French king, to whose officers also the British vessels found at York Town and Gloucester were to be delivered up. The British prisoners amounted to more than six thousand; but many of them, at the time of surrender, were incapable of duty. A considerable number of cannon, and a large quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the Americans on this occasion.

As no rational expectation now remained of a subjugation of the colonies, the military operations that succeeded in America were of little consequence. Some inconsiderable actions and skirmishes did indeed take place after that event; in which the refugees chiefly distinguished themselves, and discovered an inveterate animosity against the Americans. On the 3d of May 1782, Sir

cannot signing any passport and he had taken the opportunity to inform the British government of the situation and he then he was arrested and taken to the British prison. He then, on the 10th of October, was taken to the British prison and he was taken to the British prison by Sir Guy Carter and Sir Robert Dugley. He informed him, that they were engaged by and only cautious for a general peace had been commenced at Mr. Grenville was invested with full powers to treat the parties at war; and was then at Paris in the execution of his mission. They further informed him, that his order to remove all obstacles to the peace which he wished to restore, had commanded his ministers to Grenville, that the independency of the thirteen states be proposed by him, in the last instance, instead of a convention of a general treaty. But some objections were taken by the Americans, that it was the action of the court either to disunite them, or to bring them to treat separately from their ally the King of France: they believed, that any man, or body of men, who should make any separate or partial convention or agreement with the King of Great-Britain, or with any commander or commander under the crown of Great-Britain, ought to be considered as open and avowed enemies of the United States; and also that those states could not with propriety enter into any treaty with any other state.

known the independence and sovereignty of the United States of America. These articles were ratified by a definitive treaty, September 3d, 1783. This peace was negotiated on the part of Great-Britain by Mr. Oswald, and the definitive treaty was signed by Mr. Hartley; and on the part of the United States by John Adams, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin, Esquires.*

Thus ended a long and arduous conflict, in which Great-Britain expended near an hundred millions of money, with an hundred thousand lives, and won nothing. America endured every cruelty and distress from her enemies; lost many lives and much treasure; but delivered herself from a foreign dominion, and gained a rank among the nations of the earth.

Holland acknowledged the independence of the United States on the 19th of April, 1782: Sweden, February 5th, 1783; Denmark, the 23th of February; Spain, in March, and Russia, in July 1783.

No sooner was peace restored by the definitive treaty, and the British troops withdrawn from the country, than the United States began to experience the defects of their general government. While an enemy was in the country, fear, which had first impelled the colonies to associate in mutual defence, continued to operate as a band of political union. It gave to the resolutions and recommendations of Congress the force of laws, and generally commanded a ready acquiescence on the part of the State legislatures. Articles of confederation and perpetual union had been framed in Congress, and submitted to the consideration of the States, in the year 1778. Some of the States immediately acceded to them; but others, which had not unappropriated lands, hesitated to subscribe a compact, which would give an advantage to the States which possessed large tracts of unlocated lands, and were thus capable of a great superiority in wealth and population. All objections, however, had been overcome, and by the accession of Maryland, in March 1781, the articles of confederation were ratified, as the frame of government for the United States.

These articles, however, were framed during the rage of war, when a principle of common safety supplied the place of a coercive power in government, by men who could have had no experience in the art of governing an extensive country, and under circumstances the most critical and embarrassing. To have offered to the people, at that time, a system of government armed with the power necessary to regulate and control the interests of Thirteen States, and the possi-

* This Treaty, &c. &c. will be found in the
Fourth Volume of this History.

The first of these is the fact that the
 Chinese government has been unable to
 maintain a stable and effective
 administration in the past few years.
 This is due to a number of factors,
 including the lack of a strong central
 government, the weakness of the
 military, and the corruption of the
 bureaucracy. The result has been a
 period of chaos and disorder, with
 the country being divided into
 numerous small, warring states.
 The second factor is the lack of
 a strong and effective military.
 The Chinese government has been
 unable to maintain a strong and
 effective military, which has led to
 a period of weakness and
 vulnerability. This has allowed
 foreign powers to intervene in
 the country's affairs, and has
 led to a period of foreign
 domination and control.
 The third factor is the corruption
 of the bureaucracy. The Chinese
 government has been unable to
 maintain a strong and effective
 bureaucracy, which has led to a
 period of corruption and
 inefficiency. This has led to a
 period of weakness and
 vulnerability, and has allowed
 foreign powers to intervene in
 the country's affairs.

power, and even the army of the United States. The attraction of the all forms of gold and silver, which had been in a great measure, of obedience to their passions had been in the way of help them and like criminals, who have been surprised by the approach of an enemy, the rustling was sufficient to give them an alarm. This spirit operated with other causes to relax the energy of the nation.

During the war, vast sums of paper currency had been issued by Congress, and large quantities of specie had been placed, towards the close of the war, by the French and the Spanish treasuries. This plenty of money enabled the government to comply with the first requisitions of Congress: for two or three years, the federal treasury was, in fact, supplied. But when the danger of war had ceased, the importations of foreign goods had lessened the quantity of specie, the States began to be very remiss in their proportion of monies. The annihilation of the paper bills had totally stopped their circulation, and the specie was leaving the country in great numbers for Great-Britain; still the luxurious habits of the people, during the war, called for new supplies of goods, and gratification seconded the narrow policy of state, and defeating the operations of the general government.

were obliged to receive for wages these certificates, or promissary notes, which passed at a fifth, and eighth, or a tenth, of their nominal value ; being thus deprived at once of the greatest part of the reward due for their services. Some indeed profited by speculations in these evidences of the public debt ; but such as were under a necessity of parting with them, were robbed of that support which they had a right to expect and demand from their countrymen.

Pennsylvania indeed made a provision for paying the interest of her debts, both state and federal ; assuming her supposed proportion of the continental debt, and giving the creditors of her own State notes in exchange for those of the United States. The resources of that State are immense, but she was not able to make punctual payments, even in a depreciated paper currency.

Massachusetts, in her zeal to comply fully with the requisitions of Congress, and satisfy the demands of her own creditors, laid a heavy tax upon the people. This was the immediate cause of the rebellion in that State, in 1786. But a heavy debt lying on the State, added to burdens of the same nature, upon almost every corporation within it ; a decline, or rather an extinction of public credit ; a relaxation and corruption of manners, and a free use of foreign luxuries ; a decay of trade and manufactures, with a prevailing scarcity of money ; and, above all, individuals involved in debt to each other. These were the real, though more remote causes of the insurrection. It was the tax which the people were required to pay, that caused them to feel the evils which we have enumerated—this called forth all their other grievances ; and the first act of violence committed was the burning or destroying of the tax-bill. This sedition threw the State into a convulsion which lasted about a year ; courts of justice were violently obstructed ; the collection of debts was suspended ; and a body of armed troops, under the command of General Lincoln, was employed during the winter of 1786, to disperse the insurgents. Yet so numerous were the latter in the counties of Worcester, Hampshire, and Berkshire, and so obstinately combined to oppose the execution of law by force, that the governor and council of the State thought proper not to intrust General Lincoln with military powers, except to act on the defensive, and to repel force with force, in case the insurgents should attack him. The leaders of the rebels, however, were not men of talents ; they were desperate, but without fortitude ; and even while they were supported with a superior force, they peared to be impressed with that consciousness of guilt
awes the most daring wretch, and makes him

purpose. This appears by the conduct of a large party of the rebels before the magazine at Springfield, where General Shepard, with a small guard, was stationed to protect the continental stores. The insurgents appeared upon the plain, with a vast superiority of numbers, but a few shot from the artillery made the multitude retreat in disorder with the loss of four men. This spirited conduct of General Shepard, with the industry, perseverance, and prudent firmness of General Lincoln, dispersed the rebels—drove the leaders from the State, and restored tranquillity. An act of indemnity was passed in the legislature for all the insurgents, except a few of the leaders, on condition they should become peaceable citizens, and take the oath of allegiance. The leaders afterwards petitioned for pardon, which, from motives of policy, was granted by the legislature.*

But the loss of public credit, popular disturbances, and insurrections, were not the only evils which were generated by the peculiar circumstances of the times. The emissions of bills of credit and tender laws were added to the black catalogue of political disorders.

The expedient of supplying the deficiencies of specie, by emissions of paper bills, was adopted very early in the colonies. The expedient was obvious and produced good effects. In a new country, where population is rapid, and the value of lands increasing, the farmer finds an advantage in paying legal interest for money; for if he can pay the interest by his profits, the increasing value of his lands will in a few years discharge the principal.

In no colony was this advantage more sensibly experienced than in Pennsylvania. The emigrations to that province were numerous—the natural population rapid—and these circumstances combined, advanced the value of real property to an astonishing degree. As the first settlers there, as well as in other provinces, were poor, the purchase of a few foreign articles drained them of specie. Indeed for many years, the balance of trade must have necessarily been greatly against the colonies.

But bills of credit, emitted by the State, and loaned to the industrious inhabitants, supplied the want of specie, and enabled the farmer to purchase stock. These bills were generally a legal tender in all colonial or private contracts, and the sums issued did not generally exceed the quantity requisite for a medium of trade; they retained their full nominal value in the purchase of commodities: but as they were not received by the British merchants, in payment of their goods, there was a great demand for

* See an elegant and impartial History of this Rebellion, by George Richards Minto, Esq.

specie and bills, which occasioned the latter at various times to appreciate. Thus was introduced a difference between the English sterling money and the currencies of the colonies, which remains to this day.*

The advantages the colonies had derived from bills of credit, under the British government, suggested to Congress, in 1775, the idea of issuing bills for the purpose of carrying on the war; and this was perhaps their only expedient. Money could not be raised by taxation—it could not be borrowed. The first emissions had no other effect upon the medium of commerce, than to drive the specie from circulation. But when the paper substituted for specie had, by repeated emissions, augmented the sum in circulation, much beyond the usual sum of specie, the bills began to lose their value. The depreciation continued in proportion to the sums emitted, until seventy, and even one hundred and fifty nominal paper dollars, were hardly an equivalent for one Spanish milled dollar. Still, from the year 1775 to 1781, this depreciating paper currency was almost the only medium of trade. It supplied the place of specie, and enabled Congress to support a numerous army; until the sum in circulation amounted to two hundred millions of dollars. But about the year 1780, specie began to be plentiful, being introduced by the French army, a private trade with the Spanish islands, and an illicit intercourse with the British garrison at New-York. This circumstance accelerated the depreciation of paper bills, until their value had sunk almost to nothing. In 1781, the merchants and brokers in the southern States, apprehensive of the approaching fate of the currency, pushed immense quantities of it suddenly into New-England—made vast purchases of goods in Boston—and instantly the bills vanished from circulation.

The whole history of this continental paper is a history of public and private frauds. Old specie debts were often paid in a depreciated currency—and even new contracts for a few weeks or days were often discharged with a small part of the value received. From this plenty and fluctuating state of the medium sprung hosts of speculators and voracious traders, who left their honest occupations for the prospect of immense gains, in a fraudulent business, that depended on no fixed principles, and the profits of which could be reduced to no certain calculations.

* A Dollar in sterling = 4s. 6d.
New-England currency = 6s. 6d.
and Maryland to 7s. 6d. 10c.
Virginia and Georgia to 4s. 6d.
specie, or bills, continued to
and silver

So the price of a Dollar rose in
New-England, to 10s. 6d. 10c.
and in Maryland to 12s. 6d. 10c.

To increase these evils, a project was formed to fix the prices of articles, and restrain persons from giving or receiving more for any commodity than the price stated by authority. These regulating acts were reprobated by every man acquainted with commerce and finance; as they were intended to prevent an effect without removing the cause. To attempt to fix the value of money, while streams of bills were incessantly flowing from the treasury of the United States, was as ridiculous as an attempt to restrain the rising of water in rivers amidst showers of rain.

Notwithstanding all opposition, some States framed and attempted to enforce these regulating acts. The effect was, a momentary apparent stand in the price of articles; innumerable acts of collusion and evasion among the dishonest; numberless injuries done to the honest; and finally a total disregard of all such regulations, and the consequential contempt of laws and the authority of the magistrate.

During these fluctuations of business, occasioned by the variable value of money, people lost sight, in some measure, of the steady principles which had before governed their intercourse with each other. Speculation followed and relaxed the rigour of commercial obligations.

Industry likewise had suffered by the flood of money which had deluged the States. The prices of produce had risen in proportion to the quantity of money in circulation, and the demand for the commodities of the country. This made the acquisition of money easy, and indolence and luxury, with their train of desolating consequences, spread themselves among all descriptions of people.

But as soon as hostilities between Great-Britain and America were suspended, the scene was changed. The bills emitted by Congress had for some time before ceased to circulate; and the specie of the country was soon drained off to pay for foreign goods, the importations of which exceeded all calculation. Within two years from the close of the war, a *scarcity of money* was the general cry. The merchants found it impossible to collect their debts, and make punctual remittances to their creditors in Great-Britain; and the consumers were driven to the necessity of retrenching their superfluities in living, and of returning to their ancient habits of industry and economy.

This change was however progressive and slow. In many of the States which suffered by the numerous debts they had contracted, and by the distresses of war, the people called aloud for emissions of paper bills to supply the deficiency of a medium. The depreciation of the continental bills was a recent example of the ill effects of such an expedient, and the impossibility of

supporting the credit of paper was urged by the opposers of the measure as a substantial argument against adopting it. But nothing would silence the popular clamour; and many men of the first talents and eminence united their voices with that of the populace. Paper money had formerly maintained its credit, and been of singular utility; and past experience, notwithstanding a change of circumstances, was an argument in its favour that bore down all opposition.

Pennsylvania, although one of the richest States in the union, was the first to emit bills of credit, as a substitute for specie. But the revolution had removed the necessity of it, at the same time that it had destroyed the means by which its former credit had been supported. Lands, at the close of the war, were not rising in value—bills on London could not so readily be purchased, as while the province was dependent on Great-Britain—the State was split into parties, one of which attempted to defeat the measures most popular with the other—and the depreciation of continental bills, with the injuries which it had done to individuals, inspired a general distrust of all public promises.

Notwithstanding a part of the money was loaned on good landed security, and the faith of that wealthy State pledged for the redemption of the whole at its nominal value, yet the advantages of specie as a medium of commerce, specially as an article of remittance to London, soon made a difference of ten per cent. between the bills of credit and specie. This difference may be considered rather as an appreciation of gold and silver, than a depreciation of paper; but its effects, in a commercial state, must be highly prejudicial. It opens the door to frauds of all kinds, and frauds are usually practised on the honest and unsuspecting, especially upon all classes of labourers.

North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, had recourse to the same wretched expedient to supply themselves with money; not reflecting that industry, frugality, and good commercial laws are the only means of turning the balance of trade in favour of a country, and that this balance is the only permanent source of solid wealth and ready money. But the bills they emitted shared a worse fate than those of Pennsylvania; they expelled almost all the circulating cash from the States; they lost a great part of their nominal value, they impoverished the merchants, and embarrassed the planters.

The State of Virginia tolerated a base practice among the inhabitants of cutting dollars and smaller pieces of silver, in order to prevent it from leaving the State. This pernicious practice prevailed also in Georgia.*

* A Dollar was usually cut in five pieces, and each passed by toll for a quarter; so that the man who cut it gained a quarter, or rather a fifth.

Maryland escaped the calamity of a paper currency. The house of delegates brought forward a bill for the emission of bills of credit to a large amount; but the senate firmly and successfully resisted the pernicious scheme. The opposition between the two houses was violent and tumultuous; it threatened the State with anarchy; but the question was carried to the people, and the good sense of the Senate finally prevailed.

New-Jersey is situated between two of the largest commercial towns in America, and consequently drained of specie. The State also emitted a large sum in bills of credit, which served to pay the interest of the public debt; but the currency depreciated, as in other States.

Rhode Island exhibited a melancholy proof of that licentiousness and anarchy which always follows a relaxation of the moral principles. In a rage for supplying the State with money, and filling every man's pocket without obliging him to earn it by his diligence, the legislature passed an act for making one hundred thousand pounds in bills; a sum much more than sufficient for the medium of trade in that State, even without any specie. The merchants in Newport and Providence opposed the act with firmness; and their opposition added fresh vigor to the resolution of the assembly, and induced them to enforce the scheme by a legal tender of a most extraordinary nature. They passed an act, ordaining that if any creditor should refuse to take their bills, for any debt whatever, the debtor might lodge the sum due, with a justice of the peace, who should give notice of it in the public papers; and if the creditor did not appear and receive the money within six months from the first notice, his debt should be forfeited. This act astonished all honest men; and even the promoters of paper money-making in other States, and other principles, reprobated this act of Rhode Island, as wicked and oppressive. But the State was governed by faction. During the cry for paper money, a number of boisterous, ignorant men were elected into the legislature, from the smaller towns in the State. Finding themselves united with a majority in opinion, they formed and executed any plan their inclination suggested; they opposed every measure that was agreeable to the mercantile interest; they not only made bad laws to suit their own wicked purposes, but appointed their own corrupt creatures to fill the judicial and executive departments. Their money depreciated sufficiently to answer all their vile purposes in the discharge of debts—business almost totally ceased, all confidence was lost, the State was thrown into confusion at home, and was execrated abroad.

Massachusetts Bay had the good fortune, amidst her political calamities, to prevent an emission of bills of credit. New Hamp-

shire made no paper; but in the distresses which followed her loss of business after the war, the legislature made horses, lumber, and most articles of produce, a legal tender in the fulfilment of contracts. It is doubtless unjust to oblige a creditor to receive any thing for his debt, which he had not in contemplation at the time of the contract. But as the commodities which were to be a tender by law, in New Hampshire, were of an intrinsic value, bearing some proportion to the amount of the debt, the injustice of the law was less flagrant than that which enforced the tender of paper in Rhode Island. Indeed a similar law prevailed for sometime in Massachusetts; and in Connecticut it is optional with the creditor, either to imprison the debtor or take land on execution at a price to be fixed by three indifferent freeholders; provided no other means of payment shall appear to satisfy the demand. It must not, however, be omitted, that while the most flourishing commercial States introduced a paper medium, to the great injury of honest men, a bill for an emission of paper in Connecticut, where there is very little specie, could never command more than one eighth of the votes of the legislature. The movers of the bill have hardly escaped ridicule; so generally is the measure reprobated as a source of frauds and public mischief.

The legislature of New-York, a State that had the least necessity and apology for making paper money, as her commercial advantages always furnish her with specie sufficient for a medium, issued a large sum in bills of credit, which supported their value better than the currency of any other State. Still the paper raised the value of specie, which is always in demand for exportation, and this difference of exchange between paper and specie ever exposes commerce to most of the inconveniences resulting from a depreciated medium.

Such is the history of paper money thus far; a miserable substitute for real coin, in a country where the reins of government are too weak to compel the fulfilment of public engagements, and where all confidence in public faith is totally destroyed.

While the States were thus endeavouring to repair the loss of specie by empty promises, and to support their business by shadows, rather than by reality, the British ministry formed some commercial regulations that deprived them of the profits of their trade to the West-Indies and Great-Britain. Heavy duties were laid upon such articles as were remitted to the London merchants for their goods, and such were the duties upon American bottoms, that the States were almost wholly deprived of the carrying trade. A prohibition was laid upon the produce of the United States, shipped to the English West-India Islands in American built ves-

sels, and in those manned by American seamen. These restrictions fell heavy upon the eastern States, which depended much upon ship-building for the support of their trade; and they materially injured the business of the other States.

Without a union that was able to form and execute a general system of commercial regulations, some of the States attempted to impose restraints upon the British trade that should indemnify the merchant for the losses he had suffered, or induce the British ministry to enter into a commercial treaty, and relax the rigour of their navigation laws. These measures however produced nothing but mischief. The States did not act in concert, and the restraints laid on the trade of one State operated to throw the business into the hands of its neighbour. Massachusetts, in her zeal to counteract the effect of the English navigation laws, laid enormous duties upon British goods imported into that State, but the other States did not adopt a similar measure; and the loss of business soon obliged that State to repeal or suspend the law. Thus when Pennsylvania laid heavy duties on British goods, Delaware and New-Jersey made a number of free ports to encourage the landing of goods within the limits of those States; and the duties in Pennsylvania served no purpose but to create smuggling.

Thus divided, the States began to feel their weakness: most of the legislatures had neglected to comply with the requisitions of Congress for furnishing the federal treasury; the resolves of Congress were disregarded; the proposition for a general impost to be laid and collected by Congress was negatived, first by Rhode-Island, and afterwards by New-York. The British troops continued, under pretence of a breach of treaty on the part of America, to hold possession of the forts on the frontiers of the States.—Many of the States individually were infested with popular commotions or iniquitous tender laws, while they were oppressed with public debts; the certificates or public notes had lost most of their value, and circulated merely as the objects of speculation; Congress lost their respectability, and the United States their credit and importance.

The untoward events which followed the re-establishment of peace, though evils of themselves, were over-ruled for great national good. From the failure of their expectations of an immediate increase of political happiness, the lovers of liberty and independence began to be less sanguine in their hopes from the American revolution, and to fear that they had built a visionary fabric of government on the fallacious ideas of public virtue, but the elasticity of the human mind, which is nurtured by free constitutions, kept them from desponding. By an exertion of those inherent principles of self-preservation, which republics possess

a recurrence was had to the good sense of the people for the rectification of fundamental disorders. While the country, free from foreign force and domestic violence, enjoyed tranquillity, a proposition was made by Virginia to all the other States to meet in convention, for the purpose of digesting a form of government, equal to the exigencies of the union. The first motion for this purpose was made by Mr. Maddison, and he had the pleasure of seeing it acceded to by twelve of the States, and finally to issue in the establishment of a New Constitution, which bids fair to repay the citizens of the United States for the toils, dangers, and wastes of the revolution. The fundamental distinction between the articles of confederation and the new constitution lies in this; the former acted only on States, the latter on individuals; the former could neither raise men nor money by its own authority, but lay at the discretion of thirteen different legislatures, and without their unanimous concurrence was unable to provide for the public safety, or for the payment of the national debt. The experience of several years had proved the impossibility of a government answering the end of its institution, which was dependent on others for the means necessary for attaining these ends. By the new constitution, one legislative, executive, and judicial power pervades the whole union. This ensures an uniform observance of treaties, and gives a stability to the general government, which never could be attained while the acts and requisitions of Congress were subject to the revision of thirteen legislatures, and while thirteen distinct and unconnected judiciaries had a constitutional right to decide on the same subject. The people of the United States gave no new powers to their rulers, but made a more judicious arrangement of what they had formerly ceded. They enlarged the powers of the general government, not by taking from the people, but from the State legislatures. They took from the latter a power of levying duties on the importation of merchandise from foreign countries, and transferred it to Congress for the common benefit of the union. They also invested the general government with a power to regulate trade, levy taxes and internal duties on the inhabitants. That these enlarged powers might be used only with caution and deliberation, Congress, which formerly consisted of only one body, was made to consist of two; one of which was to be chosen by the people in proportion to their numbers, the other by the State legislatures. The execution of the acts of this compounded legislature was committed to a Supreme Magistrate, with the title of President. The constitution, of which these were the principal features, was submitted to the people for ratification. Animated debates took place on the propriety of establishing or rejecting it. Some States, who from their local situation were benefited by receiving impost duties into their treasuries, were averse from the giving of them up to the union. Others, who were consuming but not importing

States, had an interested inducement of an opposite kind, to support the proposed new constitution. The prospects of increased employment for shipping, and the enlargement of commerce, weighed with those States which abounded in sailors and ships, and also with seaport towns, to advocate the adoption of the new system; but those States, or parts of States, which depended chiefly on agriculture, were afraid that zeal for encouraging an American marine, by narrowing the grounds of competition among foreigners for purchasing and carrying their produce, would lessen their profits. Some of this description therefore conceived that they had a local interest in refusing the new system.

Individuals who had great influence in State legislatures, or who held profitable places under them, were unwilling to adopt a government which, by diminishing the power of the States, would eventually diminish their own importance: others, who looked forward to seats in the general government, or for offices under its authority, had the same interested reason for supporting its adoption. Some from jealousy of liberty were afraid of giving too much power to their rulers; others, from an honest ambition to aggrandize their country, were for paying the way to national greatness by melting down the separate States into a national mass. The former feared the new constitution: the latter gloried in it. Almost every passion which could agitate the human breast, interested States and individuals for and against the adoption of the proposed plan of government: some whole classes of people were in its favour. The mass of public creditors expected payment of their debts from the establishment of an efficient government, and were therefore decidedly for its adoption. Such as lived on salaries, and those who, being clear of debt, wished for a fixed medium of circulation and the free course of law, were friends of a constitution which prohibits the issuing of paper money and all interference between debtor and creditor. In addition to these, the great body of independent men, who saw the necessity of an energetic general government, and who, from the jarring interests of the different States, could not foresee any probability of getting a better one than was proposed, gave their support to what the federal convention had projected, and their influence effected its establishment. After a full consideration, and thorough discussion of its principles, it was ratified by the conventions of eleven of the original Thirteen States, and the accession of the other two was soon expected.* The ratification of it was celebrated in most

* The following exhibit shows the order, time, &c. in which the several States ratified the Federal Constitution.

				Majors.
Delaware,	December 3,	1787,	unanimously	
Pennsylvania,	December 13,		46 to 23	23
New Jersey,	December 19,		unanimously	
Georgia,	January 2,	1788,	unanimously	
Connecticut,	January 9,		178 to 40	83
Massachusetts,	February 6,		187 to 168	19

of the capitals of the States with elegant processions, which far exceeded any thing of the kind ever before exhibited in America. Time and experience only can fully discover the effects of this new distribution of the powers of government; but in theory it seems well calculated to unite liberty with safety, and to lay the foundation of national greatness, while it abridges none of the rights of the States, or of the people.

The new constitution having been ratified by eleven of the States, and senators and representatives having been chosen agreeably to the articles thereof, they met at New-York, and commenced proceedings under it. The old Congress and confederation like the continental money, expired without a sigh or groan, in April 1789. A new Congress, with more ample powers, and a new constitution, partly national, and partly federal, succeeded in their place, to the great joy of all who wished for the happiness of the United States.

Though great diversity of opinions had prevailed about the new constitution, there was but one opinion about the person who should be appointed its supreme executive officer. The people, as well antifederalists as federalists, (for by these names the parties for and against the new constitution were called) unanimously turned their eyes on the late commander of their armies, as the most proper person to be their first President. Perhaps there was not a well-informed individual in the United States, (Mr. Washington himself only excepted, who was not anxious that he should be called to the executive administration of the proposed new plan of government. Unambitious of farther honours he had retired to his farm in Virginia, and hoped to be excused from all further public service; but his country called him by an unanimous voice to fill the highest station in its gift. That love to the public good, which had uniformly influenced him to devote both his time and talents to the service of his country, got the better of his love of retirement, and induced him once more to engage in the great business of making a nation happy. The intelligence of his election being communicated to him, while on his farm, he quitted it, he set out soon after for New-York. On his way, wherever he went, he was crowded with numbers anxious to see the face of the people. Efforts of flattery, and of procuring him the most valuable distinctions attended him from every quarter, and he was everywhere received with the most respectful and unanimous acclamations.

Mr. Washington arrived at New-York on the 23d of September, and on the 29th he was inaugurated. The ceremony was performed in the City Hall, and was attended by a vast number of people. The President then gave a speech to the Congress, in which he expressed his confidence in the new constitution, and his determination to support it with all his power.

ing people could confer. Addresses of congratulation were presented to him by the inhabitants of almost every place of consequence through which he passed, to all of which he returned such modest, unassuming answers as were in every respect notable to his situation. So great were the honours with which he was loaded, that they could scarcely have failed to produce haughtiness in the mind of any ordinary man; but nothing of the kind was ever discovered in this extraordinary personage. On all occasions he behaved to all men with the affability of one citizen to another. He was truly great in deserving the plaudits of his country, but much greater in not being elated with them.

Gray's Bridge over the Schuylkill, which Mr. Washington had to pass, was highly decorated with laurels and evergreens. At each end of it were erected magnificent arches composed of laurels, emblematical of the ancient Roman triumphal arches; and on each side of the bridge was a laurel shrubbery. As Mr. Washington passed the bridge, a youth ornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by machinery, let drop above his head, though unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel. Upwards of twenty thousand citizens lined the fences, fields, and avenues between the Schuylkill and Philadelphia. Through the city he was conducted to the city, by a numerous and respectable body of citizens, where he partook of an elegant entertainment provided for him. The pleasures of the day were succeeded by a handsome display of fireworks in the evening.

When Mr. Washington crossed the Delaware, and landed on the Jersey shore, he was saluted with three cheers by the inhabitants of the vicinity. When he came to the brow of the hill, on his way to Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected on the bridge, by the direction of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly ornamented with imperial laurels and flowers, and on it was displayed in large figures, *December 26th 1776*. On the sweep of the arch, beneath was this inscription, *The defender of the Mother and the Father's Daughter*. On the north side were ranged a number of young girls dressed in white, with garlands of flowers on their heads, and bullets of flowers on their arms; in the second row stood the young ladies, and behind them the married ladies of the town. The instant he passed the arch, the young girls began to sing the following ode.

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more,

"Welcome to this grateful shore

"Now no mercenary foe

"Aims at the fatal blow,

"Aims at thee the fatal blow,

"Virgins fair, and matrons grave,

"These thy conquering arms did save

"Build for thee triumphal bowers,

"Screw, we say, his way to the shore,

"Screw, you'll say, his way to the shore,

As they sung the last lines, they strewed their flowers on the road before their beloved deliverer. His situation on this occasion, contrasted with what he had in Dec. 1776 felt on the same spot, when the affairs of America were at the lowest ebb of depression, filled with sensations that cannot be described. He was rowed across the bay from Elizabeth-Town to New-York in an elegant barge by thirteen pilots. All the vessels in the harbour hoisted their flags. Stairs were erected and decorated for his reception. On his landing, universal joy diffused itself through every order of the people, and he was received and congratulated by the governor of the State, and officers of the corporation. He was conducted from the landing-place to the house which had been fitted up for his reception, and was followed by an elegant procession of militia in their uniforms, and by great numbers of citizens. In the evening, the houses of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated. A day was fixed, soon after his arrival, for his taking the oath of office, which was in the following words: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the constitution of the United States." On this occasion he was wholly clothed in American manufactures. In the morning of the day appointed for this purpose, the clergy of different denominations assembled their congregations in their respective places of worship, and offered up public prayers for the President and people of the United States. About noon a procession followed by a multitude of citizens, moved from the President's house to Federal Hall. When they came within a short distance from the Hall, the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, through which Mr. Washington, accompanied by the Vice-President, Mr. John Adams, passed into the Senate Chamber. Immediately after, accompanied by both houses, he went into the gallery fronting Broad-street, and before them, and an immense concourse of citizens, took the oath prescribed by the constitution, which was administered by R. R. Livingston, the Chancellor of the State of New-York. An awful silence prevailed among the spectators during this part of the ceremony. It was a minute of the most sublime political joy. The Chancellor then proclaimed him President of the United States. This was answered by the discharge of thirteen guns, and by the effusion of shouts, from near ten thousand grateful and affectionate hearts. "He bowed most respectfully to the people, and then returned again with their acclamations. He then retired to the Senate Chamber, where he made an animated speech to which his language not only expressed his

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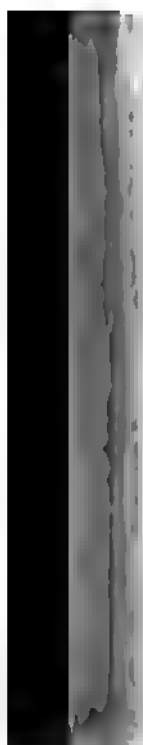
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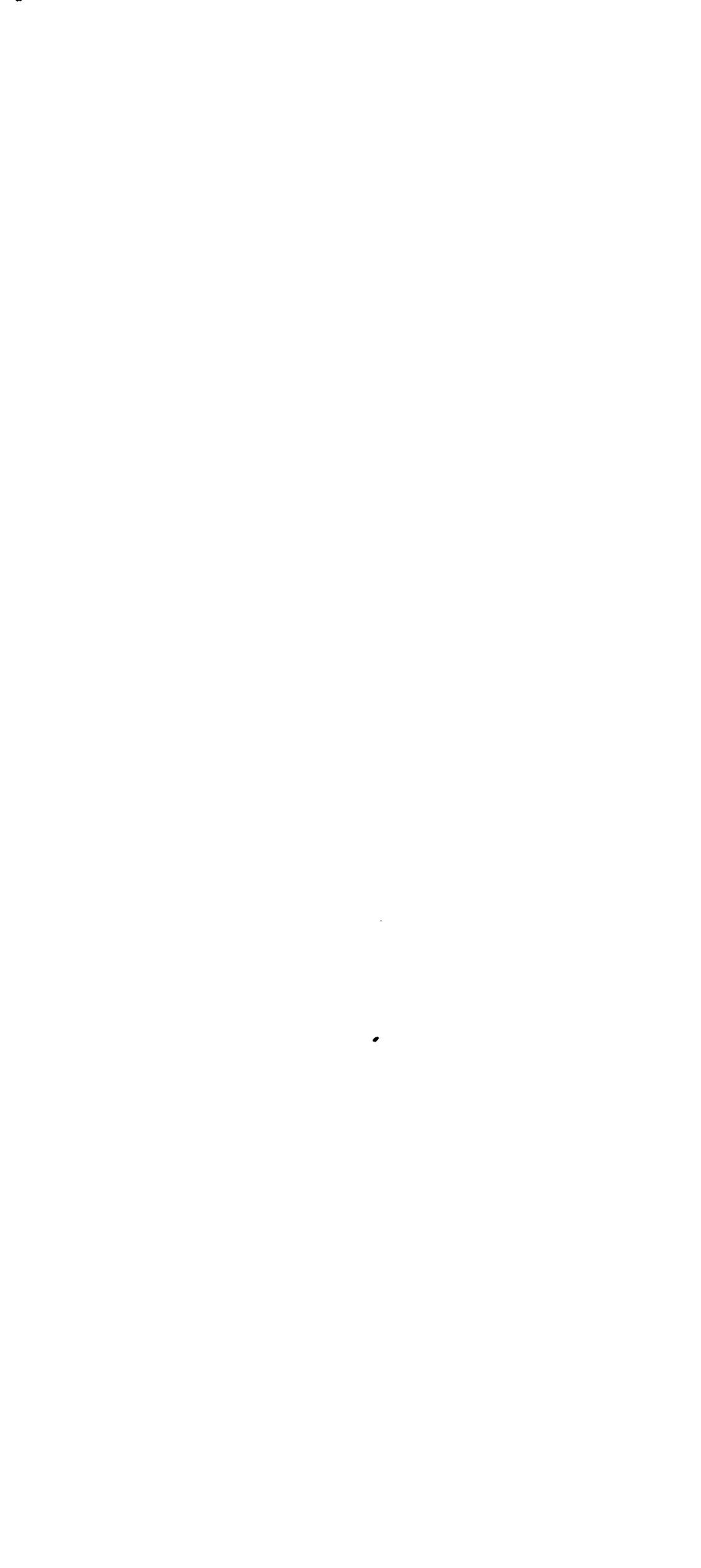
SELLERS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STA'

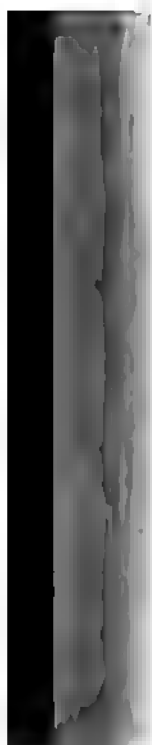
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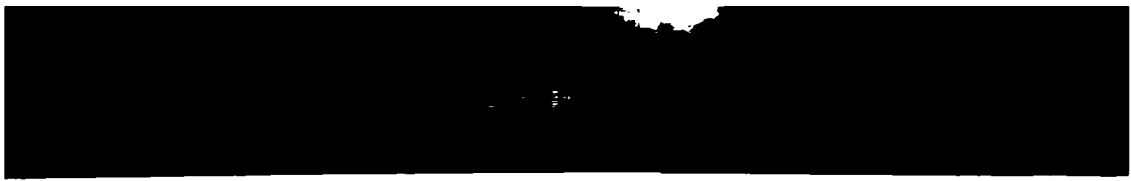


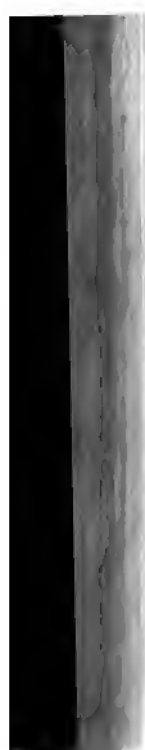


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